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GOP rolls out new playbook on abortion

Party backs away from near-total bans, citing political backlash

BY RACHEL ROUBEIN, CAROLINE KITCHENER AND COLBY ITKOWITZ

Nebraska antiabortion groups and GOP lawmakers were stunned. In late April, their effort to ban most abortions was tanked by an unlikely person: 80-year-old Sen. Merv Riepe, a longtime Republican.

Instead, on Friday, Nebraska's conservative legislature voted to ban abortions at 12 weeks of pregnancy — a threshold that significantly narrows the window for legal abortions but still allows the vast majority to occur.

A few days earlier, North Carolina Republicans used their legislative supermajority to enact a similar 12-week ban, calling it a "mainstream" approach that would be more broadly accepted than the stricter bans many conservatives had sought to pass. And in neighboring South Carolina, state Sen. Katrina Shealy (R) told The Washington Post that she and the other female GOP senators who blocked a near-total ban are planning to push for a 12-week ban on most abortions when the state Senate takes up a bill soon restricting abortion after roughly six weeks of pregnancy.

"We can't live at the extremes," North Carolina Sen. Amy Galey (R) said in an interview. "As a country, we can find a way to take a difficult issue and resolve it without a huge amount of acrimony and viciousness."

Immediately after the Supreme Court overturned *Roe v. Wade*, Republican lawmakers were quick to embrace "trigger" bans designed to take effect as soon as

SEE ABORTION ON A13



JAHI CHIKWENDIU/THE WASHINGTON POST

Andrea Wedner, center, hugs students Catie Jordan, left, and Devon Kenney Zimmick after a screening of the documentary "Repairing the World: Stories from the Tree of Life." Wedner, who was shot but survived, lost her mother in the 2018 shooting.

As shooting trial nears, Pittsburgh grapples with antisemitism

Four years later, Tree of Life members confront what constitutes justice and how to move forward amid rising hate

BY DAVID NAKAMURA
IN PITTSBURGH

For 4½ years, the Tree of Life synagogue sat empty, surrounded by a chain-link fence after a gunman killed 11 people in the deadliest antisemitic attack in U.S. history.

On a recent chilly morning, Rabbi Jeffrey Myers arrived for a final prayer service at the site in Squirrel Hill, a longtime Jewish enclave. It was time to say goodbye to a house of worship that had stood for 71 years.

Myers, a stoic figure in a black fedora and dark overcoat, was determined to remain upbeat. This was not "shalom," or farewell, but rather "l'hitraot," or see you again, he told several dozen congregants gathered in an outdoor garden — "a pause until the next chapter."

Renovations are slated to begin soon to transform the boxy, concrete structure into a modern campus with a glass-topped atrium and an 8,000-square-foot museum dedicated to the dangers of antisemitism.

Meanwhile, justice in remembrance of those who died inside could be coming. The federal trial of the accused gunman in the massacre, Robert D. Bowers, 50, is expected to begin just after Memorial Day. He faces 63 hate-crime and gun-related charges that could make him eligible for the death penalty, if convicted.

Memories of the attack remain acutely painful. The visceral testimony expected at trial along with the re-envisioning of the synagogue have prompted sharply conflicting emotions among members of Myers's Tree of Life Congregation, and of the two other congregations — Dor Hadash and New Light — that also shared

SEE TRIAL ON A11

Any debt deal may be bitter pill to all

RALLYING SUPPORT POSES TALL HURDLE

Moderates could hold the key as both sides harden

BY RACHEL SIEGEL

There's still no deal in place for Congress and the White House to avoid a catastrophic default on the nation's debt. But even as talks continued into the weekend, one thing was already clear: A lot of Republicans and Democrats don't like the deal, whatever it is.

On the right, the House Freedom Caucus has called for an end to negotiations over the debt ceiling entirely, saying "there should be no further discussion" until the Senate acts on a House bill that would raise the borrowing limit while sharply cutting federal spending. On the left, a growing coalition of Senate Democrats is calling for President Biden to prepare to invoke the 14th Amendment, pushing for a unilateral — but potentially risky — move that would sidestep the close circle of negotiators trying to hammer out a compromise. House Democrats are trying their own long-shot bid to raise the debt ceiling without spending cuts, circulating a petition that could force a vote.

In the middle, negotiations broke down for much of the day on Friday, before resuming later in the evening. With the clock ticking toward a possible June 1 deadline, the two sides still seemed far apart. The White House offered to limit defense and nondefense spending, but Republicans objected, saying the administration's proposal didn't cut the long-term national debt enough, three people with knowledge of the matter told The Washington Post, speaking on the condition of anonymity to describe the private talks.

After huddling with fellow GOP negotiators Rep. Garret Graves (R-La.) and Rep. Patrick T. McHenry (R-N.C.) on Saturday, House Speaker Kevin McCarthy (R-Calif.) accused the White House of moving "backwards" and said he did not think the talks could "move forward until the president can get back in the country." Biden

SEE DEBT CEILING ON A8

@PKCapitol: Tax increases are missing from the debt debate. **A8**

THE DISCORD LEAKS

Pentagon hunts how secret files left air base

BY DAN LAMOTHE

BOURNE, MASS. — Far from Washington's marble floors and limestone facades, an unremarkable military facility in one of New England's most picturesque shore-side destinations has become ground zero in the extraordinary leak of government secrets that has unnerved foreign capitals, embarrassed the Biden administration and triggered an expensive effort to account for the breach.

Behind the chain-link fencing and towering oaks walling off Joint Base Cape Cod from the public, Airman 1st Class Jack Teixeira is alleged to have photographed and smuggled out hundreds of highly classified documents that have revealed in striking, sometimes alarming, detail the scope of America's spying abroad.

The Discord leaks have become one of the most significant

SEE LEAK ON A18

McAuliffe in Ukraine: Ex-Virginia governor visits the front line. **A20**

Air defense: A look at the Western systems protecting Ukrainians. **A21**

Librarians could face prison over 'harmful' books

BY HANNAH NATANSON

Librarians could face years of imprisonment and tens of thousands in fines for providing sexually explicit, obscene or "harmful" books to children under new state laws that permit criminal prosecution of school and library personnel.

At least seven states have passed such laws in the past two years, according to a Washington Post analysis, six of them in the past two months — although governors of Idaho and North Dakota vetoed the legislation. Another dozen states considered more than 20 similar bills this year, half of which are likely to come up again in 2024, The Post found.

Some of the laws impose severe penalties on librarians, who until now were exempted in almost every state from prosecution over obscene material — a carve-out meant to permit accurate lessons in topics such as sex education. All but one of the new laws target schools, while some also target the staff of public libraries and one affects book vendors.

One example is an Arkansas measure that says school and public librarians, as well as teachers, can be imprisoned for up to six years or fined $10,000 if they distribute obscene or harmful texts. It takes effect Aug. 1.

SEE BOOKS ON A5



Dust rises from a nickel mine on Halmahera island, where to answer booming demand for a metal needed for electric vehicles, Indonesia is embracing a refining process with a troubled history.

CLEAN CARS, HIDDEN TOLL

Indonesia all in on nickel despite toxic-waste risks

STORY BY REBECCA TAN AND DERA MENRA SIJABAT
PHOTOGRAPHY BY JOSHUA IRWANDI ON OBIRA ISLAND, INDONESIA

On a remote island close to where the Pacific meets the Indian Ocean sits one of the first refineries built specifically to support the world's transition away from fossil fuels.

Rocks unearthed here contain traces of nickel, a key ingredient in electric vehicle batteries. Extracting it, refining it and readying it for export is a gargantuan task.

More than $1 billion has been sunk into the processing facility, the first in Indonesia to use an acid-leaching technology to convert low-grade laterite nickel ore — which the country has in abundance — into a higher-grade material suitable for batteries. Foreign investors and lenders cite the project as

SEE INDONESIA ON A14

Reporters Rebecca Tan and Dera Menra Sijabat and photographer Joshua Irwandi journeyed together to the far-flung Obi Islands in eastern Indonesia, traveling about 18 hours by ferry and another two hours by speedboat to reach the cutting edge of the country's nickel-processing industry. Tan is The Washington Post's Southeast Asia bureau chief, based in Singapore. Sijabat and Irwandi, a documentary photographer, are based in Jakarta, Indonesia.

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CORRECTIONS

• A March 11 Metro article about a proposed revision of D.C.'s criminal code incorrectly described a provision in the city's police accountability legislation. The provision creates a database of certain police misconduct that would be open for public inspection if the allegations of misconduct against an officer are substantiated, but it does not require the public to make a request.

• A May 15 Metro article, headline and promotional summary about a lawsuit challenging D.C.'s noncitizen voting law incorrectly described the Immigration Reform Law Institute as anti-immigration. The institute supports stricter control over immigration.

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2022 midterms broke for Democrats. What does it mean for 2024?



Dan Balz
THE SUNDAY TAKE

Ever since Donald Trump came onto the political stage, elections in the United States have changed. They are more intense, certainly, and with a heightened sense of significance for many more voters. Those traits are likely to shape the 2024 presidential campaign, especially if Trump is the Republican Party nominee.

A new report by the Democratic data analytics firm Catalist provides a comprehensive analysis of the 2022 election. It confirms some earlier conclusions about the midterms but also includes some findings that run counter to conventional thinking.

The report finds that there were two elections in 2022: one in the highly contested states and another in states without competitive statewide contests. There was no national trend that produced swings across the board as in past elections. Where 2022 broke ranks with past midterm patterns, it favored Democrats.

Trump's 2016 victory was a shock to the system and thrust the country into a new political era. Republicans have struggled since then. The 2018 election produced a century-high turnout for a midterm race along with a Democratic wave that knocked Republicans from power in the House. The 2020 election produced the biggest vote total in the history of the United States, putting President Biden in the White House and giving Democrats a narrow majority in the Senate.

The 2022 midterm election was another stunner. It produced a sizable turnout again, short of 2018 in total votes but nonetheless substantial and, contrary to historical patterns, did not result in the kind of gains that the party out of power, in this case Republicans, had expected. There was no red wave. Republicans captured the House but with a far narrower majority than anticipated. Meanwhile, Democrats added one seat to their 50-50 Senate majority, defying Republican hopes of taking control of that chamber as well.

About 111 million people cast ballots in 2022, compared with 118 million in 2018. But as the Catalist report notes, "Turnout matched or even exceeded 2018 turnout in the most highly contested elections in the country." The report is the latest in a series produced by the liberal organization and is based on its extensive voter file maintained over many years. Though the firm works on behalf of liberal groups and causes, its election reports have been widely plumbed by independent analysts.

The roster of competitive statewide elections in 2022 was much the same as the key presidential battlegrounds in 2020. They include Wisconsin, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Arizona and Nevada. These competitive states are almost certain to be the focus of campaigning in 2024. In 2022, there were highly contested statewide races either for Senate, governor or both in all six states, as well as in a few others. The electorates in those states looked more like those of 2020 and 2018 than a typical midterm electorate.

In the most contested elections for Senate and governor, Democratic candidates got a slightly larger share of the two-party vote in 2022 than in 2020 and won 13 of 18 races that were listed as tossups or leaning toward one party or the other by the Cook Political Report with Amy Walter.

In several of the states with contested races, turnout was up by about 5 to 8 points compared with 2018. In several others, it matched those levels. In less contested Senate races, however, turnout was down by about 8 points. Only in Ohio, where there was a competitive Senate race won by Republican J.D. Vance, did turnout drop compared with 2018.

Younger voters played an important role in the success of Democrats in the most contested races, with Gen Z and millennial voters, generally those between ages 18 and about 40, turning out in higher numbers than in 2018 and giving Democratic candidates 60 percent of the vote. Historically, younger voters have been less likely to turn out in midterm elections, but since Trump was elected, that has not been the case.

Women comprise the other group critical to the success of Democrats. Overall, turnout among women in 2022 was down a point from 2018, and their support for Democrats dropped a bit. However, in the most contested Senate and governor races, support for Democrats among women was slightly higher than it had been even for Biden in 2020.

The Catalist analysis produced a surprising finding: In these contested races, Democrats made their biggest gains among White women without college degrees. Their support for Democratic candidates rose from 40 percent in 2020 to 45 percent in 2022, based on the two-party split of the vote. A majority of White women with college degrees, 57 percent, backed Democrats, and their support rose by a point in the last midterm election.

The biggest drop for Democrats came among White men with college degrees, both in House races nationwide as well as in contested Senate and governor races. In contested races, their support for Democratic candidates declined from 48 percent in 2020 to 44 percent in 2022. In all House races, their support for Democrats fell from 51 percent in 2020 to 44 percent last year.

Black voters, the most loyal group in the Democratic coalition, continued to support the party in huge numbers, with about nine of every 10 votes cast, but turnout among Black voters fell in 2022 from past midterms. In southern states with Black candidates on the ballot, support for Democrats among Black voters increased. Support decreased in the most contested races outside the South. The drop in support in contested races was most significant among younger Black voters.

Between 2016 and 2020, Hispanic support for Democrats decreased, prompting a debate about whether this represented a growing trend detrimental to Democrats. The 2022 results do not fully answer that question. Overall, Latino support for Democrats was about the same as in 2020.

In Arizona, however, Latino support for Democratic Sen. Mark Kelly was higher than it was for Biden in 2020. Meanwhile, support for Democrats in Florida fell from 2020 levels, with Republican Gov. Ron DeSantis and Republican Sen. Marco Rubio winning a solid majority of Hispanic voters.

Those results also highlight the diversity of Hispanic voters. In Florida, Cuban Americans are a dominant part of the Hispanic electorate and have historically favored Republican candidates. In Arizona and many states in the Southwest, Mexican Americans predominate and have historically favored Democratic candidates.

One other finding bears noting for 2024. Turnout in suburban areas was higher in 2022 than in 2018. Support for Democrats in suburban areas fell a bit nationwide, but in the contested races in the states where presidential elections are decided, it held steady at 54 percent. Nearly all of the most contested states from 2020 and 2022 will be competitive again in 2024. Based on the past three elections, turnout will be high in those states and higher turnout has been beneficial to Democrats since Trump was elected in 2016.

The Catalist report points to two factors as influencing the results in the 2022 election, both of which have been highlighted since last November and are relevant to the 2024 race. One is the role that abortion played in motivating voters, especially those opposed to the Supreme Court decision overturning *Roe v. Wade*.

There is no way to know for certain, but the abortion issue could be one reason some White women without college degrees moved toward Democrats last year. Will abortion continue to be a highly motivating issue? Was that demographic shift a one-time event?

The other factor is the perception of the Republican Party pushing an extreme agenda and being dominated by the election-denying Trump. Biden is already running on this message. Having worked for some in his party in 2022, Biden hopes it will work again for him in 2024. If Trump is the nominee, the odds are better that it will.

Some Democratic analysts believe the past three elections have shown that in this political era, their party has forged the superior election machine and the stronger coalition. The Catalist report highlights the challenges Republicans will face with a Trump-fueled electorate that is producing higher turnout that has led to Democratic successes in three straight elections.

But for Democrats, it poses some questions as well. Can their success in turning out younger voters extend to the next election? Would a rematch between Biden and Trump cause turnout to sag? Will White men with college degrees return to their 2020 levels of support for Biden? Small shifts in the right places can mean big changes in the results.

In 2020, Biden claimed victory in Georgia, Arizona and Wisconsin by less than a point and Pennsylvania by just over a point, while Trump won North Carolina by just over a point. That there are likely to be two elections in 2024, one in the contested states and another elsewhere, is a valuable contribution in helping to watch unfolding events. Still, the makeup and intensity of the electorate in the half-dozen or so states that will decide who wins the electoral college count is where everyone's focus will be.



DAVID BECKER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Voters wait at Desert Breeze Community Center in Las Vegas during the 2022 midterm election in November. A data analytics report finds that last year there was one election in the highly contested states and another in states without competitive statewide contests.

Under indictment, Santos shuffles treasurers after taking role himself

BY ISAAC STANLEY-BECKER

Rep. George Santos (R-N.Y.), who was charged earlier this month with a host of financial crimes, was temporarily listed as the treasurer for his own campaign and several affiliated committees, according to filings made Friday by the committees with the Federal Election Commission.

Then, new filings Saturday by his committees swapped out the congressman's name for that of a new treasurer, the latest in a string of people to serve in that role in recent months. The new treasurer, Jason D. Boles, did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

The rapid and unusual changes in the congressman's paperwork followed his indictment on 13 counts of financial crimes this month by federal prosecutors in New York. His colleagues also referred a resolution to the House Ethics Committee this past week to expel him from Congress. Santos, 34, has vowed not to resign, maintaining that he will prove his innocence and seek reelection next year.

The embattled congressman has cycled through numerous treasurers since early this year as his campaign's finances came under scrutiny, at one point listing someone who later denied having agreed to take the role. The treasurer who was identified on his filings before the amendments made on Friday, Andrew Olson, did not respond to a request for comment, but letters submitted to the FEC early Saturday indicated that he had resigned the role. The letters also asked the FEC to remove his name and "list George Santos as treasurer."

The changes were a reminder of Santos's growing isolation. They came as the law firm assisting the New York congressman with matters before the FEC and the House Ethics Committee dropped him as a client, according to people familiar with the situation, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because of the matter's sensitivity. During the last election cycle, his main campaign committee paid that firm, Dickinson Wright, about $40,000 for consulting and compliance services, according to filings.

A Dickinson Wright spokesperson did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

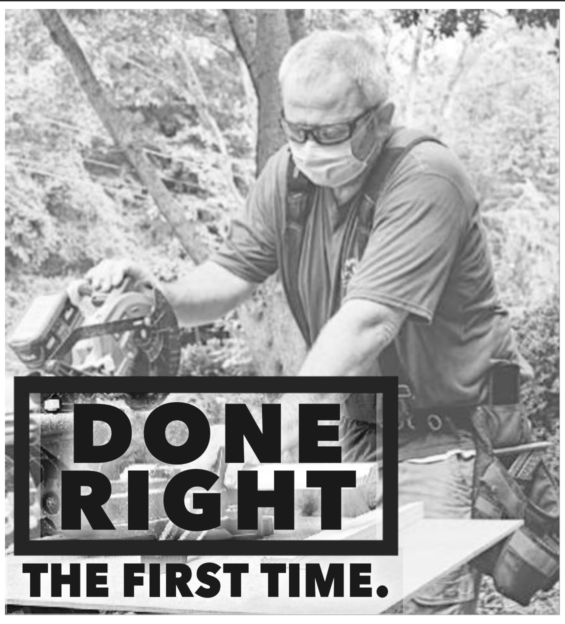
Santos did not respond to a text message seeking comment, but in a series of tweets on Saturday, he said he was briefly listed as his own treasurer as part of a "smooth transition." He added, "I have retained the professional services of a new treasurer to ensure the campaign moves forward in compliance." The congressman's communications director resigned this past week.

People familiar with the situation said they were unsure how Santos would handle matters before the FEC or House Ethics without counsel. He has a separate attorney representing him in the federal criminal case in the Eastern District of New York, who also did not respond to a request for comment.

Wide-ranging complaints filed by watchdog groups with the FEC earlier this year accused Santos of misrepresenting campaign spending and using campaign resources to cover personal expenses, among other allegations. In January, the Justice Department's Public Integrity Section asked the FEC to hold off on any enforcement action against Santos, suggesting that prosecutors were examining overlapping issues.

The indictment unsealed on May 10 accused Santos of misappropriating donor money for his personal gain and lying on personal financial disclosure forms submitted to Congress, among other alleged misdeeds. Inconsistencies with his campaign's filings to the FEC did not figure in the charges, though legal experts said prosecutors could level additional allegations as the case proceeds.

Meanwhile, FEC analysts have continued to inquire with his various committees about errors and oversights in filings.



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POLITICS & THE NATION

Democrats are at a standstill over Feinstein's health and ability to serve

BY MAEVE RESTON AND LIZ GOODWIN

When Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.) returned to the Capitol this month, a beaming Senate Majority Leader Charles E. Schumer was waiting for her as the gray sedan zoomed up, while a crowd of reporters and photographers looked on.

Feinstein, 89, looked frail, and part of her face appeared to droop, which her office would disclose more than a week later was caused by a separate condition triggered by the shingles that had sidelined her since February. Aides helped her into a wheelchair and then quickly pushed her inside to the Senate floor, where Feinstein quietly said "aye" and cast her vote — the moment her colleagues had been waiting months for.

Feinstein's allies say that she has been doing her job since returning more than a week ago — casting votes that are needed to boost Democrats' narrow majority in the Senate and approving President Biden's judicial picks. But the shock of seeing Feinstein's visibly weakened state — paired with her apparent confusion in some interactions with reporters — has created rising alarm that is rippling across both Washington and California about her fitness to serve. At the same time, there is no consensus about what should be done — and virtually no visibility into her thinking about how she will manage her duties over the next year and a half as she continues to rely on an insular circle of aides, revealing very little to the public.

The standstill around the issue has been intensified by the competing interests of the three Democratic members of the House from California who are vying to replace Feinstein in the 2024 election: Adam B. Schiff, Katie Porter and Barbara Lee. All of them are allied with powerful leaders in the party who would have the ear of California Gov. Gavin Newsom (D) were he forced to appoint a replacement for Feinstein if she stepped down before the end of her term.

There were fresh questions this past week about whether Feinstein had been transparent with her constituents when it was disclosed that her case of shingles had triggered encephalitis, an inflammation of the brain, as well as Ramsay Hunt syndrome, which causes facial paralysis. (A spokesperson said the encephalitis had resolved but "she continues to have complications from Ramsay Hunt syndrome.") Before those complications were confirmed by her spokesman — only after they were reported in the New York Times — her office had not detailed any information about her medical condition beyond the shingles diagnosis and had declined requests to provide information from her doctors.

Amar Shergill, chair of the Progressive Caucus of the California Democratic Party, said there is concern that the public has not gotten the full picture about the medical complications Feinstein was experiencing before she returned to Washington and alarm that she has struggled "during simple conversations with reporters about when she was working and when she wasn't."



DREW ANGERER/GETTY IMAGES

Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.) arrives at a Judiciary Committee hearing on May 11 after a nearly three-month absence following a shingles diagnosis. There were fresh questions this past week about whether she had been transparent with her constituents about her health status and whether she can fulfill her duties. But there is no evidence of a groundswell of Californians demanding she step aside.

"Democrats are now wondering whether she's actually capable of representing her constituents in D.C.," said Shergill, who has endorsed Lee in the race to replace Feinstein. "This is a very important time with the impending default and the budget, and we need a senator who is involved in those discussions, and advocating in the press and taking meetings. It seems very clear that she's not going to be able to do any of that."

But there is also no evidence of a groundswell of California groups or activists demanding that Feinstein step aside — beyond the coalition of 60 liberal grass-roots groups that urged her to resign last month. It is widely known in California Democratic circles that the senator built a career premised on her refusal to bow to pressure, with former aides and colleagues noting that the harder Feinstein is pushed, the more determined she becomes to keep her own counsel.

"The pressure isn't the thing that's going to get her to act. It's going to have to be a realization that she and her senior people will have to make about how sustainable this is given her abilities or lack thereof," said California Democratic consultant Roger Salazar. "I just don't see her leaving under anything but her own terms."

Susie Tompkins Buell, a top Democratic donor in California who admires Feinstein, said she believes many people aren't speaking up about their concerns about her health because she seems so vulnerable and they want to be respectful. This past week, Buell told the Times she thinks Schumer or Newsom have a responsibility to do something.

"I think everyone is torn between their compassion and scratching their head about practically, what they can do about this," Buell told The Washington Post.

A Feinstein spokesperson declined to comment for this article but pointed to a previous statement in which the senator said: "I'm back in Washington, voting and attending committee meetings while I recover from complications related to a shingles diagnosis. I continue to work and get results for California."

> *"The pressure isn't the thing that's going to get her to act. ... I just don't see her leaving under anything but her own terms."*
>
> **Roger Salazar,** California Democratic consultant

There is no indication that either Schumer or Newsom think it is their role to urge Feinstein to step aside, particularly in the midst of the contentious three-way Democratic race to replace her.

Upon Feinstein's return to the narrowly divided Senate, Schumer, who spoke to her on the phone several times during her absence, said she is "exactly where she wants to be." Her presence solves difficult math problems for him and the White House when Sen. Joe Manchin III (D-W.Va.) and other vulnerable Democrats up for reelection decide not to back Biden nominees.

Newsom, who has known Feinstein since his earliest days in politics, would have the responsibility of appointing Feinstein's successor if she were to leave office early — which could become one of the most consequential and politically fraught decisions he has had to make.

The Democratic governor, widely viewed as a future White House contender, was under intense pressure to appoint a Black woman to the Senate when Kamala D. Harris vacated her seat to become Biden's running mate, because her departure meant that there were no Black women serving in the chamber.

Instead, he chose then-Secretary of State Alex Padilla, who became the first Latino senator from California. Newsom subsequently promised during an MSNBC interview that he would choose a Black woman if he were given another chance to make a Senate appointment.

When Newsom made that promise in 2021, two natural choices were near the top of his list: then-Rep. Karen Bass, who is now mayor of Los Angeles, and Lee, who was not yet a candidate for Senate.

"At that time it was just a throwaway line on cable TV to satisfy a disgruntled constituency," said Dan Schnur, who teaches politics and communications at the University of California at Berkeley and at the University of Southern California and Pepperdine University. "Now he's trapped by it. If he does not appoint Lee, if he does not appoint a Black woman — he angers the African American community. If he does appoint Barbara Lee, he enrages a lot of very powerful supporters of the other candidates."

While some have suggested that Newsom could choose a Black woman to fill a "caretaker" role through the end of Feinstein's term — to avoid putting his thumb on the scale for any of the three Democrats running for the seat — several of the prominent Black female politicians who would naturally be candidates for that role have said they are not interested. And Newsom could face a backlash for overlooking Lee given that she is the longest-tenured of three candidates, the highest-ranking Black woman appointed to Democratic leadership in the House and a past chair of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Aimee Allison, who founded She the People, a national network aimed at elevating the political power of women of color, noted that she was involved with the statewide network of women calling for Newsom to appoint a Black woman in 2021.

Allison, who is backing Lee in the Senate race, said that although Newsom appointed Padilla, "he responded to that call publicly by making that commitment and promise, and we took him at his word."

"Many of us, including myself, find the conversation about caretaking unacceptable," Allison added. "There was never a conversation about a caretaking role when it came to Senator Padilla. Why is there an exception for a Black woman?"

Back in Washington, Feinstein's return to the Senate has been unsteady. She has attended multiple Judiciary Committee hearings, and on Thursday, she briefly praised law enforcement as the committee passed legislation in honor of National Police Week.

"There was no program more favorable with people than police on the streets," she said of her tenure as mayor of San Francisco. "They got to know them, there was a positive relationship, the crime rate went down and I came away from the job really understanding the necessary for the juncture."

The senior California senator has also taken a handful of questions from reporters as she's been guided to votes, occasionally sounding confused. "No, I haven't been gone," she told a reporter from the Los Angeles Times who asked about her colleagues' reaction to having her back in the Senate, appearing irritated. "No, I've been here. I've been voting."

On another day, she incorrectly denied that she had suffered encephalitis during her bout of shingles, telling a CNN reporter that she had just had a "bad flu." (Her office later clarified that Feinstein "misspoke" because her doctor had not used the medical terminology with her when describing her complications.)

Sen. Richard J. Durbin (D-Ill.), the chair of the Judiciary Committee, told reporters this past week that he could not be the judge of whether she was fit to serve and that his staff were "monitoring" her health condition on a daily basis to ensure that she could be present for votes.

"She has to make that decision for herself and her family as to going forward, but we're happy to have her back," he said.

Critics have argued that her family and friends should persuade her to resign. And former senator Claire McCaskill (D-Mo.), who said she considers Feinstein a friend, took to Twitter to say Feinstein's "legacy is being tarnished" by her return to the Senate with such serious health issues. But Feinstein's allies say that the senator herself pushed to return and that calls for her resignation have not deterred her.

Former California governor Jerry Brown defended Feinstein in an interview with CNN on Friday, arguing that she was forced to return to the Senate because it's unclear whether Republicans would allow a new senator to be seated on the Judiciary Committee even if she resigned. Republicans blocked Schumer's request to temporarily replace her in April.

"There's a real challenge here that [is] exacerbated by the Republican policies," Brown said. "Feinstein has what it takes to participate over the next several months."

It's unclear how real that threat is, however. Committee assignments are almost universally uncontroversial measures that happen at the start of a Congress, when senators unanimously approve both Republican and Democratic assignments by a voice vote. But if someone does object to a senator's committee assignment, that placement then needs 60 votes to be approved.

Republicans argued that the earlier request was unprecedented, given that no senator appears to have been "temporarily" replaced on a committee in recent memory, and that it was even more unusual because Feinstein wanted to keep her other committee assignments. Some Republicans, including Sens. John Thune (R-S.D.) and Thom Tillis (R-N.C.), said at the time that if Feinstein were replaced by a new senator, that would be a different situation and suggested it would not draw the same opposition. Democrats would likely need nine Republicans to agree to seating the new member.

"There's a huge difference between temporarily replacing a member on one of her committees for the sole purpose of advancing partisan judicial nominees and refusing to permanently sit an entirely new member on all committees," said one Republican Senate aide, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to disclose internal conversations.

And despite the heightened scrutiny of her performance, Feinstein has faced no public pressure from Senate colleagues to resign.

"We're all human and we all have health issues, and right now she is performing as a United States senator doing her job," Sen. Richard Blumenthal (D-Conn.) told reporters this past week.

Marianne LeVine contributed to this report.





4 dense reports, distilled: The truth about Russia, Trump and the 2016 election



The Fact Checker

GLENN KESSLER

There have been four major investigations into Russian intervention in the 2016 presidential election and the FBI's handling of the subject — a 2019 report released by special counsel Robert S. Mueller III, a 2019 Justice Department inspector general report, a bipartisan report by the Senate Intelligence Committee issued in 2020 by a GOP-controlled Senate, and now a 2023 report released by special counsel John Durham. All told, the reports add up to about 2,500 pages of dense prose and sometimes contradictory conclusions.

But broad themes can be deduced from a close reading of the evidence gathered in the lengthy documents, as well as indictments and testimony on related criminal cases.



SUSAN WALSH/AP

Russian President Vladimir Putin and President Donald Trump at the 2019 G-20 summit in Osaka, Japan. After years of investigations, a central conclusion is not in dispute: Russia intervened in the 2016 presidential election with the intent to help Trump win the Oval Office.

Russia tried to swing the 2016 election to Trump

In early 2017, days before Donald Trump became president, the Obama administration released an Intelligence Community Assessment (ICA) that made the following statement: "We assess Russian President Vladimir Putin ordered an influence campaign in 2016 aimed at the U.S. presidential election. Russia's goals were to undermine public faith in the U.S. democratic process, denigrate Secretary [Hillary] Clinton, and harm her electability and potential presidency. We further assess Putin and the Russian Government developed a clear preference for President-elect Trump."

Trump immediately rejected that conclusion, but both the Mueller report and the Senate investigation affirmed it. Mueller concluded that Russian government actors successfully hacked into computers and obtained emails from people associated with the Clinton campaign and Democratic Party organizations, and then publicly disseminated those materials through various intermediaries, including WikiLeaks, to sow discord in the United States, hurt Clinton and help Trump.

Putin personally ordered the hack, the Senate report said, and "Moscow's intent was to harm the Clinton Campaign, tarnish an expected Clinton presidential administration, help the Trump Campaign after Trump became the presumptive Republican nominee, and undermine the U.S. democratic process."

These conclusions are not in dispute. The Durham report references the ICA in a footnote and acknowledges the previous three reports for "the contributions they have made to our understanding of Russian election interference efforts."

The dozen Russians indicted by Mueller have not been extradited — and may never be — so the accusations have not been tested in court. But the Justice Department recently won a case using forensic evidence similar to the earlier indictment. A Russian millionaire with ties to the Kremlin was convicted in February of participating in an insider-trading scheme that involved the hacking of securities filing agencies to get advance knowledge of earnings reports. The hacking was allegedly conducted by a Russian military officer, Ivan Yermakov — one of the Russian operatives who was charged with hacking into key Democratic Party email accounts.

The FBI had reason to investigate a tip suggesting Trump campaign involvement

The FBI on July 31, 2016, opened a counterintelligence investigation, dubbed Crossfire Hurricane, into possible collusion between the Trump campaign and the Russian government. The team was set up because of a tip from an Australian diplomat: that a Trump campaign adviser, George Papadopoulos, had disclosed in a May conversation that Russia had obtained damaging information on Clinton, the Democratic presidential nominee, and appeared willing to help the Trump campaign with it.

After WikiLeaks, on July 22, 2016, released emails hacked from Democratic National Committee servers, the Australian government thought the conversation appeared newly relevant, and on July 26 sent a cable to the State Department summarizing what Papadopoulos had said. The cable said it was unclear how "Trump's team reacted to the offer," according to the Durham report.

The Justice Department IG report concluded that the information received from Australia "was sufficient to predicate the full counterintelligence investigation because it provided the FBI an articulable factual basis that, if true, reasonably indicated activity constituting either a federal crime or a threat to national security may have occurred or may be occurring."

The Durham report is more circumspect. It says "there is no question that the FBI had an affirmative obligation to closely examine" the information received from Australia but concludes that "the investigation could have been opened more appropriately as an assessment or preliminary investigation."

The Durham report details how some investigators thought the information from Australia was "thin" and questions why the FBI in August so quickly elevated the probe into examining the activities of four Trump campaign advisers — Papadopoulos, energy consultant Carter Page, foreign policy expert Michael Flynn and then-campaign chairman Paul Manafort.

The distinction between a full and preliminary investigation is not especially important. A preliminary investigation would have had a time limit and allowed for fewer investigative tools, but if enough evidence had been developed, it could have been turned into a full investigation.

The Trump campaign welcomed help from Russia

The Australian tip led the FBI to investigate whether the Trump campaign was colluding with the Russian government. FBI officials were especially suspicious because then-candidate Trump openly called for Russia to interfere in the election.

"Russia, if you're listening, I hope you're able to find the 30,000 emails that are missing," Trump said at 10:30 a.m. on July 27, one day after the Australian cable was sent to the State Department. The Republican nominee was referring to a controversy over emails Clinton had deleted from a private email account she had used as secretary of state. It was midafternoon in Russia when Trump made his statement, and that same day, according to the Mueller indictment, Russian hackers "attempted after-hours to spearphish for the first time email accounts at a domain hosted by a third party provider and used by Clinton's personal office."

While none of the investigations revealed explicit coordination between the Trump campaign and Russian operatives, Mueller's report and the Senate report concluded that the Trump campaign welcomed foreign help — even though that broke U.S. election norms. The Durham report makes no similar assessment but instead focuses on how it believes the FBI did not follow investigative norms.

"The investigation established that the Russian government perceived it would benefit from a Trump presidency and worked to secure that outcome, and that the Campaign expected it would benefit electorally from information stolen and released through Russian efforts," Mueller's report said, even as it stated that it "did not establish that members of the Trump Campaign conspired or coordinated with the Russian government in its election interference activities." ("Did not establish" is a lawyerly way of saying the claim could not be ruled out.)

For instance, when given a chance to obtain "dirt" on Clinton from a person that top campaign aides were told represented the Russian government, they eagerly gathered at Trump Tower in New York to collect it. The meeting came about after Donald Trump Jr. was told by a contact that the Russian government wanted to offer "official documents and information that would incriminate Hillary" to assist the campaign. "If it's what you say I love it," Trump Jr. responded in an email. In the end, what they received proved disappointing to the campaign. The Senate report said two Russian participants had "significant connections to the Russian government, including the Russian intelligence services." (In a footnote on Page 55, Durham acknowledges the Trump Tower meeting as among "some activities involving the Trump campaign and Russians that did not become public, and were not known to the FBI, until much later.")

The Mueller report said the special counsel decided not to prosecute the Trump campaign officials who attended the meeting in part because it could not determine whether the information had enough value (at least $25,000) to trigger a felony count, or even the $2,000 threshold for any criminal charge. Mueller considered whether to bring charges of conspiracy to violate laws prohibiting foreign contributions, especially because emails made it clear to the participants that the meeting concerned information from Russian sources. Trump Jr. did not consent to a voluntary interview, and Mueller declined to prosecute because his team "did not obtain admissible evidence likely to meet the government's burden to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that these individuals acted 'willfully,' i.e., with general knowledge of the illegality of their conduct."

During the perjury trial of longtime Trump adviser Roger Stone — whose refusal to cooperate hampered investigations — Trump's former deputy campaign manager testified that Stone told Trump in a July 31 phone conversation that WikiLeaks planned to release "more information" hacked from the DNC. "We believed that if information [from the hack] were to come out," Rick Gates said, "it would give our campaign a leg up." He also said that Stone appeared to know of the Clinton leaks as early as April, shortly after the hacks and well before they were discovered. (Stone was convicted and sentenced to prison, but Trump commuted his sentence and then pardoned him.)

Meanwhile, the Senate Intelligence report found that "Manafort's presence on the Campaign and proximity to Trump created opportunities for Russian intelligence services to exert influence over, and acquire confidential information on, the Trump Campaign." The report said one of Manafort's associates was a "Russian intelligence officer" and said the increasing contact between the two during the 2016 election represented a "grave counterintelligence threat."

Manafort initially fought criminal charges brought by Mueller, and then, facing a long prison term, pleaded guilty in hopes of a lesser sentence for cooperating. But the plea deal almost immediately collapsed as Mueller accused Manafort of lying to him and his team — about his contacts with a potential Russian agent. He was sentenced to more than seven years in prison; Trump pardoned him before leaving office. Flynn pleaded guilty to making false statements about his conversations with the Russian ambassador but then tried to withdraw his plea; he eventually was pardoned by Trump.

In a plea bargain with Mueller, Papadopoulos pleaded guilty to making false statements to the FBI about his contacts with Russian officials. He also was pardoned before Trump left office.

The 'Steele dossier' proved to be a red herring

On Jan. 6, 2017, the same day the accurate Intelligence Community Assessment was released, then-FBI Director James B. Comey took a step that immediately undermined it and has colored the public perception ever since. He privately briefed Trump on material contained in what was called the Steele dossier, in particular an alleged incident involving Trump and sex workers in a Moscow hotel room. The discussion quickly leaked, and then four days later BuzzFeed News took the unusual step of publishing what it called "unverified, and potentially unverifiable allegations of contact between Trump [campaign] aides and Russian operatives."

The dossier, alleging a "well-developed conspiracy of cooperation" between the Trump campaign and the Kremlin, was assembled by a former British intelligence agent, Christopher Steele, working under contract for a private investigation firm at the behest of Clinton's campaign. Many of the memos, which falsely suggested deep sourcing within Russia, had quietly circulated in media and law enforcement circles for months before BuzzFeed made them public.

The Durham report devotes significant attention to what it calls "Clinton Plan intelligence." This was a Russian intelligence analysis obtained by the CIA that claimed Clinton on July 27 — the same day Trump called for Russia's help — had authorized a plan "to stir up a scandal against" Trump "by tying him to Putin and the Russians' hacking of the Democratic National Committee." The report notes that such opposition research would not be illegal, unless it was intended to provide false information to the government. But it faults the FBI for not investigating this tip about Clinton as aggressively as it did Trump.

This is where the story ends up in murky "chicken or egg" territory. Clinton campaign officials adamantly denied to Durham that such a plan existed, and Clinton herself suggested to Durham that the report was Russian disinformation. But given Trump's high-profile statements on Russia, the Clinton campaign at the time was not shy about highlighting possible Russia-Trump ties. Moreover, the Steele dossier was funded by the campaign and, behind the scenes, was influential among government officials and journalists looking into Trump.

The Durham report details how Fusion GPS, the investigation firm, circulated selected morsels from Steele's reporting to journalists (including from The Washington Post) to encourage reporting on Trump-Russia connections. Steele also supplied copies of his reports to a State Department official, who distributed them as well.

Meanwhile, the memos circulated among FBI officials, whetting an appetite for more, to the extent that the FBI at one point offered Steele "$1 million or more" if he could verify his claims, according to Durham. (Steele on July 5 had provided the most salacious of his reports, written on June 20, to his FBI handling agent, who was based in Rome, the Durham report said. But for bureaucratic reasons Steele's reports were not received by the Crossfire Hurricane team until 75 days later, in mid-September.)

The FBI in November cut off Steele for leaking to the media, but a month earlier it cited information from his reports to clear a "probable cause hurdle" required by a special foreign intelligence court to permit electronic surveillance of Page and physical searches of his property. The inspector general found that the Steele reports played a "central and essential role" in the FBI decision to seek a warrant. The surveillance of Page continued until September 2017, though none of the Steele allegations cited in the warrant application were ever verified and Page was never charged with any crime. The IG also faulted the FBI for, in its court filings, hyping Steele's previous help for the FBI and for failing to report mitigating facts such as Page's assistance to an unnamed government agency from 2008 to 2013, in which he disclosed contacts with Russian intelligence officers.

In seeking the court's approval, the FBI also assessed "without any support," according to the IG, that Steele had not "directly provided" the information to a reporter at Yahoo News; this was important to Steele's continued credibility as an FBI source. Durham quotes from a Sept. 23 Lync instant message from Peter Strzok, who was then the FBI's deputy assistant director of counterintelligence, to an FBI intelligence analyst: "Looking at the Yahoo article. I can definitely say at a minimum [Steele's] reports should be viewed as intended to influence as well as to inform."

The Steele dossier ultimately allowed many Americans, especially on the right, to shrug off the fact that Russia sought to change the outcome of the election, and the Republican candidate welcomed that help. Instead they embraced a counternarrative — of an alleged plot by the Democratic candidate (who had been hacked) to influence the course of the election with the assistance of the FBI.



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States considering fines, prison for librarians who distribute 'harmful' material

BOOKS FROM **A1**



JOSHUA LOTT/THE WASHINGTON POST

Librarians like St. Tammany Parish library director Kelly LaRocca, shown on Feb. 13 in Madisonville, La., with books that were pulled from shelves, are facing backlash from right-wing groups and parents who want books about race and sexuality removed.

Library and free speech advocates were unaware of any instances so far in which a school staffer had been charged under the new laws. Most of the laws do not spell out precisely who will decide what counts as obscene but suggest the judgment should come from the courts.

Some educators and activists say the laws will forge a climate of fear among school librarians, spurring the censorship of books by and about LGBTQ individuals — even as the nation already faces a historic onslaught of challenges to books in those categories.

"It will make sure the only literature students are exposed to fits into a narrow scope of what some people want the world to look like," said Keith Gambill, president of the teachers union in Indiana, one of the states that adopted obscenity laws. "This is my 37th year in education. I've never seen anything like this. … We are entering a very frightening period."

Those on the political right, however, contend that the legislation is necessary to prevent children from exposure to pornographic and sexual content that will harm their mental health and warp their development. In every case but one, a bipartisan bill in Missouri, Republican lawmakers or Republican-dominated committees introduced the laws.

School employees should be held accountable, said Idaho state Rep. Jaron Crane (R), who co-sponsored a bill that would have allowed parents to sue districts for $2,500 over sexually explicit material. His bill passed the legislature but was vetoed by Gov. Brad Little (R), who warned that the law would burden libraries financially and have "unintended consequences." Little did not respond to a request for comment.

Crane wrote in a statement to The Post that the legislature failed to override the governor's veto by one vote. "If teachers and librarians are scared to do their jobs," Crane added, "that confirms the fact that there is indeed material in their libraries that is harmful to minors."

In addition to Idaho and Arkansas, Indiana, Missouri, North Dakota and Oklahoma enacted laws mandating fines or imprisonment, or both, for school employees and librarians. Tennessee has passed two measures, one that targets schools and another that targets book publishers or vendors selling to schools.

The consequences vary slightly between states: The Indiana law, signed by the governor in May, says school staffers can be forced to pay up to $10,000 or serve 2½ years in prison for providing obscene or harmful material to minors. A 2022 Oklahoma law says school employees and public library staffers can be fined up to $20,000 or serve up to 10 years in prison for facilitating "indecent exposure to obscene material or child pornography." One of the Tennessee laws, passed this year, says book publishers, distributors and sellers can face up to six years in prison and up to $103,000 in fines for providing obscene matter to K-12 schools.

Library administrators across the country say the flood of obscenity laws is already instilling terror in librarians.

In Arkansas, a dozen librarians have sought help from Nate Coulter, executive director of the Central Arkansas Library System, worried they will be prosecuted once their state's law takes effect this summer. Coulter said he promised legal support. In Indiana, school librarians have begun removing books that deal with LGBTQ issues, sex, race and violence — sometimes of their own volition, sometimes at the direction of their principals — according to Chad Heck of the Indiana Library Federation, which advocates for libraries in the state.

And in Idaho, the mere introduction of legislation had an immediate effect, said Lance McGrath, president of the Idaho Library Association. A day after Crane put forth an early version of his bill, the Idaho Association of School Administrators circulated a list of 25 titles lawmakers proposing library-related bills were most likely to find objectionable, including "This Book is Gay" and "Beyond Magenta: Transgender Teens Speak Out." The Kuna School District quickly designated all these as "behind the shelf" books, meaning that if a school possessed them, students must obtain a signed permission slip from their parents to read them, according to Allison Westfall, a spokeswoman for the district.

"Kuna was walking a fine line between providing access and providing that level of control being sought through the legislation," McGrath said, speculating that the district withdrew the books in hopes of avoiding controversy and negative attention.

All 50 states maintain obscenity laws, which typically prohibit the distribution of obscene material to minors and impose heavy fines and prison sentences for violations. But the vast majority adopted exemptions for schools, public libraries and museums in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s to ensure educators could provide full information to children on topics such as biology, health and sex education without facing expensive litigation, according to a research report from the advocacy group EveryLibrary.

Back then, lawmakers took it for granted that schools and libraries were not trying to disseminate "criminally harmful material," said John Chrastka, executive director of EveryLibrary, which is tracking library obscenity laws.

But that assumption of good intent no longer exists, he said.

"We are, as a country, at a very broken place right now," he said. "We have a fundamental break in trust between some groups of society and the educational system."

At the time the exemptions were enacted, legislators probably could not have imagined a book like "Gender Queer" — a memoir about being nonbinary that features oral sex, masturbation and a scene in which an apparent teenager is about to engage in fellatio with an older, bearded man — Heck of the Indiana Library Federation said.

"Gender Queer" is a favorite target of conservative politicians and parents who charge that it is inappropriate for children. It was the most challenged book in 2021 and 2022, according to the American Library Association. During a February hearing arguing for his Senate version of a library obscenity law, Indiana state Sen. Jim Tomes (R) cited "Gender Queer" as an illustration of the problem. The text is "something you'd see in an adult bookstore," said Tomes, who did not respond to a request for comment.

"I just want these away from our kids," he said. "We're trying to prevent students from being exposed to books that are absolutely raw pornography."

Heck, though, said he thinks there is a reason to keep books with sexual content available to children, especially older students. "Teens are sexual, sexuality is part of their life, and I think it is important that we represent their authentic experience in our collections," he said. "Sex is part of that, and to censor that message isn't exposing them to their own reality."

Some of the library obscenity laws may be vulnerable to legal challenge, said David Hudson, a Belmont University assistant professor who studies constitutional law. The most effective attacks will contend that the laws violate the First Amendment, because they are so broadly worded as to chill free speech, he said.

"What you always worry with 'obscenity' and 'harmful to minors' type laws is the vague language," Hudson said. He pointed to "the alarming degree of subjectivity with regard to whether something … is really patently offensive."

In February, the Missouri ACLU filed suit to overturn the state's 2022 law establishing that school staffers can be fined up to $2,000 or imprisoned for a year for providing "explicit sexual material" to students. The lawsuit, brought on behalf of the Missouri Association of School Librarians and the Missouri Library Association, alleges an overbroad violation of First Amendment rights. Coulter of the Arkansas Central Library System said his organization plans to file a federal lawsuit challenging his state's law within the month — partly relying on a First Amendment argument.

"There are fundamental defects with these statutes," Coulter said. "They're a stick, a club that can be used to threaten librarians."

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Texas GOP singles out blue stronghold in election bill push

Legislation alarms voting rights activists, who say state is moving backward

BY PATRICK MARLEY

Texas Republicans are advancing legislation that would allow state authorities to remove local election officials, designate marshals to investigate voting complaints and single out the state's most populous county by giving it its own election rules.

One bill would change who oversees elections in Harris County, a Democratic stronghold that includes Houston and its suburbs. Another would give the secretary of state the ability to order a new election in the county if ballots are temporarily unavailable.

Republicans, who control the state legislature, say the measures are in part a response to problems last year in Harris, where about 10,000 ballots weren't immediately counted in one election and in another some polling places ran out of ballots. Opponents decry the legislation as an attack on voting in a community where the majority of residents are people of color.

"I think it would make a mockery of our democracy," Harris County Commissioner Rodney Ellis (D) said of the legislation. "It would be a throwback to the '40s and '50s."

Voting rights advocates say they are particularly concerned that one of the bills could cause chaos in future presidential elections by throwing the status of Texas's electoral votes into doubt.

But state Sen. Paul Bettencourt (R), whose district includes part of Houston, said changes in Harris County are necessary because of dysfunction in last year's primary and general election.

"I think people realize that Harris County is not too big to fail, but too big to ignore," he said.

About 4.8 million people live in Harris County, making it more populous than 26 states. The sprawling county over recent decades has shifted from reliably Republican to solidly Democratic. Joe Biden won the county's presidential vote by 13 points in 2020 even as Donald Trump triumphed by nearly six points statewide.

The elections measures are moving forward as Republicans in Texas and other red states seek to constrain officials on multiple fronts in overwhelmingly Democratic urban areas.

GOP lawmakers in Texas are finalizing legislation that would overturn local environmental and worker regulations that go further than what's in state law. In Florida, Gov. Ron DeSantis (R) last year suspended an elected Democratic prosecutor who spoke out against criminally charging abortion providers. Texas Republicans are now considering legislation that would create a way to remove elected prosecutors who take similar stances, and Georgia Gov. Brian Kemp (R) signed such a bill this month — a move Democrats denounced as an anti-democratic power grab.

The raft of election legislation in Texas comes less than two years after Gov. Greg Abbott (R) signed a sweeping bill that toughened penalties for violating voting laws, barred 24-hour voting and drive-through voting, banned local officials from sending unsolicited applications for mail-in ballots and allowed partisan poll watchers to get closer to election officials.

Among the dozens of election measures Republicans are now considering are ones that would give more power to Secretary of State Jane Nelson, an Abbott appointee. One would allow the secretary of state to order a new election in Harris County if more than 2 percent of its polling places ran out of ballots for more than an hour. Another would allow the secretary of state to use complaints filed against a county to justify temporarily overseeing its elections and eventually removing its elections administrator.



ELIZABETH CONLEY/AP

Voters cast their ballots at a funeral home in Houston on Election Day in 2020. The funeral home is in Harris County, which has about 4.8 million residents and has shifted to Democratic in recent decades.

One piece of legislation would end a countywide voting system that has been used for years in some parts of the state that allows voters to cast ballots at any polling place, not just from their precinct. Supporters of the program say it makes voting convenient and ensures voters have a chance to vote if there are long lines or other problems at the polls. Opponents argue it makes it harder to audit elections.

Another bill would require local election officials to quickly provide comprehensive answers to questions from candidates, county officials and the chairs of political parties. If the answers are deemed unsatisfactory, the secretary of state could intervene and, after an audit, appoint a conservator to supervise elections there. Another proposal would allow the secretary of state to hire law enforcement officers who could investigate election complaints and impound ballots and voting equipment.

One of the bills written by Bettencourt would require Harris County's elections to be overseen by the county clerk and county assessor instead of an elections administrator.

After the 2020 election, Harris County shifted the duties for elections from the county clerk and county assessor to a new office headed by an elections administrator. About half of Texan counties run their elections using administrators, who are appointed, and about half run them using county clerks and county assessors, who are elected.

In the March 2022 primary, Harris County didn't have enough poll workers, faced issues with its voting machines and failed to count about 10,000 mail ballots on Election Day. The elections administrator resigned and was replaced.

In the November 2022 midterm election, new problems emerged. Some polling places opened late and some ran out of ballots, forcing voters to go elsewhere. Losing candidates have filed more than 20 lawsuits over how the election was conducted.

"It's just preposterous that in the 21st century, [the] government puts on an election and can't get ballot paper to the polls and thousands of votes are suppressed," Bettencourt said.

Several factors played into the issues. In addition to having new officials in charge, the county was using new machines and adapting to new state laws. The county did not have a system for tracking problems at polling places that other jurisdictions use, making it harder to respond to the ballot shortage.

Harris County officials and their supporters have acknowledged the mistakes and said they had learned lessons to ensure future elections go more smoothly. Forcing the county to change who runs elections would only lead to more problems, they have argued.

Harris County Attorney Christian Menefee said he would consider bringing litigation as the county's top civil lawyer if the measures singling out Harris County are enacted. The bills don't mention Harris County by name, but one bill applies only to counties with populations above 2.7 million and another to counties with populations above 3.5 million. Only Harris County meets those thresholds.

Menefee compared the bills to the state's recent takeover of the Houston school district and the bill that would provide a way to remove elected prosecutors.

"It's all part of a theme," he said. "The Republican Party in the state of Texas couldn't win the hearts and minds of voters in Harris County, so now they're trying to take that power by force."

Chris Hollins, who oversaw Harris County's presidential election in 2020 as the county clerk, said the new bills remind him of the Republican reaction to the 24-hour voting and drive-through voting programs that he set up. Lawmakers banned those practices less than a year after the election. Hollins, who is now running to be Houston's chief financial officer, said future elections should run better than the 2022 vote now that local officials have had a chance to review why problems occurred. Changing who is in charge of elections would lead to more turmoil, he said, noting the change would happen in September, just two months before an election for Houston mayor and other local offices.

"You're just turning back the clock and setting us up for failure again," he said.

Andrew Hendrickson, the government relations coordinator for the American Civil Liberties Union of Texas, expressed worries about how the bills would work in conjunction with one another.

The changes to who runs elections in Harris County could lead to problems in this fall's mayoral election, he said. That would give the secretary of state cause to invoke the provisions of other legislation to gain more oversight of the county's operations just before the 2024 presidential election, he said.

The measure allowing the secretary of state to force a new election in Harris County has gained less traction than some of the other bills. The state Senate approved it this month, but a House committee has not yet voted on it. Hendrickson said he fears the measure could get new life just before the legislative session wraps up at the end of the month.

Voiding the results of a presidential election in Harris County could precipitate a crisis. Federal law dictates when the presidential election is held and it's not clear a makeup election would be considered valid, Hendrickson said. If Harris County's tally wasn't accepted, the entire state's results would be thrown in doubt, which could lead to state lawmakers — instead of voters — deciding how to allocate Texas' 40 electoral votes, he said.

"It's not just the right to vote that's under attack," Hendrickson said, "but it's also the power of the vote."

Amy Gardner contributed to this report.



8,167 Wines

Josh Cellars Cabernet Sauvignon California 750ml **10.47**

Kendall Jackson Vintner's Reserve Chardonnay California 750ml **10.97**

1.5L & Value Wines

Black Box Cabernet 3LBox	15.99
Cavit Pinot Grigio 1.5L	11.49
Franzia Chardonnay 5LBox	15.99
Franzia Pinot Grigio 5LBox	15.99
Woodbridge Mondavi Cabernet 1.5L	9.47
Woodbridge Mondavi Chardonnay 1.5L	9.47
Yellow Tail Cabernet 1.5L	8.97

750ml Wines

19 Crimes Red Blend 750ml	6.97
Apothic Red 750ml	7.97
Bartenura Moscato 750ml	10.47
Bogle Cabernet 750ml	8.99
Bogle Chardonnay 750ml	7.97
Bread & Butter Chardonnay 750ml	11.99
Butter Chardonnay 750ml	11.97
Ch Ste Michelle Chardonnay 750ml	7.97
Ch Ste Michelle Riesling 750ml	7.99
Ch d'Esclans Whispering Angel Rose 750ml	16.97
Coppola Diamond Claret 750ml	13.47
Cupcake Prosecco 750ml	7.97
Cupcake Sauv Blanc Marlborough 750ml	6.99
Ecco Domani Pinot Grigio 750ml	8.97
Freixenet Cordon Negro Brut 750ml	8.97
J. Lohr Cabernet Seven Oaks 750ml	12.47
J. Lohr Chardonnay Riverstone 750ml	9.47
Josh Cellars Chardonnay 750ml	9.47
Josh Cellars Sauvignon Blanc 750ml	10.99
Kim Crawford Sauvignon Blanc 750ml	11.97
Korbel Brut 750ml	11.97
La Marca Prosecco 750ml	12.97
Mark West Pinot Noir 750ml	8.99
Matua Sauvignon Blanc Marlborough 750ml	8.97
Meiomi Pinot Noir 750ml	15.97
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Menage a Trois Silk 750ml	7.99
Mondavi Prvt Sel Cab Bourbon 750ml	9.97
Nobilo Sauvignon Blanc 750ml	9.99
Oyster Bay Sauvignon Blanc 750ml	9.47
Risata Moscato d'Asti 750ml	10.97
Roscato Rosso Dolce 750ml	8.97
San Antonio Cardinale Red Blend 750ml	7.97
Santa Margherita Pinot Grigio 750ml	17.97
Sonoma-Cutrer Chardonnay Sonoma Co 750ml	18.99
Starborough Sauvignon Blanc 750ml	8.97
Stella Rosa Stella Black 750ml	9.47
Wente Chardonnay Morning Fog 750ml	11.47

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Bacardi Superior 1.75L **18.99**

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Basil Hayden Bourbon 750ml	34.99
Bulleit Bourbon 1.75L	44.99
Evan Williams 1.75L	21.99
Jack Daniels Gentleman Jack 1.75L	51.99
Woodford Reserve 750ml	29.99

Cordials, etc.

Baileys Irish Cream 1.75L	46.99
Cointreau 750ml	33.99
D'Usse Cognac VSOP 750ml	41.99
Grand Marnier Cordon Rouge 750ml	30.99
Hennessy VS 750ml	33.99
Kahlua 1.75L	34.99
Remy Martin 1738 750ml	49.99

Gin

Beefeater 1.75L	29.99
Bombay Sapphire 1.75L	31.99

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Jack Daniels Honey & Lemonade 4-12oz cans	10.99

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Malibu Coconut Rum 1.75L	21.99

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Chivas Regal 1.75L	56.99
Dewar's 1.75L	29.99
Glenlivet 12 Yr 1.75L	97.99
Johnnie Walker Double Black 750ml	30.99

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Jose Cuervo Gold 1.75L	32.99
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New Amsterdam Vodka 1.75L	16.99
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Svedka Vodka 1.75L	15.99

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Jameson Irish Whiskey 750ml	21.99

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Modelo Especial 24-12oz loose btls **27.99**

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Guinness Extra Stout 12-11.2oz btls	14.99
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Samuel Adams Boston Lager 12-12oz btls	16.99
Stella Artois 24-11.2oz loose btls	26.99

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Missing in this year's debt ceiling talks: Democratic demands for new taxes

@PKCapitol
PAUL KANE

In late May 2011, Vice President Joe Biden exited a meeting on Capitol Hill to declare that he had delivered a "clear" edict in those negotiations over raising the nation's federal debt limit.

"Revenues are going to have to be in the deal, and everybody knows that," Biden told reporters, using Democratic parlance for raising taxes on the rich.

Twelve years later, during another debt standoff with a new House GOP majority, President Biden and his allies have not made higher taxes on the rich and powerful a centerpiece of the talks.

Instead, following Republican admonitions that raising taxes is a nonstarter, Democrats have focused their line of attack against House Speaker Kevin McCarthy (R-Calif.) and have made dire predictions of defaulting on the federal debt.

When opening the Senate floor on Thursday, Senate Majority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) accused Republicans of "hostage taking" and warned "the consequences would be horrific" without a deal by early June.

On Wednesday morning, a day after Biden's meeting with the top four congressional leaders, House Minority Leader Hakeem Jeffries (D-N.Y.) sent a letter to Democratic colleagues that outlined the demands he set forth in the Oval Office: "Addressing the debt ceiling must be accomplished without gamesmanship, brinkmanship and the extreme imposition of painful spending cuts."

Neither Democratic leader mentioned the possibility of raising taxes as a way to counter Republican demands for spending cuts. Nor did either offer any other substantive liberal policy alternatives as a rejoinder to the conservative proposals to stiffen work requirements for some federal entitlement programs and to ease regulations on energy production.

All that is making rank-and-file Democrats increasingly question the negotiating strategy of their party's leadership. For months, Biden and top congressional leaders mocked Republicans with the "show us your plan" message that seemed anchored in the belief that, with just a four-vote majority, any McCarthy proposal would fail to clear the House.



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Senate Majority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) and House Minority Leader Hakeem Jeffries (D-N.Y.) have lashed out at the GOP over the debt ceiling but have not publicly pushed increasing taxes.

After McCarthy narrowly got his very conservative proposal through the House in late April, Biden's party simply declared there would be no negotiations over the full faith and credit of the United States to pay its debts.

That posture crumbled once Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen, backed up by other independent analyses, said the U.S. would run out of money to pay the nation's obligations by June 1 or a few days later. The potential crisis was at hand, and posturing was no longer an option. Now, Biden's team is in a full-blown negotiation.

Republicans have their wish list, most of which will be rejected or whittled down, but the Democratic counteroffer has been made quietly behind closed doors with no public campaign.

"Had Republicans' demand for spending reductions been immediately countered with a White House demand for revenue increases, a legitimate deficit-reduction negotiation could have ensued. But now the White House is negotiating against itself, and in the words of Benjamin Franklin, necessity never made a good bargain," Rep. Dean Phillips (D-Minn.) said Thursday.

Some Senate Democrats privately praised a Twitter thread from Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-N.Y.) for handicapping that a final bipartisan deal would get only about 150 Republican votes in the House. These Democrats do not expect to negotiate a "clean" debt ceiling vote, as she suggested, but saw her words as a sign that maybe their party should have used this leverage. After all, McCarthy will need Democratic votes to pass any final deal if his most conservative colleagues oppose the final compromise.

This muted approach to tax policy comes after Democrats moved from their fearful days of being labeled "tax-and-spend liberals," in the 1980s and 1990s, to going on offense by promising to raise rates on the wealthy.

It's been a politically winning message since Democrats honed it during the 2011 and 2012 fiscal fights between President Barack Obama and House Speaker John A. Boehner (R-Ohio).

Obama — sometimes with Biden acting as his negotiating proxy — pushed to raise taxes on those making more than $250,000 and to eliminate loopholes that big corporations used to avoid paying their full share. It became a central theme of his successful 2012 reelection campaign.

Democrats did not get tax hikes in the 2011 debt ceiling resolution, but Republicans caved almost 18 months later and allowed higher rates on those making more than $400,000, among other tax hikes.

To be sure, Biden this time did propose a budget outline in early March that would reduce deficits by $3 trillion, largely through raising taxes on those making more than $400,000 and eliminating corporate loopholes. He has highlighted these proposals at events such as his May 10 trip to the Hudson Valley, but the focus of those remarks were on how the House plan would lead to deep spending cuts on local programs.

During a phone call earlier this month, White House aides floated about a dozen different ideas to raise tax revenue, including ending many tax loopholes. The Republicans rejected every single one of them.

"We've brought them up in the negotiations," Schumer told reporters Thursday.

But critics like Phillips noted that they only learned about those tax proposals from the work of Jeff Stein, The Washington Post's White House economics reporter, who broke the news Monday.

The sources were on background, meaning they were not identified, and Democratic leaders have done little since then to amplify the argument that Republicans are defending specialty tax breaks for the wealthy.

Democrats say that in the first round of negotiations, with a broader collection of staff, they hammered away every day with tax increase proposals and offered policy plans like paid family medical leave. Republicans rejected them, and after that, the Democrats did little to publicly air the GOP's intransigence.

This shyness comes even though Democrats continue to believe the tax issue breaks their way with voters, more so than ever before.

When the Republicans took full charge of Washington in 2017, they slashed taxes by nearly $2 trillion — for which they received no political gain. Democrats highlighted how the tax cuts significantly contributed to the national debt and did not target the middle class, helping them flip the House in the 2018 midterms.

"If you look at the massive cuts under the Trump administration, those were actually a detriment for the Republicans because they gave all the tax breaks to the very wealthy and powerful corporations, and middle-class folks were left out," Sen. Gary Peters (D-Mich.) said Thursday.

Back in July 2012, the Pew Research Center found that 44 percent of Americans said Obama's plan to raise taxes would help the economy, 22 percent said it would hurt and the rest said it would make no difference. Among Republicans, a combined 51 percent said raising taxes would help or make no difference to the economy.

Last month, ahead of Tax Day, Pew found that 61 percent of Americans were bothered "a lot" that some corporations do not pay their "fair share" in taxes, with another 22 percent somewhat bothered. Even Republicans view the issue as a problem: 46 percent were bothered "a lot" by corporations avoiding taxes.

As chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Peters is encouraging candidates in 2024 to highlight tax fairness as a key issue.

"It's a powerful issue. There's no question about it," he said.

In 2011, Biden and Democrats made sure tax hikes were in the public domain during debt talks. They even got Boehner to consider nearly $1 trillion in new revenue before the deal fell apart. It set the stage for their campaigns in 2012 and the year-end "fiscal cliff" talks that ended with Democratic wins on taxes.

Democrats may make a more forceful pitch to raise taxes on the rich in a later debate, or during campaigns in the fall of 2024. For now, they have left the issue on the sidelines of this debt debate.

There's not much choice, Sen. Richard Blumenthal (D-Conn.) said. The debt talks have "taken so much time" that the "X date" is fast approaching, he said. The Democrats' best hope now is to avert disaster and then try for policy wins in the annual funding bills for the federal government.

"I'm concerned about avoiding default. I'm deeply concerned that we are close to a precipice that will be catastrophic for our country," he said Thursday. "And I support the president and our leadership in trying to avoid that kind of calamity."

Republicans, Democrats dislike debt ceiling talks

DEBT CEILING FROM **A1**

is due to return from Japan on Sunday.

"They actually want to spend more money than we spent this year," McCarthy said. "We can't do that. We all know how big this deficit is."

If Biden and McCarthy do manage to reach a compromise, leaders in both chambers of Congress will then have to keep enough of their members on board to pass a deal before the government runs out of money. That could center negotiations on issues most palatable to moderates, alienating more staunch conservatives and liberals who might not vote for the final bill. Even if the most conservative and most liberal members of both chambers oppose legislation enacting a deal, it could still easily pass if other lawmakers back it.

There were signs this past week that congressional leaders were already preparing for such an outcome. In a statement Thursday, Senate Majority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) offered a simple word of caution: "No one will get everything they want."

At a news conference in Hiroshima on Saturday, Biden said that he was "not at all" concerned about the ongoing debt talks and that any kind of negotiation evolves in stages.

"I still believe we'll be able to avoid a default and we'll get something decent done," Biden said.

Last month, the House approved its GOP-backed bill to raise the debt ceiling while also slashing federal spending and repealing many of Biden's moves on climate change and student debt.

But those proposals were a total nonstarter for the Biden administration and congressional Democrats, who argue that the "Limit, Save, Grow Act" amounts to economic hostage-taking, turning the looming debt ceiling deadline into political dynamite.

With dwindling time, McCarthy and the White House are trying to find common ground. In a show of urgency, Biden cut short a foreign trip to return to Washington on Sunday, straight from the G-7 summit in Japan. McCarthy has said he hopes to have a vote this coming week in the House, suggesting a deal would have to come together in a matter of days.

There's plenty of ground to make up in the meantime. Conservatives are angling for major spending cuts, as well as a clawback of unspent covid aid funds. Republicans are also pushing for changes to the permitting process for energy projects, with the goal of helping fossil fuel projects.

This past week, McCarthy said the inclusion of work requirements for some social programs was a "red line" that Republicans had to have, though few specifics have emerged.

Several people close to the process also said lawmakers remained divided over the extent and time frame of new restrictions on federal spending. Democrats want spending caps to last roughly two years, after which appropriators could spend more again. But Republicans have sought to extend the duration of the restrictions to as long as a decade, because the longer the constraints are in effect, the more the deficit will be reduced.

Meanwhile, a growing coalition of liberal lawmakers have come out strongly against work requirements, arguing that federal food assistance programs or Medicaid are the wrong places to try to cut a deal. Democrats are also pushing for permitting reform, but their priorities revolve around building new transmission lines for clean-energy projects that got money from last year's Inflation Reduction Act.

White House officials have also floated roughly a dozen tax plans that would cut the deficit as part of a broader budget agreement, including a measure aimed at cryptocurrency transactions and another for large real estate investors. But those overtures were turned down by GOP aides.

As the talks drag on, more lawmakers are distancing themselves from the process — or insisting it stop altogether.

That's what the House Freedom Caucus did Thursday afternoon. In a statement, the roughly three dozen lawmakers from the conservative caucus said the House has "done its job." The group was very influential in shaping the "Limit, Save, Grow Act." But its public opposition to the talks with the White House came as several conservative lawmakers say they privately fear that their priorities will get axed in any bipartisan agreement, especially since McCarthy could still manage to pass a deal without them if enough House Democrats eventually come on board.



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

House Speaker Kevin McCarthy (R-Calif.) speaks alongside House and Senate Republicans during a news conference on Capitol Hill Wednesday. If McCarthy and President Biden reach an agreement, leaders in both chambers of Congress will need to try and rally support.

"They actually want to spend more money than we spent this year. ... We can't do that. We all know how big this deficit is."

House Speaker Kevin McCarthy

In an interview this past week after the caucus issued its statement, the group's leader, Rep. Scott Perry (R-Pa.), blasted Senate Democrats for failing to put forward a proposal and demanded the chamber return from recess and get to work on trying to pass its own bill. He blasted "hard, radical left-wing senators" for "going out and saying that it has to be a clean debt ceiling or nothing."

But Perry said a "clean" debt ceiling bill can't pass the Senate, "or they already would have" done it. He did not go as far as to say the caucus could oppose a deal between Biden and McCarthy, as negotiations continued in secret, out of view of the far-right bloc.

"The Freedom Caucus members are discerning, they are serious about it," he said. "We understand it's not going to be perfect."

Rep. Ralph Norman (R-S.C.), another Freedom Caucus member, told The Post that "time is up." Further delay would make it even more likely that a final agreement is a no-go for his conservative colleagues, he said.

"The longer it goes, they will ramp up the pressure to settle, and we're just not in a position to settle," Norman said.

Then there is the left flank of the Democratic Party. Hours before the Freedom Caucus's announcement, five senators convened a news conference urging Biden to invoke the 14th Amendment and keep borrowing, arguing that the debt ceiling is unconstitutional.

Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) acknowledged that the 14th Amendment approach was "not perfect." But he said it was "the best solution we have."

"Let me be clear, we will not default on our debts, and we will not default on our commitments to environmental justice, communities who fought relentlessly to secure the historic climate and clean-energy investments in the historic Inflation Reduction Act," Sen. Edward J. Markey (D-Mass.) said at the news conference.

Sens. John Fetterman (D-Pa.) and Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.) have also threatened to vote against a deal that includes work requirements, potentially imperiling Democratic support in a narrowly divided Senate. In a statement this past week, Fetterman said that he "cannot in good conscience support a debt ceiling proposal that pushes people into poverty."

On Friday, 66 members of the Congressional Progressive Caucus also called on Biden to use executive authority, especially as an alternative to unwanted concessions.

"If the options are either agreeing to major cuts to domestic priorities under the Republican threat of destroying the economy and moving forward to honor America's debts, we join prominent legal scholars, economists, former budget officials, and a former president in advocating for invoking the 14th Amendment of the Constitution," caucus members wrote in a letter to Biden.

Meanwhile, House Democrats this past week started collecting signatures for a discharge petition to act on legislation that would raise the debt ceiling without other policy changes. The long-shot approach is meant to bypass House Republicans and was endorsed Wednesday by House Minority Leader Hakeem Jeffries (D-N.Y.), even as he continued to show hope for a bipartisan solution.

Tony Romm and Jeff Stein contributed to this report.



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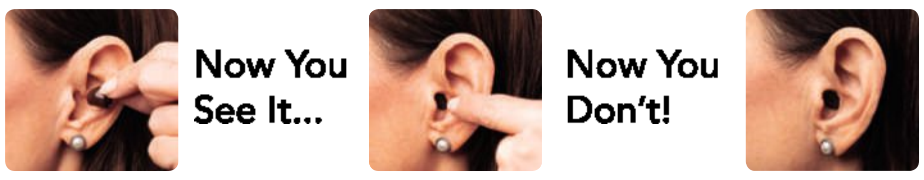
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Justice Department wins bid to block airlines' partnership in Northeast

BY LORI ARATANI

A federal judge in Boston said Friday that American Airlines and JetBlue Airways must dismantle a partnership in the Northeast, an arrangement that allowed the carriers to coordinate operations on certain routes and share the profits.

The decision from U.S. District Judge Leo T. Sorokin is a victory for the Justice Department, which under President Biden has increased scrutiny of proposed deals in industries where it says there is too little competition to the detriment of consumers. Experts had said a favorable ruling for the two airlines could have led other carriers to form similar partnerships.

"Today's decision is a win for Americans who rely on competition between airlines to travel affordably," Attorney General Merrick Garland said in a statement. "The Justice Department will continue to protect competition and enforce our antitrust laws in the heavily consolidated airline industry and across every industry."

In his 94-page decision, Sorokin noted that before forming their Northeast Alliance, JetBlue and American "vigorously competed on everything from fares to the features they offered customers."

"The NEA changes all of that," he wrote. "It makes the two airlines partners, each having a substantial interest in the success of their joint and individual efforts, instead of vigorous, arms-length rivals regularly challenging each other in the marketplace of competition. Though the defendants claim their bigger-is-better collaboration will benefit the flying public, they produced minimal objectively credible proof to support that claim."

The loss is a setback for both carriers, particularly JetBlue, which is smaller than others in the market. Teaming with American enabled JetBlue to significantly expand its presence in the Northeast, where it had a small share of the market.

"The Court's legal analysis is plainly incorrect and unprecedented for a joint venture like the Northeast Alliance," American said in a statement. "There was no evidence in the record of any consumer harm from the partnership, and there is no legal basis for inferring harm simply from the fact of collaboration."

Executives at JetBlue said they were disappointed by the decision.

"We made it clear at trial that the Northeast Alliance has been a huge win for customers," JetBlue said in a statement. "Through the [Northeast Alliance], JetBlue has been able to significantly grow in constrained northeast airports, bringing the airline's low fares and great service to more routes than would have been possible otherwise."

Both carriers said they were considering their next steps.

Sorokin's decision came two months after the Justice Department moved to block JetBlue's attempt to merge with Spirit Airlines, saying the $3.8 billion deal would reduce competition and could lead to higher fares. DOJ attorneys said the loss of Spirit would be particularly harmful for price-sensitive consumers who depend on Spirit's low fares.

American and JetBlue announced the creation of the Northeast Alliance in July 2020. The Department of Transportation gave the carriers approval to form the alliance in the waning days of the Trump administration as long as certain conditions were met. The DOJ challenged the agreement later in 2021, and the case was heard last fall in U.S. District Court in Massachusetts.

JetBlue and American argued that the partnership wasn't a merger, but a limited arrangement that allows the carriers to better compete against Delta Air Lines and United Airlines, which dominate the New York-area and Boston markets. In court, they argued that the agreement has given consumers more flight options and available seats.

But the Justice Department, joined by attorneys general in Arizona, California, Florida, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia and D.C., argued that the arrangement was a de facto merger that harms consumers because it removes incentives for the carriers to compete in one of the nation's busiest travel corridors.

While agreements such as the Northeast Alliance are rare among domestic carriers, they are common internationally. American Airlines is a founding partner of Oneworld, an alliance of international carriers that includes British Airways, Japan Airlines and others, sharing planes and airport space around the globe. The ruling Friday may close the door for similar arrangements domestically.

Diana Moss, president of the American Antitrust Institute, a nonprofit that seeks to promote competition, said the Northeast Alliance was different because the carriers didn't just coordinate schedules, but also shared revenue.

"When you share revenue, you immediately eliminate the incentive to compete against each other, because if you did, it would be like robbing Peter to pay Paul," she said.

Still, some airline analysts saw benefits in allowing American and JetBlue to join forces to compete against Delta and United. Kerry Tan, associate professor of economics at Loyola University Maryland, said that since the launch of the Northeast Alliance, American and JetBlue have continued to expand the number of cities they serve.

Henry Harteveldt, an aviation analyst and president of Atmosphere Research, said consumers will ultimately lose out. He said the alliance made it easier for JetBlue and American to coordinate on schedules, which in turn made it easier for people to travel.

Sorokin viewed the alliance between the two carriers differently.

"The question before the Court is whether the NEA suppresses or promotes competition," he wrote. "The record supports only one answer. The NEA, operating as it was designed and intended by American and JetBlue, substantially diminishes competition in the domestic market for air travel."

Assistant Attorney General Jonathan Kanter, who leads the Justice Department's antitrust division, agreed.

"We are pleased with the court's decision," he said in a statement. "The outcome of this litigation recognizes the value of competition in the airline industry."



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PHOTOS BY JAHI CHIKWENDIU/THE WASHINGTON POST

The 2018 mass killing was the deadliest act of antisemitism in U.S. history. The synagogue is mostly surrounded by a fence bearing artwork by children from other cities that have experienced mass shootings.

Pittsburgh braces for trial: 'Tree of Life cannot be unlived'

TRIAL FROM **A1**

the synagogue building. Members of all three died in the attack.

The congregations are divided on whether prosecutors should have accepted a guilty plea by the attacker, which would have spared him the death penalty and avoided an emotional legal battle in the community. And while some members see hope in a rejuvenated building, others worry the case could be exploited by white supremacist groups to propagate more anti-Jewish acts.

In the years since the massacre on Oct. 27, 2018, hate-fueled violence in the United States has gotten worse. Total hate crimes across the nation reached the highest level in more than three decades in 2021, according to the FBI, while the Anti-Defamation League recorded more assaults, harassment and vandalism targeting Jews in 2022 than anytime since it began keeping track in 1979.

"What this trial offers, not just for Pittsburgh's Jewish community and not just for America's Jewish community, but for America itself, is the opportunity to wrestle with how we got to this place, where in an open democracy, violence against one group can skyrocket so dramatically — and what to do about it," said Jonathan Greenblatt, the ADL's chief executive.

Bowers, a White man from Baldwin, Pa., posted antisemitic and anti-immigrant rants on Gab, a far-right social media network popular with white supremacists, authorities said. He was motivated to attack the Tree of Life synagogue after learning that the Dor Hadash congregation was involved in a program to resettle refugees, according to the federal charges.

Since the shootings, Jewish organizations have bolstered security at their facilities, limiting the number of entrances, installing panic buttons and security cameras and developing emergency plans.

"What's happening is deeply emotional," said Jeff Finkelstein, chief executive of the Jewish Federation of Greater Pittsburgh, who rushed to the Tree of Life synagogue after the attack. "I have a picture on my cellphone of police officers running down the street in full tactical gear. I'm glad the trial is finally coming. On the other hand, I am not looking forward to it. It's going to draw out these emotions again. It's going to be really, really hard."

In the days leading up to the trial, those emotions were on display in Pittsburgh, as congregants struggled to let go of the past, tried to effect change for the future and debated what constitutes justice for Bowers and their community.



Members of the Tree of Life Congregation, including survivors and family of victims of the 2018 synagogue shooting, gather outside the building for a ceremony to say l'hitraot, or until we see each other again, to the building ahead of planned renovations.

The 'H-word'

For Myers, 67, who was delivering the Shabbat prayers on the day of the attack, the brief synagogue ceremony in late April was designed to send a message of resolve that the carnage inside the synagogue would not define the building's legacy.

"I don't want this to be just a day of overwhelming sadness because there's a lot of joy that's been housed in this building," Myers said in an interview. "The scale of the darkness can envelop the joy, and I'm trying to think, 'How do we stay positive about that?'"

He had worked on his remarks alone, selecting passages and hymns from the Hebrew Bible.

Most in the audience were in their 60s, 70s and 80s, longtime Tree of Life congregants whose lives had revolved around the synagogue. Dor Hadash, a reform congregation, and New Light were not involved in the ceremony.

Among them was Augie Siriano, 64, who has worked on building maintenance at Tree of Life for three decades. During the attack, Siriano said, he rushed out of the bathroom, only to realize he was heading toward the line of fire. He doubled back to an exit door while calling 911, hoping to remain alive to be able to meet his soon-to-be born grandson.

A few months ago, Siriano said, the FBI's Pittsburgh field office called him in to go over his vantage point on a model reproduction of the synagogue in anticipation that he would be called to testify at the Bowers trial. Agents also played an audio recording of his 911 call, which he had never heard before.

"You could hear me running, and the phone was just on," he said.

Since a month after the attack, Myers has refused to say the word "hate" — he calls it the "H-word" — a small, symbolic act to prompt others to reconsider their rhetoric and be more civil. He recognizes that others might view the attempt as pointless, given that the Anti-Defamation League tallied 3,697 antisemitic incidents in the country last year, up from 2,717 in 2021.

"It's easy to be discouraged by the ugliness and uncivil discourse," Myers said. "I don't look at it that I'm failing. I look at it as it reaffirms the choice I made, and there need to be voices to stand up and say, 'This is not okay.'"



Rabbi Jeffrey Myers stands outside the synagogue for a final prayer service to say goodbye to the worship space that stood for 71 years.

At the synagogue ceremony, he sought to lift up the congregants, referring to the seven decades the building had served the community: "We cannot, we must not, permit one day out of 25,993 days, to define us, nor outweigh all the good. Not only do these venerated walls hold great stories, but so do all of you assembled here today. And no one can take that away from us."

The congregants were invited to place stones in the garden as a sign of respect. Myers was overcome by emotion as he picked up a screwdriver to remove a mezuza — the decorative case holding a parchment with biblical passages that adorns Jewish doorways — that had been affixed to the synagogue's main entrance since it opened in 1952.

He sobbed quietly while wrapping the mezuza in a handkerchief and slipping it into his overcoat. It will be placed above the entrance of the renovated facility, which planners hope will open early next year.

Activism as a release for outrage

Among those in the crowd as Myers spoke were Andrea Wedner, her brothers Stanley and Alan Mallinger, and Alan's adult daughter, Amy Mallinger.

Two days earlier, Andrea, Stanley and Amy had visited Shaler Area High School, in the northeast part of the city, to join students for a screening of the documentary "Repairing the World: Stories from the Tree of Life" by filmmaker Patrice O'Neill, in which the family features prominently.

Andrea, 65, a retired dental hygienist, is one of two people — along with Dan Leger, a nurse and chaplain at University of Pittsburgh Medical Center — who were shot but survived the attack. Her mother, Rose Mallinger, 97, was the oldest person killed. After hearing a crash in the synagogue hallway, Andrea implored Rose to "get down." But it was too late.

Andrea has undergone three corrective surgeries to address gunshot wounds, and has gained back most of the functionality of her right arm. The emotional pain, however, remains raw.

The screening was arranged after the film was shown at the Eradicate Hate Global Summit in Pittsburgh last September, attended by Shaler social studies teachers Nick Haberman and Catlyn DiPasquale. Shaler's student body is predominantly White and Christian; the instructors hoped the Tree of Life story would help inform students about the dangers of antisemitic memes they might encounter online.

"Tree of Life cannot be unlived," Haberman, who also oversees a leadership project at the Holocaust Center of Pittsburgh, told the group. "The question is how we come together to make sure that type of thing never happens again."

After the screening, the students offered vague memories of the attack, when most of them were in elementary school. One girl choked up as she spoke about the country's rash of mass shootings.

"It's not something we want to think happens in our country, but it does," she said. "I feel everyone in the country needs to know what happened on Oct. 27. We need to learn what happened. We need to be uncomfortable."

Andrea pulled out a piece of blue ribbon and explained that a local advocacy group, the 10/27 Healing Partnership, was encouraging Pittsburghers to tie them to fence posts and mailboxes in solidarity.

"We all feel you're not born to hate — you learn it," she said. "We feel you can make change, and we're counting on you."

Some Tree of Life survivors have turned to political activism as a release for their outrage.

Carolyn Ban, a member of Dor Hadash, helped start Squirrel Hill Stands Against Gun Violence, a chapter of CeaseFirePA, which is a statewide effort to curb gun-related deaths and injuries. Others have supported legislation to ex-

SEE **TRIAL** ON **A12**

TRIAL FROM **A11**

pand hate-crime laws, including a bill introduced in April by state Rep. Dan Frankel (D-Pittsburgh), to bolster legal protections for the LGBTQ+ community and increase hate-crime sentences.

Their efforts have been blocked by Republican opposition to many of the measures and court challenges. In 2019, the Pittsburgh City Council passed legislation to ban military-style semiautomatic rifles — including the AR-15, one of four guns used by Bowers — but a state judge struck down the ordinance, ruling it violated Pennsylvania state law.

For Rose Mallinger's family, the motivation to speak out is aimed at keeping her memory alive.

Rose and her husband, Morris, moved into a semidetached property just blocks from the synagogue in 1954, two years after Tree of Life opened its doors. Rose was the secretary of the synagogue's sisterhood, and Morris, now deceased, was in the men's club.

After Rose was killed, Stanley, now 71, moved into her home. Alan, 67, lives in the adjoining unit. Their front yard has been transformed into "Rose's garden," with a rose bush and a "Stronger than Hate" poster. On the porch is a rocking chair where Rose often sat and greeted passersby.

"It's never going to end for us," Alan Mallinger said of the pain. "I can still see my mom sitting in that chair right there."

Punishment divides survivors

The day after Myers's synagogue service, jury selection in the Bowers trial commenced at the Joseph F. Weis Jr. U.S. Courthouse.

Bowers sat at the defense table, alongside his lawyers. His legal team is led by public defender Judy Clarke, who has obtained plea agreements to keep high-profile mass killers off death row, including Ted Kaczynski, the "Unabomber"; Atlanta Olympics bomber Eric Rudolph; and Tucson mass shooter Jared Lee Loughner.

Legal experts said the Tree of Life case took more than four years to reach a courtroom because of delays caused by the coronavirus pandemic and the extensive legal maneuvering involved in a capital trial. The state's murder case against Bowers is on hold pending the federal outcome.

In March, the defense filed motions stating that Bowers has brain impairments, including schizophrenia and epilepsy. Federal prosecutors rejected offers from his attorneys to have Bowers plead guilty in exchange for a life sentence.

The issue of capital punishment has divided congregants.

This is the second capital case to go to trial under Attorney General Merrick Garland, who in 2021 issued a moratorium halting federal executions — an order that does not prevent prosecutors from seeking the death penalty. The Trump administration had authorized the capital case against Bowers in 2019, and prosecutors affirmed the decision after a review under Garland.

The Dor Hadash and New Light congregations lobbied Garland against the death penalty over moral objections and concerns that a drawn-out trial would retraumatize the community. Pennsylvania Gov. Josh Shapiro (D), a prominent Jewish figure who had supported the death penalty in the Bowers case as state attorney general, has since reversed his position and called on the state legislature to abolish capital punishment.

But seven of the nine families that lost relatives in the attack sent a group letter to Garland in 2021 in support of putting Bowers to death.

In early April — after the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette published an unsigned editorial opposing capital punishment in the case — Diane and Michele Rosenthal, whose brothers David and Cecil Rosenthal were killed, released a copy of the letter to Garland and emphasized that their position had not changed.

In a Zoom conference with reporters, Michele Rosenthal called it offensive to suggest the families needed to be spared the emotional strain of a trial. "We don't want to have to continue to defend ourselves and our position," she said. "We want justice."

The conflicting views suggest there is no simple answer to the question of what constitutes justice, nor is there any way to predict what impact the trial will have on Squirrel Hill's healing process.

A conviction "might be a form of closure for some, but antisemitism hasn't gone anywhere and it's definitely gotten worse since 2018," said Toby Tabachnick, editor of the Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle. "I know it's instilled fear and suspicion in a lot of people. I don't see the trial or any sentencing of the defendant changing any of that."

In the weeks leading up to Bowers's trial, Tabachnick joined congregants who were allowed into the Tree of Life synagogue to collect artifacts before parts of the building are torn down.

"I saw some of the places where, over the years, survivors had described to me where they were hiding," she said, "and I saw a siddur — a Jewish prayer book — with a bullet hole through it. That was a hard day, seeing all of that."



JAHI CHIKWENDIU/THE WASHINGTON POST

Stones are left outside the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh. In Judaism, leaving a stone is a sign that someone has visited to pay their respects. Congregants were recently allowed into the synagogue to collect artifacts before parts of the building are torn down.

> *"I know it's instilled fear and suspicion in a lot of people. I don't see the trial or any sentencing of the defendant changing any of that."*
>
> **Toby Tabachnick,** editor of the Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle

Contest winner takes pillow magnate to court in pursuit of $5 million

BY EMMA BROWN AND CHRIS DEHGHANPOOR

A Nevada computer scientist has gone to federal court to pursue the $5 million prize he is owed by MyPillow chief executive Mike Lindell following a ruling by private arbitrators last month.

The arbitrators found that Robert Zeidman deserved the money because he had successfully challenged data related to Lindell's false claims that the 2020 presidential election was stolen — and had thus won a contest Lindell had dubbed: "Prove Mike Wrong."

In their April 19 decision, they gave Lindell's firm, Lindell Management, 30 days to pay.

Since then, Lindell has not turned over any money, and on Thursday he asked a state court in Minnesota to vacate the award on the grounds that the arbitration panel had "exceeded its powers."

Zeidman's attorneys on Friday filed a petition in federal district court in Minnesota to force Lindell to pay the prize, plus interest of 10 percent per year.

They are asking a judge to confirm the arbitrators' award and to enter a $5 million judgment against Lindell's firm. Such a judgment would empower Zeidman with stronger legal tools he could use to collect his winnings.

"There are no circumstances under which I'm letting him run away with that money," said Brian Glasser, one of Zeidman's attorneys.

Lindell said he would continue to fight to quash the arbitration award.

"It's not about payment, it's wrong. They're just doing this trying to discredit the evidence and the evidence is all there," he said in an interview Friday. "We're taking it to court. It's just all corrupt."

Under federal and state law, a decision to vacate the award would require finding that the arbitrators had committed misconduct, exceeded their powers or that the process was otherwise corrupt.

The controversy grew out of an offer Lindell made ahead of a "cyber symposium" he held in August 2021 in South Dakota. In public and broadcast appearances, he claimed that he had data showing that the Chinese government had interfered with the 2020 U.S. presidential election, and he said he would pay a $5 million prize to any cyber expert who could prove that the material was not from that election.

Zeidman examined Lindell's data and concluded that it did not substantiate Lindell's claims of fraud and in fact had no connection to the 2020 election. In their decision, the arbitrators said Zeidman proved that Lindell's material "unequivocally did not reflect November 2020 election data."

Lindell has been one of the most stalwart and vocal proponents of former president Donald Trump's false claims that voting machines were manipulated to steal the 2020 election.

Lindell faces a $1.3 billion defamation lawsuit from Dominion Voting Systems — the company that recently secured a historic settlement in a defamation case against Fox News — and another defamation lawsuit from a former Dominion executive.

Lindell has denied wrongdoing in both cases.

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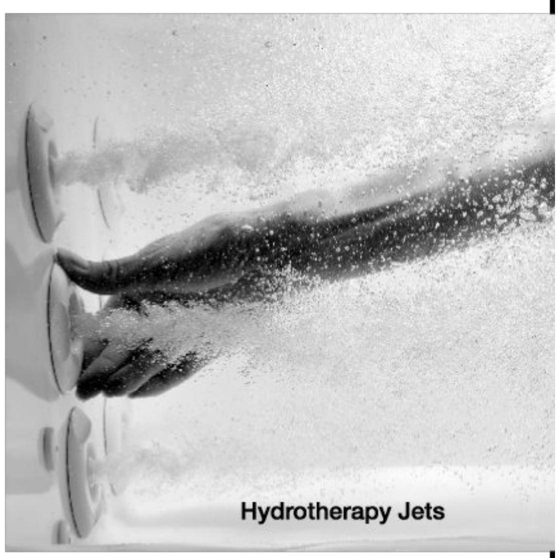
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Political backlash is pushing GOP from abortion extremes

ABORTION FROM **A1**

the decision was released, while others rushed to pass additional restrictions that would halt the procedure in their states, sometimes backing proposals that did not include exceptions for rape or incest.

Now, almost a year later, lawmakers in some Republican-led states have started coalescing behind bans that allow most abortions to continue — a reaction, some Republicans say, to the sustained political backlash to abortion restrictions that has been mounting since the landmark decision in June.

While the 12-week bans have so far only passed in two states — North Carolina and Nebraska — the proposal has also gained traction with some national antiabortion groups who say they're supportive of restricting abortions as far as a state can, including Susan B. Anthony Pro-Life America, which has also been pushing for, at minimum, national limits on abortion at 15 weeks.

But the approach has drawn sharp criticism from others in the antiabortion movement, who argue the 12 or 15 week bans don't do enough to stop what they see as widespread murder, allowing more than 90 percent of abortions to continue. Some Republican lawmakers and antiabortion advocates remain adamant that the only path forward is to aim to eradicate abortion completely nationwide.

How voters respond to these new bans could impact how abortion plays out as an issue in the 2024 presidential election. With little polling on the 12 week proposals, it's unclear whether voters will buy Republican arguments that these kinds of bans are a "mainstream" compromise.

Abortion rights advocates are adamant that these measures are potentially just as harmful as their stricter counterparts, maintaining that voters will reject any attack on abortion rights.

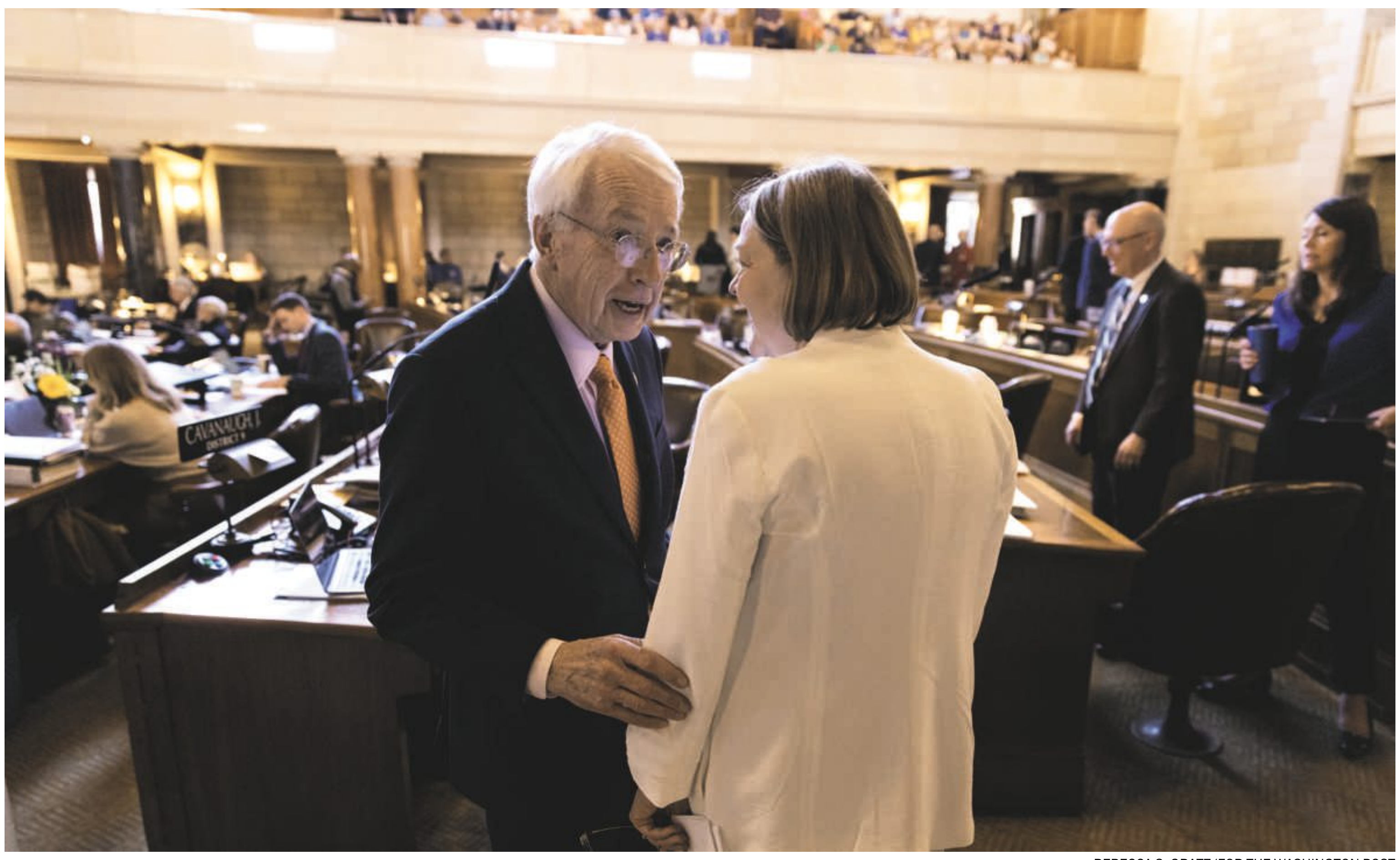
"At Planned Parenthood our position is that any ban on abortion is going to harm people that could become pregnant," said Olivia Cappello, state communications manager for Planned Parenthood Action Fund. "Whether it's six weeks or 12 weeks, an abortion ban stops people from getting the care they need when they need it and interferes with their freedom to decide what is best for their bodies and their lives and futures."

Public opinion

A majority of Americans want to keep abortion legal in all or most cases, several polls have shown in recent months.

Yet support for abortion limits increases as pregnancy progresses through the second trimester, which starts at 13 weeks. An April Fox News poll found 54 percent of registered voters nationally favored a law banning most abortions after 15 weeks of pregnancy in their state with an exception for medical emergencies. In an AP-NORC poll, 57 percent of adults said abortion should be illegal in most or all cases in the second trimester, while a small majority — 53 percent — supported abortion rights up to 15 weeks. Many countries around the world — including most European nations — limit abortions around the beginning of the second trimester.

The debate over abortion has morphed in other ways since the justices fundamentally altered the landscape across the United States. Last summer, public backlash swiftly ensued over abortion bans that don't include rape or incest exceptions — terrain least favorable to the GOP. Of the 13 "trigger" bans, only four included exceptions for both rape and incest, according to the Guttmacher Institute, a research group that supports abortion rights.



REBECCA S. GRATZ/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Nebraska state Sen. Merv Riepe, left, chats with fellow Sen. Jane Raybould at the Nebraska Capitol on May 4. Riepe, a longtime Republican, would have been the decisive vote to advance a "heartbeat" abortion bill to a final round of voting, but he abstained.

But that's not the case for many of the bills passed this year restricting abortions. Measures in North Carolina, Nebraska, Florida, Wyoming and North Dakota all included exceptions for rape and incest in some form, though some are limited by gestational age. Abortion rights groups have expressed concerns that such policies don't work well in practice.

This dynamic is in part because, before *Roe* was overturned, the laws were designed with the antiabortion movement and Republican primary voter in mind, said Mary Ziegler, a professor of law at the University of California at Davis.

"There are Republicans who are looking at this and saying we can't just cater to the antiabortion and the primary voter because there's a lot of voters now who care about abortion," she said. "It may actually backfire on us."

In the months since *Roe* was overturned, voters have repeatedly demonstrated support for abortion rights, striking down antiabortion amendments even in conservative states such as Kentucky and Kansas. The 2022 midterms, in which a number of Democrats won competitive races after making abortion rights a central issue, were widely viewed as a danger sign for Republicans.

North Carolina

Concerns about political backlash on abortion shaped the campaigns of a small group of moderate Republicans running for the legislature in North Carolina, a state where abortions are legal up until 20 weeks of pregnancy and that saw one of the largest spikes in abortions in the months after *Roe* fell.

Abortion had become a defining issue across the state ahead of the midterms, with North Carolina Gov. Roy Cooper (D) inserting himself into several key races. He filmed ads that cast Republicans as "cruel and extreme" on the issue and warned they would vote to severely restrict abortion access in North Carolina.

While a plurality of Republicans in the North Carolina legislature supported a "heartbeat ban" on abortion after roughly six weeks of pregnancy, some moderates realized they would struggle to win their races if they took a hard line stance on abortion, according to a person familiar with internal discussions who spoke on the condition of anonymity to recall private conversations.

To counter the governor's ads, one of the most heavily targeted Republicans, state Sen. Michael Lee, wrote an op-ed in the Wilmington Star News before the election voicing his support for abortion bans in the second and third trimesters, but not before.

"We must find common ground on this issue," Lee wrote, adding that a consensus "can be found between the extremes while respecting the sanctity of life and allowing for common-sense restrictions and exemptions."

When the legislature convened in January — before Rep. Tricia Cotham would switch her party affiliation to Republican and hand the GOP a veto-proof majority in both chambers — working groups assembled to find what Republicans in the state called a "middle way" on abortion.

At the beginning of the conversations, Galey said, some Republicans voiced support for a ban at conception while others preferred no additional restrictions at all. While everyone disliked the 12-week option "to a certain degree," Galey said, eventually a critical number of Republicans came to accept it.

Many Republican hard-liners, as well as antiabortion groups in the state, initially were angry and frustrated, said Jason Williams, the executive director of the North Carolina Faith & Freedom Coalition, a statewide antiabortion organization. The 12-week option seemed like a cop-out, he said, allowing the vast majority of abortions to continue.

"Many of those who wanted a heartbeat bill were open to a compromise of 8 or 10 weeks," said Williams. "Unfortunately, there wasn't any movement from those who were firm on 12 weeks."

At one point during the discussions in Raleigh, several Republican members suggested that North Carolina put the question to voters in a referendum — an idea that was swiftly rejected by antiabortion advocates, according to the person familiar with internal discussions.

An advocate for the 12-week ban pointed out their hypocrisy, recalled the person.

"You admit you don't want that, because it's not popular," the advocate for the 12-week ban said. "But you want our members to vote for something that's not popular."

Ultimately, the antiabortion groups got on board — starting with Susan B. Anthony Pro-Life America, according to a person in the state who was familiar with the discussions. The group had put out polling in North Carolina, as well as in Nebraska, and supplied information on the impacts of abortion to state lawmakers and local antiabortion leaders, said Stephen Billy, the vice president of state affairs at SBA.

"Our focus is on being as aggressive as we can in finding consensus to protect as many babies and serve as many moms as possible as quickly as we can," he said. "In Nebraska and in North Carolina, with their bills, that's exactly what's happening."

Democrats have fiercely rejected the idea that the North Carolina legislation is a mainstream compromise, pointing out that other restrictions embedded in the bill, including an additional mandatory in-person consultation at an abortion clinic 72 hours before the procedure, will limit abortion long before the 12-week mark.

"The fine print requirements and restrictions will shut down clinics and make abortion completely unavailable to many women at any time — and that's going to cause desperation and death," Gov. Cooper said in an interview.

Republicans in North Carolina kept the 12-week proposal a secret until the last possible moment, in part to prevent Republican hardliners from amending the bill to make it more restrictive, according to the person familiar with the internal discussions. Instead of introducing the measure as a new bill, as is typical, Republicans gutted a different piece of legislation and inserted the 46-page abortion proposal, allowing them to move straight to an up-or-down vote and pass the bill less than 48 hours after it was introduced.

Nebraska

In Nebraska — where lawmakers are technically nonpartisan but generally have a party affiliation — Democrats and abortion rights groups blasted conservatives for attaching an amendment containing a 12-week abortion ban to a gender-affirming care bill.

They described a feeling of whiplash when the one-chamber legislature adopted the amendment Tuesday evening.

"It was very emotional, it was very challenging, … it was also just really disheartening," Andi Curry Grubb, executive director of Planned Parenthood Advocates of Nebraska, said in an interview, her voice breaking.

Just weeks ago, they thought they'd secured a major victory with Riepe's decision to abstain from voting on the "heartbeat bill," allowing abortions to continue through 22 weeks of pregnancy.

But key Republicans in the state saw the bill's failure differently.

"It became our job then to negotiate," said Sen. Ben Hansen, the state's health chair who was one of the leaders of the negotiations and introduced the amendment. He added: "If we can save 300 babies a year in the state of Nebraska by moving it to 12 weeks, that's important to us."

After the initial "heartbeat" ban failed, Hansen began assessing whether any abortion restrictions could be brought back this year. Local antiabortion groups described "difficult" and "emotional" conversations about how early in pregnancy the state could realistically ban abortion. And Riepe, the holdout on the ban earlier in pregnancy, spoke at least three times — and exchanged numerous texts — with Gov. Jim Pillen (R), who he said was insistent on getting stricter abortion laws passed.

The governor has said he'd sign the bill. His office didn't respond to multiple requests for comment.

On Tuesday, the day of the amendment vote, Riepe said the protests inside and outside the chamber were tense, unlike anything he'd seen in the state capital. Afterward, security escorted the members out of the building.

The senator understands he disappointed a lot of people, especially on the left. But he believes that he's been clear from the start about where he stood on the issue.

"There's one thing I'm stuck on," Riepe recalled telling the governor. "I think 12 weeks is a reasonable number."

Scott Clement contributed to this report.

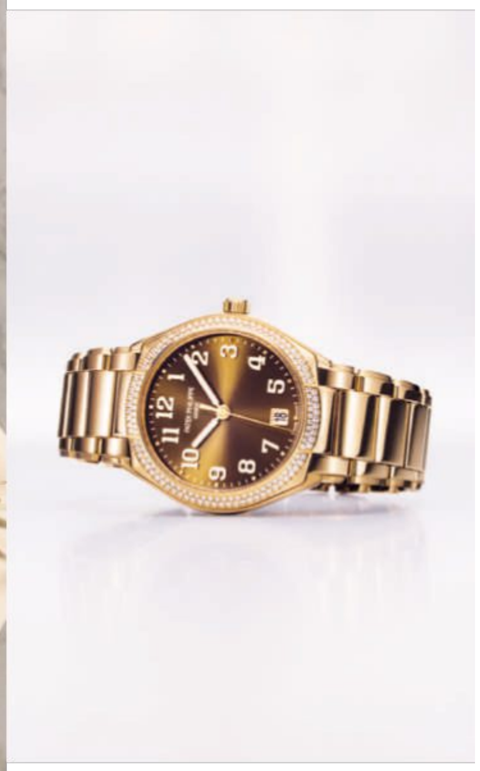


ERIN SIEGAL MCINTYRE/REUTERS

North Carolina physicians protest as North Carolina Republican lawmakers vote to override Democratic Gov. Roy Cooper's veto of a bill to ban most abortions in the state after 12 weeks.

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"We had a comfortable life before this."

Liyus, above, who goes by one name, is a farmer in the village of Kawasi whose family has lived on Indonesia's Obira island for four generations. He no longer drinks from the rivers that run past his village because they have turned dark red since the nearby nickel mine added its acid-leaching refinery. Left, an aerial view of Kawasi village and the mining facilities behind it.



"This is going to transform Indonesia."

Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan, above, Indonesia's coordinating minister for investment and maritime affairs and the chief architect of the country's nickel strategy. He has scoffed at the idea that officials were overlooking social or environmental safeguards. Right, trucks transport raw nickel ore to a refining facility at the Weda Bay Industrial Park on Halmahera island, in Indonesia's North Maluku province.



Indonesia turns to technology long deemed hazardous

INDONESIA FROM A1

evidence of their commitment to fighting climate change.

But the sprawling facility, bordered on one side by forest and on the other by blue seas, faces a major challenge: what to do with the roughly 4 million metric tons of toxic waste produced every year — enough, approximately, to fill 1,667 Olympic-size swimming pools.

In 2020, the companies behind the project told the government they had a solution: They would pump the waste into the ocean. They ultimately backtracked in the face of public pressure. But it's not clear that the on-land storage alternative they've offered instead is significantly safer.

Indonesia is the world's top producer of nickel by a wide margin, according to the U.S. Geological Survey. Along with Australia, the country has the largest nickel reserves left on Earth.

And as global demand for nickel surges, company executives and Indonesian government leaders are turning to a refining technology long considered too risky to embrace, too perilous for the environment and for local communities.

This technology, using acid under conditions of intense heat and pressure to remove nickel from raw ore, has never been tested before in Indonesia, where the frequency of earthquakes, heavy rainfall and landslides can make it especially treacherous to transport and store hazardous waste. The process poses steep environmental costs that have yet to be reckoned with, according to interviews with more than 40 people familiar with the country's nickel industry, visits to six largely isolated mining villages in eastern Indonesia and visual analyses by mining experts.

Indonesian officials say this new refining technology is needed to harness these nickel resources, which they hope will transform the country's future as oil did for Saudi Arabia. At least 10 other projects using this same technology are already under development, according to the Indonesian Nickel Mining Association.

Officials have made it a priority to build a nickel supply chain, banning the export of raw nickel ore for processing abroad and approving the development of acid-based refining facilities as well as additional conventional nickel smelters at a rate unparalleled elsewhere. Despite official pledges to reduce carbon emissions, the government has approved the construction of coal-fired power plants specifically to support the processing of nickel for the EV industry.

Much of the nickel in EV batteries used by automakers such as Tesla, Hyundai and Ford is already sourced from Indonesia by way of battery manufacturers in China. And by 2030, when global nickel demand is forecast to be 52 percent higher than in 2020, Indonesia will probably churn out more than two-thirds of the supply, according to estimates from Macquarie Group, an Australian financial services group with expertise in the mining sector.



The surging interest in nickel is part of the global boom in demand for a range of metals used in making EVs, which typically require six times the mineral inputs of their fossil-fuel-burning counterparts to make them run. But while the transition to EVs is widely considered essential in addressing climate change, there has often been little recognition of the toll that extraction and processing of these raw materials — including technologies now urgently needed to produce the quantity and quality of minerals required — will take on the lives and livelihoods of local communities and the surrounding environment.

Laterite nickel ore comes in two forms, and until recently there was no need to use the acid-leaching technology in part because Indonesia was mining the kind known as saprolite, which can be processed partly by using traditional smelters. But Indonesia — and the world — is running out of saprolite ore. What will be left is lower-grade limonite ore, which consists of less than 1.5 percent nickel, making processing by traditional means nearly impossible.

The decline in saprolite ore has occurred just as the demand for battery-grade nickel has spiked. Most nickel mined in Indonesia has previously gone into products like stainless steel, which can use a lower-grade mineral. But batteries require a higher standard, which has placed an unprecedented premium on the acid-leaching process.

One afternoon late last year, Liyus, a 52-year-old farmer on Obira, walked along the coast where his family has lived for four generations. It's been quiet on this island for most of his life. Without a private jet, getting to Obira from the Indonesian capital, Jakarta, is at least a two-day journey involving an overnight ferry and hours of driving on roads stippled with potholes.

Liyus, who goes by one name, said he used to drink from the rivers that run past his village, but since the nickel mine added its acid-leaching refinery two years ago, the waterways have turned dark red, so thick with pollution at some points that rows of coconut trees have been killed off. He doesn't know what's in the water, only that it bleeds into the sea and that his nephews have had to go farther and farther out to find fish. He pointed to a fishing net drying on a nearby tree. It was stained a reddish brown.

In an hour-long interview, representatives from the two companies that jointly own the processing plant on Obira island — an Indonesian firm, Harita Group,

WP CREATIVE GROUP
CONTENT FROM **UVA|NORTHERN VIRGINIA**

Reclaiming the lost semester

Help students avoid summer drift with University of Virginia's summer enrichment programs

By **Greg Fairchild,**
Dean and CEO of University of Virginia in Northern Virginia



The author's son, Cole Fairchild, attended SEP years ago in Charlottesville. UVA Northern Virginia introduces SEP this summer, both online and in-person. Credit: Kevin Monko/Penn Engineering

It's Spring. As the days lengthen and summer approaches, parents are thinking increasingly about how their children will spend the break from school.

In addition to camps, vacations and swim meets, many parents are considering summer learning and enrichment programs—both in the home and through offerings from educational institutions. As a father of three, I speak from experience. My wife and I sought opportunities that would be engaging for our children, aligned with their burgeoning academic interests, and that could allow them to socialize with others their age.

Another reason might be cautionary: to avoid what some call the "summer drift." This is a phenomenon in which students' academic progress is slowed during relatively laissez faire summers. Over the course of a summer, losses can be especially pronounced in reading, math and science courses (some studies suggest losses equaled at least one month in grade level equivalence).

However, summer drift isn't inevitable. Academic engagement during summer can provide several benefits. Students can get ahead on subjects for next year (we called this 'preview' in my home), prepare for college and develop new skills such as critical thinking, coding or creative writing. Summer can be a time for kids to engage with novel interests and curiosities and meet similarly interested students that don't attend their home schools. Socialization shouldn't be underestimated. Spending time with a cohort of like-minded can help alleviate feelings of loneliness and provide a support structure for future learning.

Some of these academic programs for high schoolers are offered by universities. These include Stanford, Harvard, Duke, UCLA and others. For years, we've run a Summer Enrichment Program (SEP) at the University of Virginia on our Charlottesville Grounds. This summer, we are bringing this program to Northern Virginia (both online and in our Rosslyn facility).

Our program includes a broad base of topics. A few worth mentioning include:

Introduction to Programming— Learn the basics of coding and turn a messy problem into simple steps. Beyond the demand for this skill in jobs, students will understand how empowering it is to have computing power at your fingertips and even how you can use your programming skills to express yourself creatively.

Gene-ius Policy—Join us for a wild ride through fundamental concepts, modern techniques and thought-provoking discussions on the social, political and legal aspects of genetics.

Introduction to Health Humanities — This introductory course is designed for students who adamantly wish to pursue a career in a health profession, and for students who are torn between their love for the humanities and their desire to help people in the way medicine is uniquely positioned to do

As you and your family consider how to fill your summer, research programs that align with your learner's interest and goals. Other considerations include cost, location and program length.

I recommend you consider joining us in the UVA|Northern Virginia Summer Enrichment Program. We know that there are many competing alternatives for your time. We offer programs during the weeks of June 19 to July 28, and have the flexibility of varied durations. We are also providing a select set of online offerings. And, I must add that our facility overlooks the Potomac with an amazing view of the Capitol.

I offer with humility that the quality of the education is what you'd expect of the University of Virginia—Best in Class. Young learners engage with topics in enriching online and in-person classes and their excitement spills over to the family dinner table, the playing field with friends, and they 'infect' friends with these frameworks in their social media posts. Learning is continuous—past the 'four walls' of the classroom, and beyond the end of the high school calendar.

Visit **northern.virginia.edu** to learn more about courses that might satisfy your high schooler's curiosity.

UNIVERSITY of VIRGINIA
NORTHERN VIRGINIA



SEP will have both online and in-person held at Sands Family Grounds in Rosslyn, VA.

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CLEAN CARS, HIDDEN TOLL





"Even if there's nickel here, I don't want it. I won't ever give up my land."

Arif Amin, above, stands in a sacred spot in Sagea Lake. Left, the stilt house on the lake where he lives part time. The lake has long supported life on Halmahera island, but it also has spiritual significance for villagers. Locals worry about pollution of the water from a nearby refinery.



"The government is supposed to protect us. But now, we see they only protect those who have money."

Arnikus Jinimaya, above, says he lost his land to the Weda Bay Industrial Park. Right, nickel mining has stripped bare a hillside in Gemaf where he and his brothers used to farm the land.



INDONESIA FROM **A14**

and a Chinese firm, Lygend Resources — said that the operation has not had a negative impact on the environment and that the pollution along the coast was not related to waste produced by their plant. All of their operations, they emphasized, are in "full compliance" with government requirements. "We looked at what was the best and we confirmed it with the government," said Tonny Gultom, Harita's head of health, safety and environment.

Like other inhabitants of the village of Kawasi, which sits at the foot of Obira's nickel-mining operation, Liyus has never owned a car and has no idea why there's been a sudden interest in the mineral that sat untouched on his island for so long.

"We had a comfortable life," Liyus said, "before this."

Daunting challenges

High-Pressure Acid Leaching (HPAL) is a method of refining low-grade nickel ore by combining it with sulfuric acid under high pressure and heat, producing a slurry that allows for the extraction of pure, high-grade nickel. The technique was pioneered in the 1960s in Cuba but has rarely been used elsewhere — until recently.

Managing the acidic material under extreme heat is more complicated than traditional methods of refining nickel ore. And the titanium vessels needed to mix the chemicals are expensive, part of why capital costs for HPAL projects are typically double those of conventional smelters, according to the International Energy Agency, an intergovernmental research organization.

The leaching process is also energy-intensive, and generating that energy produces about 20 tons of carbon dioxide per ton of nickel, or about double the amount of the prevailing processing method, according to the IEA.

And then there's the waste.

HPAL produces an enormous amount of corrosive chemical tailings — often in the millions of tons for each mine per year — that are extremely challenging to neutralize, store and contain. Even after the slurry is treated, studies show, this waste can contain harmful heavy metals, such as certain types of chromium, linked to respiratory illnesses and an increased risk of cancer.

Engineers have suggested three disposal options: putting the waste into a ditch behind a dam; drying out the waste and stacking it on vacant lots; and pumping it into the ocean. Each approach can go wrong.

Some of the world's biggest mining companies have tried to master the HPAL process — and failed.

In 2021, Brazilian mining conglomerate Vale exited a multibillion-dollar HPAL nickel-mining project in the Pacific archipelago of New Caledonia after having five chemical spills in 10 years. Studies by scientists in New Caledonia had by that time found "high levels" of toxic hexavalent chromium in water samples collected in and around the HPAL refining facility. The facility, now owned by a consortium of New Caledonia companies, had yet another leak in November at its tailings dam, prompting local authorities to impose new regulations that could limit production.

Closer to Indonesia, in Papua New Guinea, a Chinese company operating an HPAL plant has for years been criticized by residents and officials for dumping its tailings into the sea. After a tank filled with mining waste overflowed onto the coast in 2019, thousands of residents filed a lawsuit against the company demanding $5.2 billion in damages. The case is still pending in court, said lawyer Ben Lomai, who represents the plaintiffs.

HPAL's troubled history, however, has done little to deter industry enthusiasm for the technology.

While research is being conducted on safer ways to process limonite nickel ore, they won't be able to satiate existing demand, said Brian Menell, founder of TechMet, an investment firm that focuses on minerals required for the green-energy transition and does not operate in Indonesia. Indonesia's HPAL facilities "might not be how you want your nickel," he said, "but right now, you've got no choice."

A change of plans

The nickel mine on Obira has been operated by Harita since 2016, but in 2018, Lygend joined to plan, design and construct the HPAL refinery, eventually acquiring a majority stake in the project. The processing facility, which was designated a priority for the national government, opened in 2021.

After the companies withdrew their initial plan to dump the HPAL waste into the sea, they told authorities that they would store the waste on land, drying out the acidic slurry before dumping it back into the mining pit, and then treating the residue water in a tailings "pond."

Only a year earlier, however, Harita executives had published a research article in a science journal stating that land disposal on Obira is actually "less suitable" because the region is in a notoriously active seismic zone — as recently as 2019, a 7.2-magnitude earthquake devastated a port town on Bacan island, less than 50 miles from Obira — and is frequently visited by heavy rainfall. That article also noted that about 7,000 villagers lived downstream from the site, concluding that the construction and water control required for land disposal was "not feasible."

Asked about those findings, a Harita spokesman acknowledged that storing the waste on land is dangerous but said the company is managing the risks by drying out the slurry and dumping it back into the mining pit, where it is prevented from seeping into local waterways.

But a foreign mining consultant who has been working on projects in Indonesia for more than two decades said: "It's a massive heap of waste. And if it's not stored properly, you can have landslides. That's my biggest concern." He spoke on the condition of anonymity because of business considerations.

Following the public outcry over the initial disposal plan, the Indonesian government barred all nickel-processing plants from dumping waste into the sea, said Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan, Indonesia's coordinating minister for investment and maritime affairs and chief architect of the country's nickel strategy.

"We tackled this very well, you know?" Luhut said, speaking at his office in Jakarta last year. "We listened to the advice of the European Union and we stopped. We don't do that anymore."

Villagers and environmental activists say they remain concerned that Harita and Lygend, which operate jointly in Indonesia under the name PT HPAL, are failing to honor their promise to keep the waste on Obira out of the ocean and have not adequately addressed the risks posed by storing the waste on land.

Four international mining experts independently reviewed photos of the mining site at Obira

ABOUT THIS SERIES

As the global demand for electric cars begins to outpace the demand for gas-powered cars, Washington Post reporters set out to investigate the unintended consequences of a global EV boom. This series explores the impact of securing the minerals needed to build and power electric vehicles on local communities, workers and the environment.

CLEAN CARS, HIDDEN TOLL





"I'm fighting for the right of these villages to keep living as they have."

Faizal Ratuela, above, executive director of the North Maluku chapter of WALHI, an Indonesian environmental advocacy group. Left, Mount Gamalama, an active volcano that forms Ternate island, just west of Halmahera island in North Maluku province.



"The government may have given them permits. But the land does not belong to them. It's ours."

Maryama Usama, above, a farmer in Sagea, a village just outside the Weda Bay Industrial Park. She said she knows people who weren't given any notice before heavy equipment showed up on land that had belonged to their families for generations. Right, the industrial park's nickel smelters are seen in the distance.



taken by The Washington Post. The experts said that it was impossible without a formal audit to ascertain whether Harita and Lygend were dumping HPAL tailings into the sea, but that there were multiple signs that the companies were generally failing to contain mining waste.

The photos show "devastating" levels of deforestation, which can increase the risks of tailings accidents, said Aimee Boulanger, executive director of the Initiative for Responsible Mining Assurance, an organization that audits mining operations and measures them against social and environmental standards. Even if tailings were not being actively pumped into the sea, there don't appear to be "any significant controls" over what's flowing out of the mine and entering waterways, she added.

Sam Riggall, an advocate of responsible mining and the chief executive of Sunrise Energy Metals, an Australian nickel and cobalt mining company, said the material entering the rivers around the mining facility resembled processed waste, rather than just runoff from open-pit mines.

"Frankly, I feel a bit ashamed to be part of an industry that's allowing this to happen," Riggall said. "If this is the legacy we leave behind . . . who will be happy with that?"

Gultom, Harita's head of safety, acknowledged that the HPAL refinery was producing a "huge volume" of waste that could pose safety risks if not properly managed, but he stressed that it was being handled with adequate precautions.

The discolored water near Obira's coast, he said, was caused by sedimentation created by timber mining years ago. "It has nothing," Gultom said, "to do with us."

Harita, which debuted on the Jakarta stock exchange in April, plans to add a second processing plant on Obira next year, company executives said.

A booming industry

Across the nickel-rich islands of North Maluku province, old mining companies are expanding and new ones are taking root. They're taking over large tracts of land, residents say, sometimes with government authorization, sometimes without. Bulk carrier ships congregate along coastlines, recalling for some communities Indonesia's colonial history, when Dutch and Portuguese settlers exploited these islands for spices such as nutmeg and cloves.

Nickel production in Indonesia hit a record high of 1 million metric tons in 2021, though it pales in comparison with what is projected to come. By 2028, according to Macquarie, the country will be producing at least 2.5 million metric tons of nickel annually.

China's CATL and South Korea's LG, the world's largest battery manufacturers for EVs, recently announced they would open HPAL plants in Indonesia. Ford Motor Co. said it would join an HPAL project being developed by Vale and Chinese mining company Huayou on Sulawesi island in eastern Indonesia. And last year, Tesla signed a $5 billion deal to buy nickel from Indonesia, government officials said.

One of Indonesia's biggest upcoming HPAL projects is not far from Obira in North Maluku.

The Indonesia Weda Bay Industrial Park on Halmahera island, a joint venture between French and Chinese companies, has more than doubled its footprint in the past five years, satellite imagery shows. So far, the facility has primarily produced nickel for stainless steel, but a group of Chinese companies said in 2021 that they would add a $2.1 billion HPAL facility.

Maryama Usama, 60, lives in Sagea, a village just outside the industrial park. She has heard that the nickel companies on Halmahera need more space. And she said she knows people in the neighboring village of Gemaf who weren't given any notice before heavy equipment showed up on the land that had belonged to their families for generations.

"The government may have given them permits," Usama said, brushing the corner of her eye with her hijab. "But the land does not belong to them. It's ours."

A matter of trust

At a mining conference in 2021, Gultom outlined Harita's mission: "Sustainable excellence though continuous improvement of people and process." On its website, Lygend says it is committed to making "green" nickel that will "accelerate carbon neutralization."

But Faizal Ratuela, executive director of the North Maluku chapter of WALHI, an Indonesian environmental advocacy group, questioned whether these companies can be trusted to responsibly operate nickel refineries, especially those that use technology as complex as HPAL. He pointed to their environmental records in Indonesia and China.

Since the Harita Group ventured into mining in the early 2000s, it has clashed with local communities several times, including on Obira, where journalists who tried to report on the effects of the mine have been detained and intimidated by security personnel employed by Harita, Ratuela said.

Sian Choo Lim, head of sustainability at Harita, said that there may be an "image" that the company has not done enough to protect the environment, but that it's unfounded. "We've never had any issues with the Kawasi community," she said.

Lygend and its subsidiaries have been cited in China for violating environmental regulations at least four times in as many years, according to a Post review of statements released by Chinese provincial governments. These citations, made as recently as last year, include exceeding standard emissions of smoke and mismanaging waste.

Zhang Baodong, a Lygend representative, declined to address these violations. "What we've done [at Obira] is already very up to mark," he said. "I have nothing more to add."

Indonesian companies are aware that HPAL is a "totally different" technology from what they're familiar with and that the waste management is particularly tricky, said Meidy Katrin Lengkey, head of the Indonesian Nickel Mining Association. "But as companies, we say, as long as there is a regulation, we'll make sure to follow."

Environmental regulations in Indonesia have long been difficult to enforce because they're often delegated to faraway provincial governments, which are not only strapped for funds but prone to corruption, activists say. Now, they say, even those regulations are being rolled back in some cases to attract foreign investment.

Villagers, as a result, fear they are defenseless.

"The government is supposed to protect us," said Arnikus Jinimaya, 66, a Halmahera resident who said he lost his land to the Weda Bay Industrial Park. "But now, we see they only protect those who have money."

Luhut, the senior minister, scoffed at the idea that officials were overlooking social or environmental safeguards. There are problems "here and there" with the nickel-refining industry, he said, but the government is more than able to take care of the country's resources without "the lecturing" of environmental activists — especially those from carbon-emitting Western countries.

The tall, mustachioed former general has spent the past few years engineering the growth of the nickel industry, personally inaugurating new HPAL facilities and courting figures such as Tesla chief executive Elon Musk. At cabinet meetings and international summits, he has repeatedly made the case that the global energy transition presents the biggest economic opportunity for Indonesia since it gained independence in 1945.

"This," Luhut said, leaning over his desk to point at a graph charting nickel growth, "is going to transform Indonesia."

In June 2021, a few months after the refinery on Obira began operating, Luhut visited the island, donning a red hard hat as he examined the new HPAL technology. Liyus and other residents of Kawasi said they had expected him to stop at their village, where they hoped to show him the rivers that had started to run red and the trees that had died when their roots were covered by sludge from the mine.

He never came, locals said.

Pei-Lin Wu in Taipei, Taiwan, and Devianti Faridz in Jakarta contributed to this report.

THE DISCORD LEAKS

Pentagon bores in on how U.S. secrets were smuggled from air base



OBTAINED BY THE WASHINGTON POST.

Two images from a live stream Jack Teixeira allegedly broadcast on a Discord server from Joint Base Cape Cod, where he worked as a member of a Massachusetts Air National Guard intelligence unit. He is charged with leaking hundreds of highly classified documents.

LEAK FROM A1

disclosures of top-secret intelligence in a decade, creating a moment of crisis for the Pentagon. Since Teixeira's April 13 arrest, military investigators have spent weeks scouring the 102nd Intelligence Wing of the Massachusetts Air National Guard for evidence to understand whether any others may share in the blame — even if the alleged leaker acted alone in posting the materials online.

The personnel who work here are entrusted to analyze intelligence collected by surveillance drones and other U.S. assets, a program that has been suspended by the Pentagon and temporarily reassigned. The fallout has left some who live near the base worried about whether the mission will be stripped away permanently as senior military officials bore in on what happened and whether the unit's leaders failed to enforce rules meant to safeguard such work.

Teixeira, 21, grew up about an hour away in Dighton, Mass. He'd had a troubled past, federal prosecutors contend, including a suspension from high school after another student reported hearing him make threats of violence and espouse racist views. That alleged episode compelled local law enforcement to deny Teixeira's request for a firearms permit, though police relented some years later after he joined the military.

It is unclear how, despite those red flags, Teixeira was allowed to enlist in the Air National Guard and maintain access to classified information for so long. The military investigation that was directed by Air Force Secretary Frank Kendall seeks to determine whether his unit complied with directives to safeguard classified information, officials told The Washington Post. They declined, however, to say whether it will examine Teixeira's recruitment as well.

Already, two officers who supervised Teixeira have been suspended pending the results of the review by Lt. Gen. Stephen Davis, the Air Force inspector general. Those personnel have not been identified publicly. Davis and a team of investigators were at Joint Base Cape Cod from April 26 through May 8, said an Air Force official who, like some others interviewed for this article, spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss a sensitive issue.

Separately, Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin directed Pentagon officials last month to lead a review assessing how to improve policies protecting classified information. Among the organizations participating is the Defense Counterintelligence and Security Agency, which oversees background checks and investigations required for security clearances, said Pentagon spokeswoman Lisa Lawrence. Initial recommendations are due to Austin in about two weeks.

Teixeira, who could face 25 years in prison, remains in custody as the Justice Department's criminal case proceeds, with a judge deciding Friday that he could do even more damage to national security if released. He also faces additional potential discipline by the military. After the Air Force concludes its investigation, a commander will determine whether he should be charged under the Uniform Code of Military Justice, the official said. In the meantime, the Air Force official said, the service is coordinating closely with the FBI on its investigation.

Rachel VanLandingham, a retired Air Force lawyer who has closely watched the case, said military investigators ought to be scrutinizing the broad spectrum of personnel who observed Teixeira throughout his short military career and either could have — or should have — identified and reported him as a security risk.

"It would be derelict of the Air Force," she said, not to review how Teixeira was recruited. "They absolutely need to be investigating who knew about this, who should have known about this, and if anyone did know about this, what did they do with that information?"

'Cease and desist'

The work performed here by the 102nd Intelligence Wing is a replacement mission that began after the F-15 fighter jets that had been stationed on Cape Cod for years were relocated in 2008 to Barnes Air National Guard Base in western Massachusetts. About 1,200 personnel are assigned to the unit, including about 705 who serve in a part-time status, said a military official familiar with the unit's operations.

Two people familiar with the 102nd's operations said personnel here typically work in groups of up to 30, monitoring live surveillance feeds and photographs generated by drone and other reconnaissance aircraft operating all over the world. The unit's hub, Otis Air National Guard Base, sits within the larger multiservice facility that also houses Coast Guard search-and-rescue teams, missile warning systems and an Army National Guard combat training center.

Teixeira worked in the intelligence unit's operations center, performing maintenance on computers and the classified network that collects and disseminates material meant to be seen only by authorized personnel. The position required him and other IT staff assigned here to have a top-secret clearance, even though they have no need to access information about classified programs, the Air Force official said.

Prosecutors, in court documents, have suggested Teixeira became a problem within his unit not long after he was assigned to the 102nd in 2021 but was allowed to continue handling classified information anyway. According to redacted internal memos written by his supervisors, submitted to the court as part of the government's case to



THE DISCORD LEAKS



GEORGE RIZER/BOSTON GLOBE/GETTY IMAGES



LAUREN JUSTICE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

LEFT: Visitors tour F-15 fighter jets during the 102nd Fighter Wing's Family Day at Otis Air National Guard Base in 2007, when the 102nd's new mission as an intelligence unit was announced. ABOVE: A view of Cape Cod from a Coast Guard helicopter.

keep him in jail pending trial, he was confronted at least three times after being observed examining or writing notes about classified intelligence unrelated to his primary responsibilities.

One of the memos indicates he disregarded a "cease-and-desist order," though it is unclear whether any punitive action was taken as a result. He had been offered an opportunity to cross-train as an intelligence analyst but declined, the document says.

Teixeira, in messages posted on Discord, indicated that he knew he should not be sharing classified information, even suggesting that he was aware that doing so could see him treated like Chelsea Manning, the former U.S. soldier who was convicted in 2013 of espionage charges after sharing a cache of classified documents with the anti-secrecy group WikiLeaks.

"Idgaf what they say I can or can't share," Teixeira wrote, according to court documents, using an acronym for "I don't give a f---." "All the sh-t I've told you guys I'm not supposed to."

Air Force officials are deliberating how they might impose new safeguards that would wall off access to sensitive information on a greater need-to-know basis, even among those who already have approval to review classified materials, the Air Force official said.

"Does it make sense," this person said, "that you could limit an IT professional's access to pieces and parts? Could you lock down folders? Or could you require certain certificates to view them?"

It's unclear whether the Air Force will disclose the findings of its investigation. Typically, significant details about a high-profile inspector general inquiries are made public but with classified details withheld.

Guard members on Cape Cod who have been sidelined as a result of the breach are "disappointed about the loss of their stellar reputation," another military official said, adding, "They want to get back to work."

'Profoundly frustrating'

Amid the lighthouses and seaside vistas of Joint Base Cape Cod's surrounding towns, there are few hints of the turmoil that has gripped those reporting for duty inside. But among those with ties to the military mission here, the scandal has prompted disgust.

Donald Quenneville, a retired Air National Guard general who spent most of his 36-year career stationed on Cape Cod, said that the incident amounts to a "violation of a trust" but that the impact locally has been blunted some by the base's evolving relationship with the community. When he first arrived here to fly aircraft in the 1970s, Quenneville recalled, many Guard members lived nearby, and there were frequent, overt reminders of their presence in the habitual rumble of jet engines overhead.

But fewer Guard members are assigned to the base today, he noted, and those who are often commute, as Teixeira did, from long distances in part because of the skyrocketing price of real estate here.

Quenneville, who lives in the nearby town of Falmouth, compared the Air Force investigation now underway to the type of inquiry necessary after an aircraft crash, when officials work to ensure that all causes are identified and necessary changes can be made. "We swore," he said, "that we would uphold those secrets."

Some residents have seized on the military's suspension of the intelligence mission to air their opposition to the size and scope of its presence in the region. In a letter to Massachusetts Gov. Maura Healey (D) last month, the Association to Preserve Cape Cod, an environmental group, wrote that the intelligence mission's "termination" underscores a need to revisit how the base is used, and whether portions could be used to help address the shortage of affordable housing.

Troy Clarkson, a former civilian base employee who went on to a career in Massachusetts politics, and said he worries that upheaval from the leak leaves the region vulnerable. The installation has survived several rounds of realignments over the years, he said, noting the one that stripped away the fighter jets central to U.S. deterrence of Russia during the Cold War and, later, that were scrambled to New York City in the immediate aftermath of 9/11.

"This kid clearly screwed up — but I think his screw-up does not denote a failure in the system," said Clarkson, now the city manager in Brockton, about an hour to the northwest.

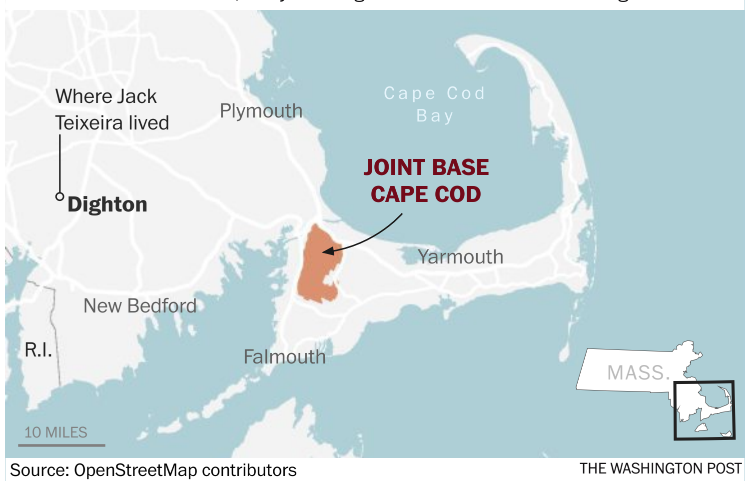
Over coffee in the Talk of the Town diner, a few miles west of the base, Clarkson said the community's relationship with the military was fractured in the 1990s when groundwater contamination from the base leached into surrounding areas. The reaction to the document leak has been more muted by contrast, he said, though he called it a "betrayal" and "profoundly frustrating and disappointing."

Rick Rege, who splits time between western Massachusetts and a home north of the base in the town of Sandwich, said there must be consequences for the leak, and a review of how IT security is handled in the future. But he doesn't see the scandal changing how residents feel about the military.

"I think most people will see this as a one-off," Rege said, "as a renegade kid who did something that he shouldn't have done."

A military facility with many missions

Joint Base Cape Cod, in southeastern Massachusetts, houses the Air Force intelligence unit at the center of an internal investigation into the leak of highly classified government documents. The facility also houses Coast Guard search-and-rescue teams, early warning radars and a combat training center.



Source: OpenStreetMap contributors   THE WASHINGTON POST



WAR IN UKRAINE

Former Va. governor McAuliffe visits front line, campaigns for Kyiv's cause

Promotes U.S. support and aims to raise awareness of war's toll

BY SIOBHÁN O'GRADY

KYIV, UKRAINE — Former Virginia governor Terry McAuliffe was just a few miles from the front line in eastern Ukraine this month when he climbed into an underground command bunker and watched live on a drone feed as Ukrainian troops struck a Russian tank moving nearby.

"We watched them get 'em with the drone. We watched 'em call in the fire, watched 'em destroy the tank," McAuliffe, who is also a former Democratic National Committee chairman, recalled in an interview from the Ukrainian capital a few days later. "We saw three guys running into a trench ... whoosh!"

McAuliffe, 66, was in Ukraine on what he described as a personal "fact-finding mission" and a political rival might call a risky foray into war tourism: a seven-day trip in which he traveled some 1,900 miles by road from Poland to Kyiv to front-line regions in the east and south and back again.

The goal, he said, was to raise awareness about the real toll of the war among policymakers and business owners in the United States who might then ramp up their support for Ukraine's war and rebuilding efforts. The material also proved useful in a conversation with Christiane Amanpour on CNN and in an interview with The Washington Post.

Traveling as a private citizen, McAuliffe said, allowed him the freedom to "go anywhere I wanted ... talk to anyone I wanted," unlike visiting U.S. officials constrained — and protected — by protocol and safety regulations.

"I said, if I'm going, I want to see it all, so I can go back and tell everybody, 'Here is the best thing to do,'" he said. "And I also want to go to the front."

McAuliffe, a former businessman and a mega-fundraiser for President Bill Clinton, went on to become power player in Democratic politics. He served as governor from 2014 to 2018, lost a bid to get the job back in 2021 and briefly harbored presidential aspirations in 2020. He does not currently hold any office, though he has been rumored to be up for a top job in the Biden administration. Last year, President Biden appointed McAuliffe's wife, Dorothy, as the State Department's special representative for global partnerships — a role in which she oversees public-private partnerships that advance U.S. interests.

McAuliffe had Biden's strong backing in his 2021 race (consecutive terms are barred in Virginia) but lost to Republican Glenn Youngkin. McAuliffe then raised millions for Democratic candidates in the 2022 midterms through his PAC, called Common Good Virginia.

Last month, the McAuliffes joined the Clintons in Belfast at a celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement that brought an end to the period of sectarian violence known as the Troubles. They were also on the guest list for a December state dinner with French President Emmanuel Macron in Washington. There has been speculation that Biden may one day tap him for a Cabinet position or ambassadorship.

McAuliffe said he was not in Ukraine at the behest of Biden or any official — but that he "told friends I was coming" and when he returned, planned "to let everybody know everything I saw."



JONATHAN NEWTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

Former Virginia governor Terry McAuliffe speaks to a crowd of supporters during a 2021 campaign stop in McLean. McAuliffe visited Ukraine earlier this month, witnessing the war's toll firsthand.



SERHIY MORGUNOV FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

A religious site Kyiv. McAuliffe visited the Ukrainian capital and met with government officials to discuss the city's infrastructure.

The trip to an active war zone was highly unusual. It was planned after a chance encounter at a party at the French ambassador's residence in Washington in January, he said. In attendance was Veronika Velch, a Ukrainian public affairs specialist who works for the Washington firm Ridgely Walsh, which registered last year to lobby as a foreign agent for Ukraine.

Velch's husband, Oleg Sentsov, is a prominent Ukrainian filmmaker and writer who was arrested by Russian forces in Crimea in 2014 and later went on hunger strike in a Russian prison. He was released in a 2019 exchange and is now fighting in Ukraine.

"We started talking about Ukraine," McAuliffe said. "And I kept saying, what do you need?"

Velch traveled with McAuliffe. The trip and the convoy's security were organized and funded by Arcanum, a global intelligence group that has been supporting Ukrainian forces, including the brigades McAuliffe visited.

McAuliffe arrived in Ukraine the first week of May as Russia ramped up its strikes on the capital.

His first night in Kyiv, as he settled into a hotel in the center of the city, air raid sirens went off and Ukrainian air defenses activated to intercept an incoming Russian assault. The security team he was traveling with had laid out a flak jacket and helmet on his bed, which he donned later on in the trip.

There were "all kinds of explosions in the air," he said. "Needless to say, I didn't go back to sleep."

After sunrise, "we went out, I started walking around and it's just like normal," he said. "They live with this every single day. And that was amazing to me."

In Kyiv, he met with government officials to discuss how Ukraine can rebuild its infrastructure damaged from the Russian invasion — tapping, he said, into his experienced investing "billions on our rail or our roads" in Virginia.

"As one minister said to me: 'Thanks for coming. We got to put the seeds down. We can't wait till the war is over. We got to start doing this now,'" he said.

He also visited families displaced by the war and Ukrainian children who were forcibly separated from their families and moved to Russia. One mother, he said, recalled weeping as she watched her son board a bus to Russian territory. It would be six months before they were reunited.

"I asked him if he'd been abused at all," McAuliffe said. "He said no. He said ... he saw one young girl get hit with an iron bar."

McAuliffe continued: "You can come over here and see these little kids with their eyes wide as cue balls pleading just somebody help them. Oh! It's gut-wrenching."

The ex-governor then traveled south and east in a convoy that also delivered medical supplies to a stabilization point near the front line. At one point, he said, he came within 30 miles of the Russian-occupied Zaporizhzhia nuclear power plant, where the U.N. nuclear watchdog has warned of potential for disaster. ("That was lit up at night," he said.)

He said he met three battalion commanders who detailed their battlefield needs ("They want more of everything. ... I did hear about the long-range missiles. You hear that a lot in the field.")

At one point, he said, their own convoy came under fire, with an explosive landing just 10 feet from the vehicle he was in.

In another incident, "we saw four HIMARS being launched right over our car," he said, referring to an American precision-guided weapon system that Ukrainians are using on the front line.

"How many people get to see what I saw?" he asked. "We were attacked ... it's real life."

The experience, he said, left him more convinced than ever that the United States must continue arming and supporting Ukraine.

"You've got all these countries running away from democracy," he said. "Here we've got a country that is embracing it."

"We need to win this," McAuliffe added. "No question about it."

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THE WORLD

The Western air defense systems that are protecting Ukraine

BY ALEX HORTON, RUBY MELLEN, SAMUEL GRANADOS AND ARTUR GALOCHA

Air defense systems have proved essential to Ukraine as Russia bombards critical infrastructure and civilian targets. ¶ This past week, the newly arrived U.S.-made Patriot air defense system shot down missiles aimed at Kyiv, Ukrainian officials said, including advanced missiles that have previously eluded outmatched air defense equipment. ¶ The Patriot is just one of several systems that Western allies have sent to Ukraine since the Russian invasion last year to help shore up Kyiv's defenses. The systems form a grab bag of different capabilities and technologies that are vital in defending the skies from missiles, fighter jets and Iranian-made drones that have terrorized the capital. ¶ But according to leaked U.S. intelligence documents produced in February and March, the supply of air defense systems and their munitions pose a significant and growing problem, as Ukraine uses up its limited stocks to keep up with constant bombardments. Kyiv risks running low on its most common Soviet-era systems, the documents warned, forcing commanders to select what can and cannot be shot down. ¶ That dynamic underscores the inherent challenge, experts have said: Air defense is a difficult mission using expensive and finite resources, with no silver bullets. To address that, the West has ramped up its commitments to Ukraine, sending a range of gear, from truck-mounted guns to the most modern missile-killing systems the United States has to offer. ¶ Here is a rundown of the Western-provided systems Ukraine now has, and what they can do.

Patriot missile system

The Patriot is the U.S. military's most advanced air defense system, with a range of roughly 20 to 100 miles, depending on the threat. It was designed as an antiaircraft system, but newer variants of Patriot can also engage ballistic and cruise missiles and drones.

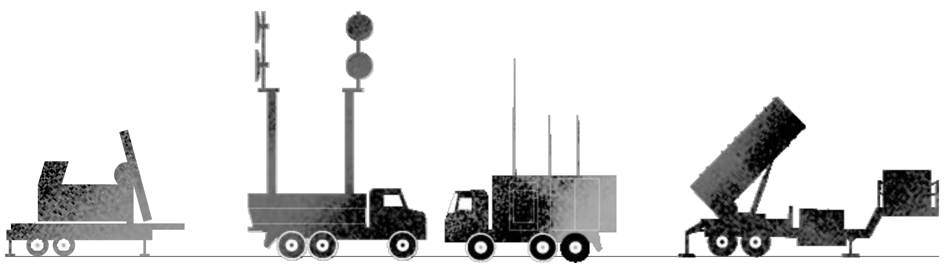
Along with missiles, a Patriot battery includes radars and control stations to identify, track and target enemy weapons.

The locations of Ukraine's two Patriot systems are a closely kept secret, though one recently used to take down missiles is based in or around Kyiv, according to a U.S. defense official.

Reliance on the Patriot will test the ability of the United States and the West to balance their needs to safeguard their own stocks while providing assistance to Ukraine. Each Patriot interceptor missile costs an estimated $4 million, putting a premium on each decision to fire. Ukrainian officials have said one Russian strategy is to attempt to exhaust air defense systems by saturating the sky with targets, some of which are decoys meant to confuse the interceptor, allowing the real missile to slip through.

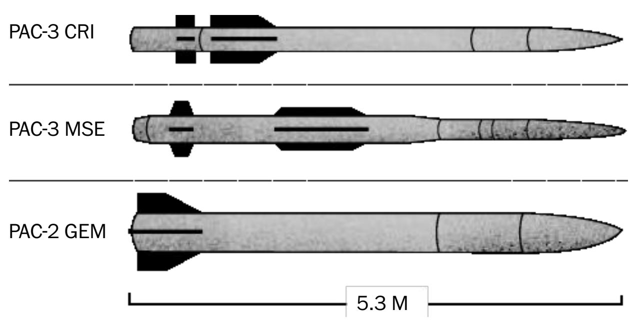
How the system works

A typical Patriot battery includes a radar set, engagement control station, power generation and several launch stations.

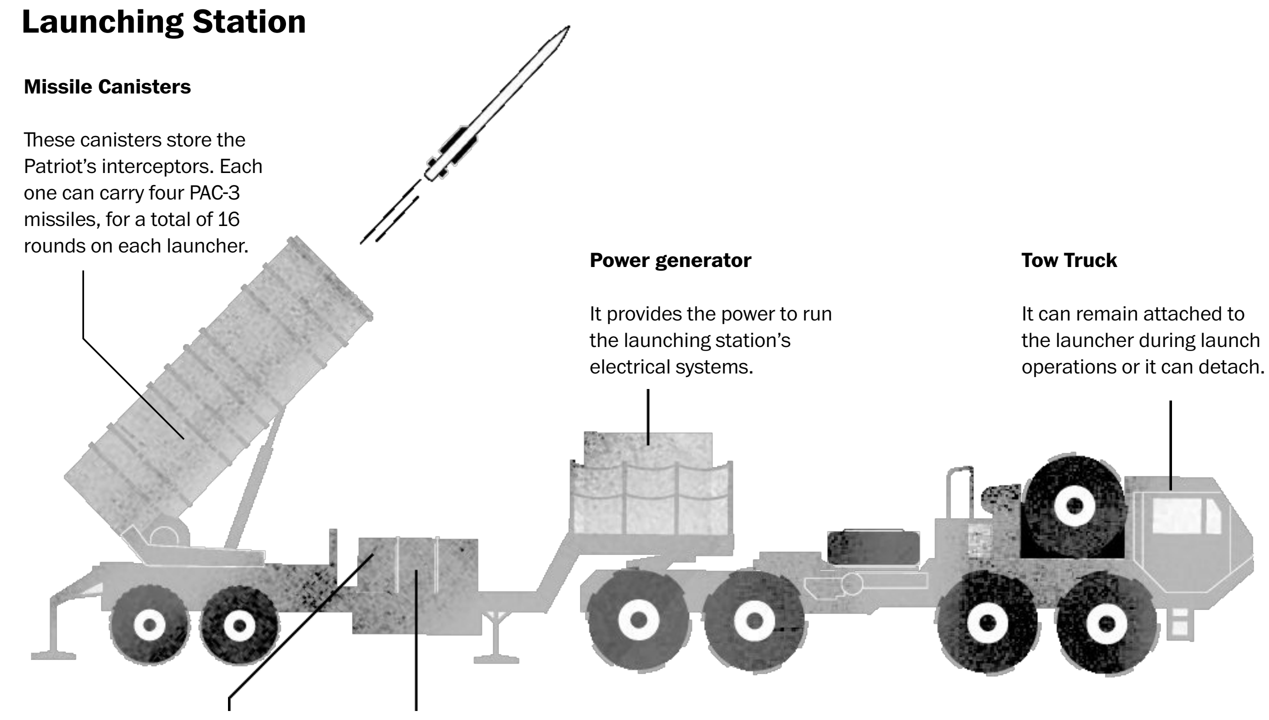


PAC-2 and PAC-3, two families of interceptors

The missile is command-guided near the target. In its terminal phase, it uses Track-Via-Missile (TVM) guidance to track the target as it is illuminated by the ground-based engagement radar.



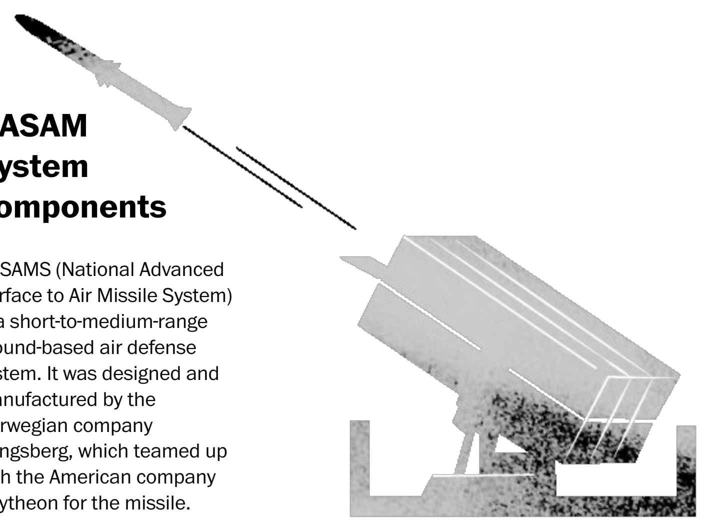
Launching Station

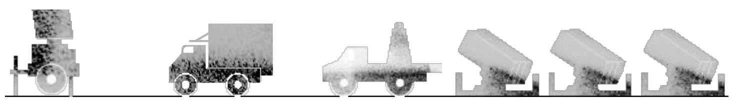


Some newer models of these systems have different capabilities and equipment than previous iterations.

NASAM System components

NASAMS (National Advanced Surface to Air Missile System) is a short-to-medium-range ground-based air defense system. It was designed and manufactured by the Norwegian company Kongsberg, which teamed up with the American company Raytheon for the missile.





MPQ-64 F1 Radar
It detects, tracks, identifies, classifies and reports airborne threats.

Fire Distribution Center
Provides battle management command, control, communications, computers and intelligence.

Electro-Optical (EO) sensor
Provides data to the Fire Distribution Center to monitor threats.

Launchers
The NASAMS is equipped with three multi-missile launchers, each carrying up to six missiles inside the protective canisters.

The launcher transports, aims and fires missiles with different characteristics.

NASAM System

The NASAMS suite — short for National Advanced Surface-to-Air Missile Systems — includes a command post, sensors, a radar system and munitions that can be fired from a stand-alone pod or from the back of a truck. This is the air defense system used to protect the White House.

Its radar can detect threats up to roughly 80 miles away, depending on variables including the weather and the size and altitude of a target.

The NASAMS utilizes the same kind of missiles already in common use with Western fighter jets, so their weapon stocks are cheaper and more widely available than the costly Patriot interceptors.

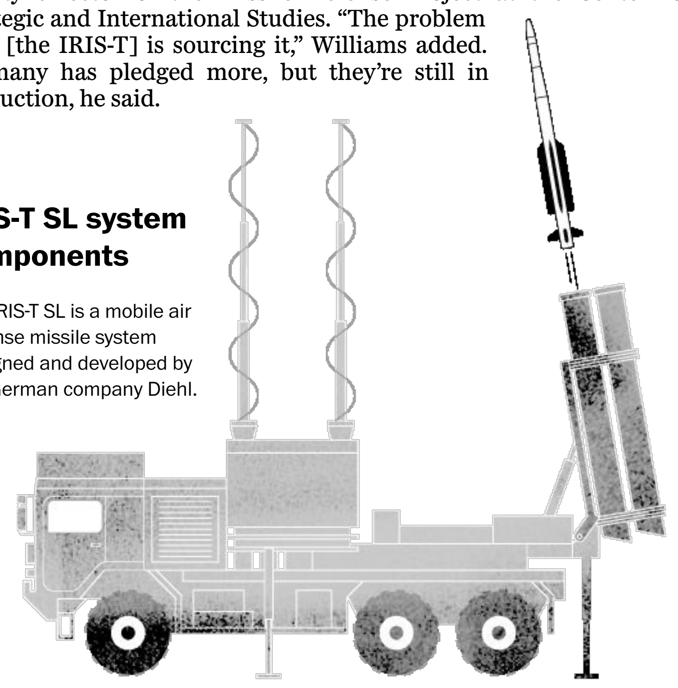
IRIS-T System

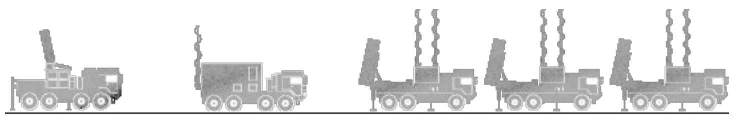
The German IRIS-T system is similar to NASAMS. It's a tier below the Patriot system and is configured to use missiles initially designed for fighter jets.

The heat-seeking missile has a medium range of around 20 miles and has proved effective against Russian cruise missiles, said Ian Williams, deputy director of the Missile Defense Project at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. "The problem with [the IRIS-T] is sourcing it," Williams added. Germany has pledged more, but they're still in production, he said.

IRIS-T SL system components

The IRIS-T SL is a mobile air defense missile system designed and developed by the German company Diehl.



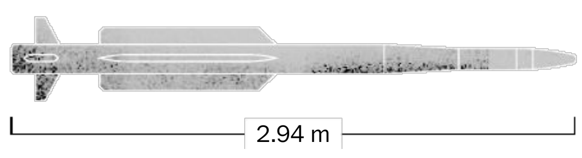


Radar
The system includes a multifunction radar with a range of 250 km (155 miles).

Command and Control System
It performs fire control used to conduct airspace surveillance and has the capability to evaluate aerial treats and weapon assignments.

Launcher
The launcher vehicle can be based on a truck chassis or a tracked armored chassis. In the firing position, the container missile launchers are erected in the vertical position.

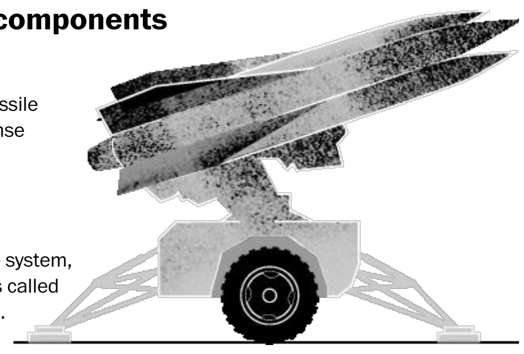
Missile IRIS-T



I-Hawk system components

The Hawk system is the predecessor to Patriot missile defense. It provides defense against aircraft, cruise missiles and short-range tactical ballistic missiles.

The current version of the system, upgraded continuously, is called Improved Hawk or I-Hawk.





Battery Control Central
It performs command and control functions.

High Power Illuminators
These track and illuminate the targets.

Target Detection
Pulse Acquisition Radar
Continuous Wave radar

Missile Launchers
A typical unit has six launchers. In addition to their missile aiming function, they support pre-launch commands and transport the missiles.



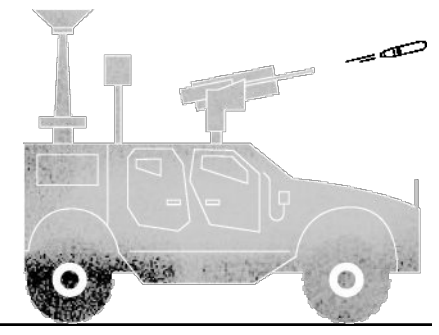
The Hawk

The Hawk system is the predecessor to the Patriot. Some versions are up to 50 years old.

It is no longer used in the United States, but many U.S. allies still operate the Hawk, including Spain which has sent the system to Ukraine. The United States took some Hawks out of storage to send to Ukraine as well. While the system is older than others Ukraine has, it can be useful against some lower-quality Russian missiles.

Counter-Unmanned Aerial System

The 30mm gun trucks can detect, track and shoot air targets like drones, but also can fire on ground-based threats like enemy vehicles.



Gun trucks

While gun trucks have a much shorter range than other air defense systems, their ammunition is more readily available and cheaper. It's a more basic system which can easily be operated by soldiers who only need to see a threat and fire.

They have been most useful, Williams said, in intercepting Iranian-made drones that Russia has used. "Gun systems have been really good at helping Ukrainians preserve their interceptor capacity," he said. That has helped commanders save more complex and expensive systems for bigger threats, like aircraft and missiles.

The Pentagon said last month it would provide nine such trucks armed with 30mm cannons, along with laser-guided rockets. Both systems, officials said, are intended to be used against drones.

Karen DeYoung and Serhiy Morgunov contributed to this report.

The constant, awkward photos at world summits

The world's most powerful leaders gather to shape the future. Then, they spend lots of time posing for photos.

BY MATT VISER

HIROSHIMA, JAPAN — They came, from miles and hours away. They saw, viewing the sobering and spectacular sites the area has to offer.

And they took photos. Lots and lots of photos.

While the three-day Group of Seven summit here contains weighty discussion of the most intractable global problems, it can at times appear as if these powerful world leaders do few things more frequently than get in front of a camera.

They pose with one another every few hours, in different settings and various arrangements.

Just after Biden arrived here on Thursday, before even stopping at his hotel, he posed for a photo outside of a ballroom with Prime Minister Fumio Kishida of Japan ahead of their meeting.

The next morning, Kishida greeted him again, for another photo, each of their wives standing with them as they walked together in Peace Memorial Park, a site that is dedicated to the victims of the atomic bomb dropped by the United States in 1945.

There were several photos a few minutes later with all of the G-7 leaders, first as they walked together. Then as they each laid down a wreath. Then as they shoveled dirt to plant a tree.

Later that night, they gathered again, and again posed for group photos. They stood at the Itsukushima Shrine, a holy place of Shintoism, walking through the stunning complex and stopping at a wooden jetty facing the ceremonial Torri gate in the shallow sea.

They paused for photos, and then stayed, chatting and laughing.

German Chancellor Olaf Scholz wandered off to the end of the jetty, but no one followed him and he came back. British Prime Minister Rishi Sunak could be heard exclaiming loudly how "lovely" it all was.

The leaders then went over to listen to traditional music before heading off, admiring the sights. Biden spent time chatting with Trudeau.



MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF JAPAN/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

From left, Japan's first lady Yuko Kishida; Heiko von der Leyen, husband of European Commission president; Akshata Murty, the wife of the British prime minister; Britta Ernst, the wife of the German chancellor; and U.S. first lady Jill Biden at the Itsukushima Shrine.

The photo gatherings are one of the few windows during international summits where the leaders are on public display, the body language and personality quirks of each head of state clearly visible. Their conversations, which usually occur behind closed doors, can be overheard, however briefly.

During one photo session at a NATO summit in 2017, President Donald Trump drew international headlines after he physically pushed aside Montenegro's prime minister, Dusko Markovic, as leaders walked into position.

Among the most colorful — some would say unfortunate — photos come from the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summits, where leaders traditionally pose for "family photos" in sometimes-



KIYOSHI OTA/AP

President Biden and Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida shake hands shortly after the president's arrival in Japan.

gaudy shirts that represent the host country. The tradition has sometimes been called the "silly shirts" photo and various world leaders have tried to do away with it, but the practice endures.

Even without colorful garb, the jostling of powerful leaders, each accustomed to being the center of attention, preparing for photos can awkward — or just odd. At the G-7 summit last year, then-prime minister Boris Johnson joked about how the assembled leaders might intimidate Russian President Vladimir Putin.

"Jackets on? Jackets off? Shall we take our clothes off?" Johnson asked as the leaders prepared for the informal photo before their lunch meeting.

"We all have to show that we're tougher than Putin," the British leader joked at the summit in Schloss Elmau, Germany.

"We're going to get the bare-chested horseback riding display," quipped Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, referring to the Russian president's predilection for distributing photos of himself outdoors and sometimes shirtless, including on horseback.

"There you go! There you go! We've got to show them our pecs!" Johnson added.

There was less of that joviality here, at least in front of cameras and with last year's main instigator — Johnson — no longer in power.

On Saturday, with camera batteries no doubt recharged, there were more chances for photos.

Biden arrived around noon at the Grand Prince Hotel, where the G-7 summit is taking place, and the leaders gathered outside, with Hiroshima Bay and green mountains in the background and gunboats in the water.

Biden stood between Kishida and Scholz. Several leaders waved and remarked about how bright it was outside. French President Emmanuel Macron gave a thumbs-up.

Two minutes after they entered, they were gone. Another photo in the books.

But five hours later, it was time for another. It was taken in the same spot, with larger gunboats and additional leaders.

The leaders were called to line up by country to take their assigned place on the riser. Biden was chatting with Ursula von der Leyen, president of the European Commission, and apparently did not hear as "United States" was called out several times.

"Joe!" Trudeau finally shouted, walking over to retrieve his American counterpart.

Biden smiled broadly, displaying his teeth. Macron smiled more tightly, his lips together.

After the photos were taken, Biden lingered with Macron. They put arms around one another. They engaged in extended conversation and walked offstage, arms around each other once again.

Three hours later, it was time for another photo.





Indigenous Australian journalist steps down, cites ‘vile’ racist abuse

BY FRANCES VINALL

BATHURST, AUSTRALIA — A high-profile Indigenous journalist is “stepping away” from his role at Australia’s public broadcaster, citing “vile” and “relentless” racism he and his family have experienced, especially after he made critical remarks about the British monarchy’s role in colonialism during a panel discussion about King Charles III’s coronation.

Stan Grant is a well known and widely respected TV journalist who hosts the Australian Broadcasting Corp.’s “Q+A,” a town hall-style show. In a column published Friday on the ABC website, he said that he would finish this Monday’s show, “then walk away. For how long? I don’t know.”

“On social media my family and I are regularly racially mocked or abused,” he wrote. “This is not new. Barely a week goes by when I am not racially targeted.”

“My wife is targeted with abuse for being married to a Wiradjuri man,” he added, naming the Indigenous people from the central part of New South Wales state.

He also criticized the broadcaster for a lack of support.

“I am writing this because no one at the ABC — whose producers invited me onto their coronation coverage as a guest — has uttered one word of public support,” he wrote. “Not one ABC executive has publicly refuted the lies written or spoken about me. I don’t hold any individual responsible; this is an institutional failure.”

Grant said the ABC had lodged a complaint with Twitter about racial abuse targeting him.

His announcement comes at a pivotal year for Australia’s relationship with its Indigenous population. The nation is preparing to vote in a constitutional referendum which, if successful, will establish a representative “Voice to Parliament” of First Nations leaders. The body would consult with national lawmakers on policy, but its advice would be nonbinding.

By many measures, Indigenous Australians are more disadvantaged than other Australians. They have an average life expectancy that is around eight years shorter and are the world’s most imprisoned population. Indigenous children are 10 times more likely to be taken into state care.

Grant has received a wave of abuse about his comments on the monarchy during a May 6 panel preceding the coronation, despite the fact that other panelists also criticized the monarchy and its continuing role as Australia’s head of state.



GRAHAM DENHOLM/GETTY IMAGES

Stan Grant’s critical remarks on the British monarchy in a panel discussion before King Charles III’s coronation led to more attacks.

Grant said he had “pointed out that the crown represents the invasion and theft of our land.”

Australians have in recent years increasingly debated how they should view British colonialism. The country’s national day is Jan. 26, which marks the landing of the first fleet of British convict ships in 1788. But tens of thousands also use that date for nationwide “Invasion Day” protests — pointing out that Indigenous history in Australia goes back at least 65,000 years, calling for the date to be changed out of sensitivity and for an improvement in the racism and disadvantages Indigenous people face.

“In the name of the crown my people were segregated on missions and reserves,” Grant wrote. “Police wearing the seal of the crown took children from their families. Under the crown our people were massacred.”

The panel was labeled “bile” by radio talk show host Ray Hadley, who was quoted in the Australian, a newspaper owned by the Murdoch family’s News Corp. Another radio talk show host, Neil Mitchell, was reported as saying that “somebody in the ABC needs to be accountable” for airing “all this bitterness about our Indigenous history” during the lead-up to the coronation. The piece was one of several in conservative media outlets targeting the panel and Grant’s comments.

News Corp. did not immediately respond to an emailed request for comment. A spokesperson for Nine Entertainment, which employs Hadley and Mitchell, said it had no comment and “would make no assumptions” about Grant’s comments.

Journalist Osman Faruqi, who has also worked at the ABC, supported Grant’s comments and criticized the broadcaster’s work culture for non-White staff.

“Before I started my first role with the ABC back in 2018, almost every non-white person who had worked at the organization advised me against taking a job there,” he wrote in an opinion piece for the Age newspaper. “They cited story after story of overt racism from colleagues, managers and the audience.”

“When I did start, and encountered many of the same issues I was warned about, there were a handful of older, experienced colleagues from non-white backgrounds who did their best to help the rest of us out,” he added. “One of those was Stan Grant.”

Sami Shah, another Australian journalist who has worked for the ABC, wrote on Twitter that “half the ABC execs reading this will call him ungrateful and a sook” — an Australian term for a crybaby — “and ‘hard to work with’. The other half will commit to doing better, oversee an internal review, then move on after a PowerPoint deck is compiled.”

In a response to a request for comment, the ABC said it “has a zero-tolerance approach to racism in the workplace” and that any issues raised are investigated.

In a statement after Grant’s announcement, ABC news director Justin Stevens said the ABC stood by Grant and “condemns the attacks directed toward him” after the coronation panel.

“The responsibility for the coverage lies with ABC News management, not with Stan Grant,” he said. “Yet it is he who has borne the brunt of a tirade of criticism.”

Grant has decades of experience, including more than a decade with CNN, where he covered China as a senior correspondent. He is also the author of several books including “Talking To My Country,” a memoir and discussion of Australia’s relationship with race. His latest is called “The Queen is Dead: The Time Has Come For a Reckoning.”

Brazil indicts ex-agency chiefs over slayings of journalist, colleague

BY VICTORIA BISSET

Police in Brazil indicted the former head and deputy head of the country’s Indigenous affairs agency for failing to take “necessary measures” to prevent the killings of a British journalist and a Brazilian Indigenous expert in the Javari Valley of the Amazon rainforest last year.

The disappearance of former agency official Bruno Pereira, 41, and journalist Dom Phillips, 57, in June 2022 sparked outrage in Brazil and beyond. Pereira, a longtime official with Brazil’s Indigenous affairs agency, had been threatened for his work mapping criminal activity in the valley, while Phillips was a Brazil-based correspondent who wrote for the Guardian and The Washington Post.

Ten days after they disappeared their bodies were found, after a fisherman confessed to their killing. He and two others have been charged over the murders, while five more inhabitants of the river community were accused by police of helping to hide the bodies.

The police statement released Friday did not name the two former officials of Brazil’s Indigenous affairs agency Funai, but identified them as the agency’s former president and former vice president. It said they were suspected of “possible malice” after they became aware of a risk to the lives of agency employees during a meeting in October 2019 and through other documents, but failed to act to protect them.

“In this way, they would have assumed the risk of the result of their omissions, which culminated in the double homicide,” it added. The indictment will be looked at by federal prosecutors who will decide whether to file charges in court.

Brazil’s state-owned news agency, Agência Brasil, identified the two ex-officials as Marcelo Xavier, who was president of the Indigenous agency from July 2019 until December 2022, and former deputy president Alcir Amaral Teixeira.

According to Brazilian daily newspaper O Globo, the meeting at which the two officials became aware of the risk to the Funai staff came after the death of agent Maxciel Pereira, who was killed while investigating illegal fishing in the Amazon in September 2019. Weeks later, Bruno Pereira took a leave of absence from the agency after being removed from his senior position, saying he needed a break after the death of his colleague and given “the climate of tension” at the agency. He did not return.

Xavier was appointed by former Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro, whose term in office oversaw an acceleration in deforestation in the Amazon and policies that “seriously” threatened the rights of Indigenous peoples, according to Human Rights Watch.



UESLEI MARCELINO/REUTERS

A protester last year in Brasília demands justice for British journalist Dom Phillips, 57, and Indigenous expert Bruno Pereira, 41, who were killed in the Amazon rainforest last year.



#BRINGAUSTINHOME

"There is no higher priority in my administration than the recovery and return of Americans held hostage or wrongfully detained abroad."

– PRESIDENT JOE BIDEN, AUGUST 10, 2022



Freelance journalist Austin Tice was abducted in 2012 while covering the ongoing conflict in Syria. He has not been heard from since.

The U.S. government has pledged to make Austin's safe return a priority, and must pursue the sustained diplomatic engagement needed to bring Austin home.

Learn more about Austin's case at **wapo.st/bringaustinhome.**

The National Press Club · CPJ Committee to Protect Journalists · RSF Reporters Without Borders · IPI International Press Institute · IWMF International Women's Media Foundation · Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press · WAN-IFRA · James W. Foley Legacy Foundation

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P0745 6x21

Lebanon deporting Syrian refugees

Some have disappeared, been detained once they cross the border

BY SARAH DADOUCH AND SUZAN HAIDAMOUS



BILAL HUSSEIN/AP

Syrian children play soccer by their tents at a refugee camp in the town of Bar Elias in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley last summer. Abu Hussein estimates he was one of about 250 Syrians deported on a day last month. Amnesty International has so far documented at least four men who were detained by Syrian authorities upon deportation.

BEIRUT — Abu Hussein's stomach churned with worry when the Lebanese army knocked on his door at 5 a.m. last month. He chose to believe the soldiers when they said they were picking him up to fix his paperwork. He chose to believe them when they said they were there on behalf of the United Nations.

But when he saw the familiar road to Syria, his country of origin, he felt the fear in his stomach rise to the back of his throat.

"I asked an officer, 'Excuse me, but where are we going? Where are you taking us?' He told me, 'We got the order to deport you. We're handing you over to the Syrian army.'"

The 26-year-old, now in hiding in Syria, shared his story with The Washington Post on the condition that he be identified by his nickname and that his location not be disclosed. Abu Hussein estimates he was one of about 250 Syrians deported that day by Lebanese authorities, who in recent weeks have begun turning over refugees to their Syrian counterparts.

Once across the border, some of the men have disappeared into Syrian custody — detained by authorities for past political activity or evasion of army conscription, according to human rights groups, who are calling for a halt to what they say are unlawful deportations. Amnesty International has so far documented at least four men who were detained upon deportation.

The timing of the returns coincides with a move by Arab states to normalize relations with Syrian President Bashar al-Assad. After a 12-year suspension, Syria was welcomed back into the Arab League this month, and on Friday Assad attended a regional summit in Jiddah, Saudi Arabia, where the return of refugees was high on the agenda.

Abu Hussein is wanted by the Syrian government for working in media as protests engulfed the country in 2011 and quickly devolved into a brutal civil war. Assad refused to comply with popular demands to resign, cracking down on his people with bombardment, sieges, starvation and torture. Hundreds of thousands of people were killed.

Millions more fled to neighboring countries. Abu Hussein stayed in Syria on fake papers until 2018, when he was found out, and then crossed the border into Lebanon.

He moved with his brother to Burj Hammoud, a neighborhood of Lebanon's capital, Beirut, getting a job and successfully applying for residency. His passport was at Lebanon's General Security Directorate for residency renewal when the army, along with officers from army intelligence and the information branch of internal security, descended on his house in late April.

"[My brother and I] talked to the officer from army intelligence and he told us, 'Don't worry at all. We're going to fix your papers, and it's the United Nations who sent us to fix your papers,'" Abu Hussein said. He showed the officers the green slip from General Security that meant his paperwork was being processed.

None of it made a difference. He was handcuffed along with his brother and held with dozens of others, including women and children, in a convoy of four or five army vehicles. The officers continued driving around Burj Hammoud and knocking on Syrians' doors, he said, eventually moving all of the detainees to a General Security building, where their phones were confiscated.

The Lebanese soldiers beat up those who resisted, he said, but the herding was the most dehumanizing part: "They treated us like cattle."

When he realized he was being sent back to Syria, he said, he told a Lebanese officer: "'If you hand me to the Syrians, I don't know what will become of me.'" He told me, 'Your government can deal with you.'"

An official in Lebanon's General Security, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive matters, told The Post there are no exact numbers for deportees because of a lack of high-level coordination within the country's security services. When asked about Abu Hussein's account that Lebanese forces claimed to represent the United Nations, he said: "This is a stupid question, and what an unbelievable lie."

Abu Hussein said he and his brother spent seven days on the Syrian side of the border, at two big dormitories that separated the women and children from the men. The officers handing out food and drink would issue blanket threats, he said. "They told us, 'You're now in Syria — we know how to deal with you.'"

The Syrians conducted interrogations in the dormitories, he said, waking the men at 1 or 2 a.m. "Here, we lost hope. We thought they were taking us to put us down," he said.

Instead, he said, his interroga-

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A Syrian construction crew works to renovate St. Vincent de Paul church in downtown Beirut. Against the backdrop of a worsening economic crisis and political stalemate, Lebanese officials have launched a crackdown on the country's Syrian refugees.

Lebanon deporting refugees to face uncertain fate

LEBANON FROM **A25**

tors pressed him on details large and small — how he got into Lebanon, the name of his cabdriver, if he had ever protested, if he had ever fought the government. "I lied about everything," he said. "The only true thing was that I had not picked up arms" against the government.

Eventually, Abu Hussein and his brother were sent back to their home province. It took intelligence forces two days to come for them there, he said.

The men were ready, and had luck on their side: Living on the ground floor meant a swift escape was possible. The officers also came at 4 p.m. — unusual for Syrian intelligence, which tends to favor late-night raids.

"They don't have the fortitude for these things anymore," Abu Hussein said cheekily.

The men escaped to another province, aided by sympathizers along the way, including soldiers. "There are many people here who reject what is happening," Abu Hussein said.

He spoke to The Post by phone as he walked around the city where he is hiding. He grew quiet if he ran into passersby, and his voice dropped to a whisper when he used words like "interrogation" and "army."

"I didn't come here with my papers, nor money, nor anything. I am standing now in the street. If a patrol passes by and stops me, I have no identification papers," he said.

If caught, he said, he expects to be charged and tortured — "and if I lived afterward, they'd send me to military service."

The Post could not independently confirm Abu Hussein's account, but it lines up with the findings of rights groups and the accounts of others deported in recent weeks. Leila, a Syrian mother of two, said she emerged after seven days in custody on the border to find that her husband was missing. Her voice cracked with despair when she talked about him, an army defector, afraid to think of what he might be enduring in government custody. She spoke on the condition that she be identified only by her first name for security reasons.

"They told us, 'A couple hours and you'll be back,'" she said repeatedly, returning over and over to the moment the Lebanese army knocked on their door.

"Syria is still not safe for returns," said Aya Majzoub, Amnesty International's deputy regional director for the Middle East and North Africa, adding that rights groups have "consistently been documenting cases of refugees returning to Syria who are being subjected to killings and forced disappearance, arbitrary detention, sexual violence and a whole host of other human rights violations."

Lebanon is prohibited from sending anyone back to a country where they are at risk of persecution, Majzoub said, citing the international "principle of non-refoulement."

The United Nations' refugee agency, UNHCR, said it had observed "an increasing trend in raids taking place in Syrian communities" in Lebanon, including at least 73 in April.

"UNHCR continues to strongly advocate for the respect of principles of international law and ensure that refugees in Lebanon are protected from refoulement," the agency said in a statement to The Post.

Abbas Ibrahim, a former head of Lebanon's General Security, said the deportations are effectively an appeal for Western countries' assistance: "Come and pay, come and do something for us, so that we slow down" these deportations.

The West, Ibrahim continued, doesn't support the return of Syrians but is not doing enough to help Lebanon host the refugees.

"The West's recklessness is no longer accepted," he said, "so we want to do something to say no ... come talk to us. We are the owners of this country."

DIGEST

MEXICO

Airport removes ash, resumes operations

Mexico City's Benito Juárez International Airport resumed operations Saturday after it suspended flights for hours because of ash spewing from nearby Popocatépetl volcano.

"After removing the volcanic ash, checking the runways and verifying favorable wind conditions, we resumed takeoff and landing operations starting at 10:00 a.m.," the airport said on Twitter. "Check with your airline the status of your flight."

The airport halted operations at 4:25 a.m. for more than five hours. Several flights were delayed and others canceled.

Popocatépetl, some 45 miles southeast of Mexico City, has been active since 1994 and is closely monitored by scientists, cameras and sensors because of danger to millions of people living nearby. In recent days, volcanic ash led several towns to close schools.

— Reuters

PAKISTAN

Transgender activists plan to appeal ruling

Transgender activists in Pakistan said they plan to appeal, to the highest court in the land, an Islamic court's ruling that guts a law aimed at protecting their rights.

The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act was passed by Parliament in 2018 to secure the fundamental rights of transgender Pakistanis. It ensures their access to legal gender recognition, among other rights.

Many Pakistanis have entrenched beliefs on gender and sexuality, and transgender people are often considered outcasts. Some are forced into begging, dancing or prostitution to earn money. They also live in fear of attacks.

The Federal Shariat Court on Friday struck down several provisions of the landmark law, terming them "un-Islamic."

It ruled that a person cannot change their gender on the basis of "innermost feeling" or "self-perceived identity" and must conform to the biological sex assigned to them at the time of birth. The Shariah Court has the constitutional mandate of examining and determining whether laws passed by Pakistan's Parliament comply with Islamic doctrine.

Around a dozen activists in the southern port city of Karachi protested the ruling Saturday.

Lawyer Sara Malkani, speaking at an event organized by the Gender Interactive Alliance, rejected the ruling that the legislation is un-Islamic. She said that the existence of two genders does not limit the concept of gender identity and that Islamic texts, including the Quran, do not associate specific behavior with specific genders.

— Associated Press

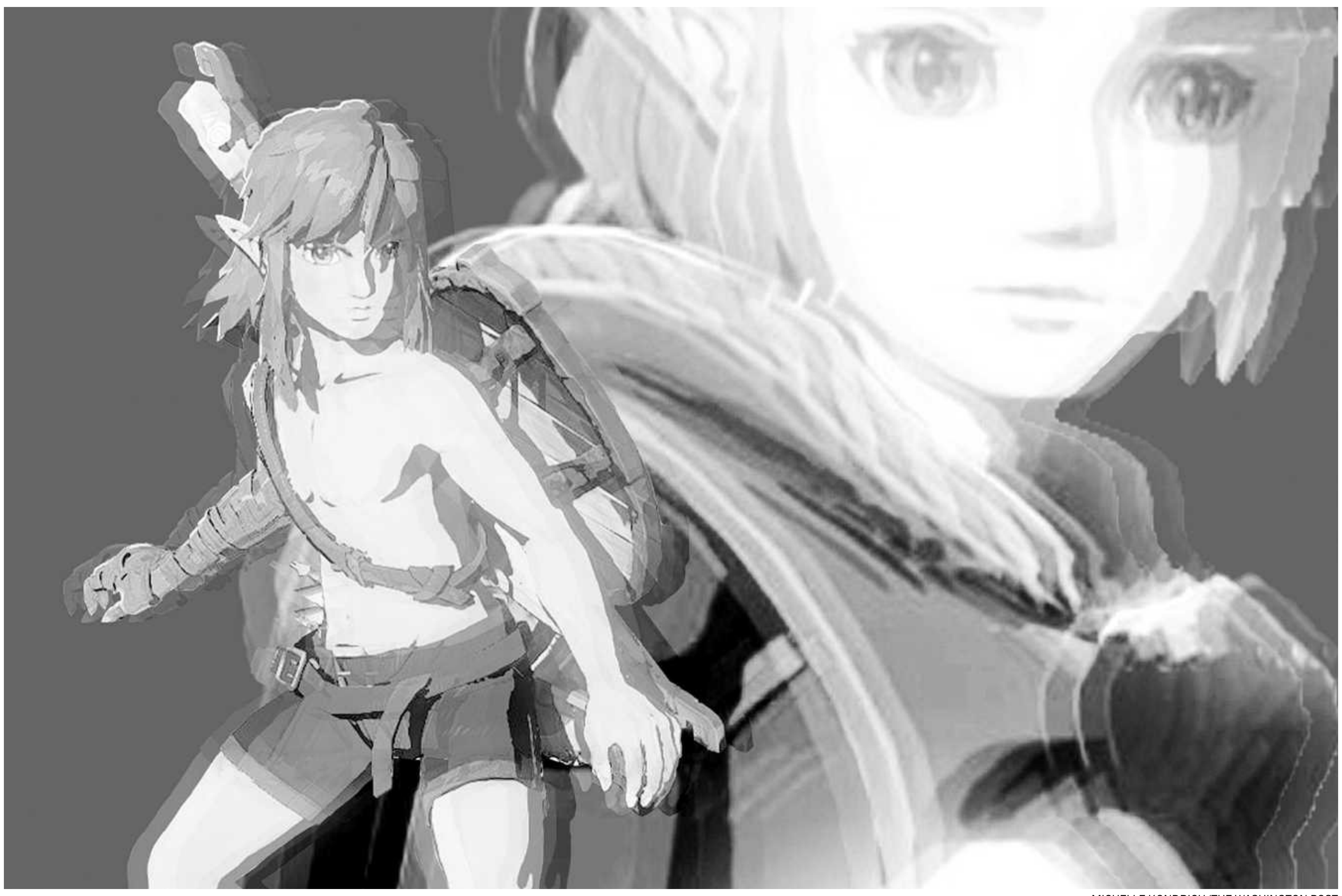
F-18 fighter jet crashes in Spain, but pilot ejects successfully: An F-18 fighter jet crashed at an air base in the Spanish city of Zaragoza, but the pilot ejected successfully, the Spanish Defense Ministry said Saturday. The aircraft landed within the perimeter of the base, the ministry said on Twitter. The base, which lies about 10 miles outside the city, belongs to the Spanish Air and Space Force. Videos posted on social media showed a plane in flames falling toward the ground. The pilot was hospitalized but his life was not in danger, the air force said. Spain's public news agency EFE said the F-18 was training for a flying exhibition.

Plane crash in Swiss mountains kills three: Three people died when their light aircraft crashed Saturday morning in Switzerland's Ponts-de-Martel area close to the French border, the Swiss police said. The crash occurred around 10:20 a.m. in a forest near the village of La Combe Dernier in the canton of Neuchâtel, the local police said. The pilot and his two passengers died at the scene of the crash. Rescue operations proved difficult because the plane went down on particularly steep terrain, the police said. The cause of the crash is under investigation, they added.

— From news services



SUNDAY OPINION



MICHELLE KONDRICH/THE WASHINGTON POST

What watching my daughter play 'The Legend of Zelda' taught me

BY TOM BISSELL

The Challenger space shuttle disaster and "The Legend of Zelda" are endlessly entangled in my mind. I'd always remembered — and began writing this essay believing — that, on Jan. 28, 1986, I was home sick from school and playing Zelda at the moment the shuttle exploded. The dates, alas, don't line up: The game wasn't released to the North American market until 1987. Still, I think I know why my memory insists on this odd pairing. For people born in the early-to-mid-1970s, the Challenger disaster was our first collective glimpse of national decline — a dismal augury of the generational voyage to come. But Zelda was all brightness and ascendancy, suggesting that video games weren't the brain-rotting toys of our parents' worst assumptions but rather something new on this earth.

Before Zelda, kids like me played video games because we were bored to death in our small towns and suburban enclaves, craving the dopamine pellets games reliably dispensed. After Zelda, kids like me played video games because they were engines of powerful surrogate experiences.

What we didn't know was that Zelda would be growing up right alongside us. The franchise's most recent iteration, "Tears of the Kingdom," was released this month. It's a game that my daughter, for one, "waited *two whole years* for!" In fairness to her, two years constitutes roughly one-fourth of her earthly existence, which is a long time to wait. And so we started playing it the moment she got home from school.

The original "Legend of Zelda" — a game rampant with secrets, hidden passages and lost treasure — felt like a heightened version of childhood, akin to when I crashed around in the woods behind my grade school in the dim hope of finding something unusual. In real life, I rarely found anything, but in Zelda I always found something. A Zelda game is a curiosity-rewarding machine, wherein every weapon or item you find is a potential key, and you can't walk by a rock or a bush without being nagged by the feeling that it's hiding something special.

Despite that, over the years, I've missed more Zelda titles than I've played. But being able to walk away from Zelda and painlessly return to her later is a big part of the franchise's appeal, at least to me. The Zelda games aren't overstuffed with inane, distracting lore. They boast a few marquee characters — Princess Zelda, the intrepid player character Link, the big-bad Ganon — but the rest of it, from their graphical stylings to how they actually play, shifts and slides from Zelda to Zelda, sometimes with tectonic severity.

"The Legend of Zelda: Breath of the Wild," released in 2017, embraced this path of divergence. It's often considered the greatest video game ever made. Needless to say, it's highly atypical when a series of any kind steps up to the plate for its 19th main installment and blasts the ball clear into the parking lot. I say that having barely played "Breath of the Wild." Instead, I watched my daughter play it, day after day, for weeks, during the opening innings of the pandemic. This was a Zelda game all right — mysterious and endlessly traversable — but it resembled the original Zelda the way a stromatolite resembles a sperm whale.

I've worked on and off in video game development for more than a decade, which is to say I don't think video games are bad for kids. On the contrary, I think the best games are plainly *good* for kids. Immoderate video game playing, like immoderate anything, should obviously be discouraged, but we never had that problem with our daughter. She'd always liked video games, but they rarely occupied her mind for long. "Breath of the Wild" changed that. Although the story it tells is roughly analogous to that of a Saturday morning cartoon, its gameplay and superb "puzzle shrines" — basically, escape rooms that must be solved via Link's time- and space-bending powers — often made "Breath of the Wild" feel like the unholy spawn of M.C. Escher and B.F. Skinner.

As my daughter experimented with Link's abilities to stop time for an object, to manipulate metallic objects with magnetism and to alter objects' mid-flight trajectories, I could almost sense the new neural pathways burning their way along her eager little brain. When I look back on developmental milestones, my daughter's first word, first step, first joke and first day of school are up there with her turning to me, grinning, after having finally figured out how to bypass the fiendish Hila Rao shrine in "Breath of the Wild." This should explain her anticipation for "Tears of the Kingdom," a direct sequel to "Breath of the Wild" — only the second direct sequel in the 37-year history of the franchise.

I played Zelda as an impish detective, investigating the humblest corners of the game world, bombing every rock and burning down every bush in the hopes of finding a secret door. What my daughter most loved about "Breath of the Wild," conversely, was futzing around with its elaborate systems. The cooking system, say, which allowed her to mix and match more than 100 ingredients, which sometimes resulted in a health-restoring omelet and other times in a pile of purple mush the game decorously referred to as "dubious food." She also enjoyed stacking the effects of Link's magical abilities — time-stopping a falling crate, say, then whacking it with her sword to redirect its trajectory, climbing atop and enjoying the ride once the time-stoppage effect wore off.

Link has a whole new array of thaumaturgical abilities in "Tears of the Kingdom," including one that, almost immediately, I sensed was going to be a problem. This ability, called Ultrahand (which sounds like a 1970s prog-rock arena band), allows Link to glue together wood, rock, wheels, tires, planks, engines and other stray items you find around the world. In practice, this allows the player to construct crude Lincoln Log-style boats, motorcycles, wagons, structures or, really, anything you can imagine.

Once the Ultrahand ability was unveiled, I watched my daughter spend an hour constructing a series of log rafts that were far too large and elaborate to float. Whenever I nudged her toward some enticing cave entrance or, you know, finding the lost Princess Zelda, she shushed me. Finally, she got one of her oversize log rafts to rest easy upon the water, shortly after which she figured out how to imbue it with mechanical rather than wind power. She spent the next couple hours elaborating upon this new development, which mostly involved her launching one unmanned raft after another across a lake.

When we found the abandoned mine carts, the question for my daughter became how many she could glue together and still get them moving along the rusted tracks. Between all the Ultrahand R&D, my daughter was also chopping down trees and fusing together the resultant logs to make lean-to structures, just in case she came back to an area later and it was raining and she wanted to "cook something." (God help us all, you can cook in "Tears of the Kingdom," too.) At one point, sensing my impatience, my daughter invoked the Wright brothers as her mathematical proof for the necessity of experimentation. What about all the monsters, I asked, the beasts and creatures she was duty-bound as Link to strike down with sword and bow? "Meh," she said, shrugging. "Pass."

"Pass?" I wanted to say to her. *"Pass?"* Fighting monsters is the whole point of the game! Which isn't even true, strictly speaking. "Tears of the Kingdom," like every Zelda game before it, is about wandering, thinking, tinkering. I adored the original "Legend of Zelda" because it made the rural Midwestern world I grew up in feel enigmatic, even mildly dangerous. My daughter is growing up in Los Angeles, in the Hollywood Hills, otherwise known as the Land Without Yards and Sidewalks. She can't walk outside our front door to play without putting herself immediately in the path of some Porsche Cayenne doing 40 in a 15. Games such as "Breath of the Wild" and "Tears of the Kingdom" might be the closest approximation she has for the sort of unstructured play I took for granted as a kid. I'm not here to lionize the era I grew up in, much less the region, but there's something to be said for an impossibly elaborate sandbox world that's filled with peril and secrets but also doubles as a place for a kid like my daughter to be a goal-less weirdo and goof.

You lose that ability as an adult. Even when we're in situations overtly shaped by play, we see them merely as opportunities to exploit, expand and conquer. But the purest forms of play are not supposed to incline us to exploit. They're supposed to incline us to poke and prod and explore.

I know my daughter will eventually get to the epic adventure part of "Tears of the Kingdom," and I know that, one day, she'll even rescue Zelda, but not until she has made the game world her own and pushed its systems to their limit. Until then, I'll happily watch her Ultrahand the most cockamamie wagon imaginable for her horse to drag up a mountainside. I'll watch her fill her inventory with mushroom skewers and dubious food. I'll watch her sneak up on wild horses, in the interest of breaking and taming them, even though her stable is already at capacity. I'll watch her dye her clothing orange, and then red, and then blue, and then orange again. Her life, I fear, as it plunges deeper into the 21st century, will be filled with far more Challenger disasters than Zelda releases. And so I'll tell her to remember this — the feeling of a world that feels lifted, not collapsed; conquerable, not corrupted; joyful, not terrifying. Remember this. And remember us, too, together. Playing.

Tom Bissell is an author and screenwriter. His books include "Extra Lives: Why Video Games Matter" and "Creative Types: And Other Stories."

KAREN ATTIAH

Gun and abortion laws have made Texas a woman's nightmare

Forget about Texas being pro-life. When it comes to guns, abortion and the lives of women, Texas has chosen the path of death.

The effective overturn of abortion access for women in Texas means that women must now travel out of state to safely end their pregnancies. In addition to that burden, many advocates for women have feared that these barriers would increase the risk of women being trapped in abusive relationships — as carrying a pregnancy to term and giving birth ties women more closely to abusers, via their shared children.

As if that weren't enough, gun owners in Texas, including domestic abusers, have simultaneously become more empowered because of the state's "permitless carry" laws — and because of a federal appeals court ruling striking down a law that prohibited people under domestic violence restraining orders from having guns. Advocates have hypothesized that pregnant women in Texas *and* their unborn children would be more likely to die at the hands of the men in their lives.

These fears became a fatal reality this month for 26-year-old Gabriella Gonzalez, who was allegedly killed by her boyfriend, 22-year-old Harold Thompson, after returning to Dallas from Colorado, where she had obtained an abortion.

According to law enforcement, surveillance video from a parking lot shows Thompson trying to choke Gonzalez. Shortly afterward, officers have said, Thompson is seen pulling a gun and shooting Gonzalez in the head, then shooting her several more times after she hit the ground. Gonzalez died at the scene. Thompson was arrested and charged with murder. He is being held in the Dallas County jail without bond.

This is a tragedy that anyone who knows anything about domestic violence might have seen coming. Gonzalez's family said they had previously reported Thompson's controlling and violent behavior to the police. A May affidavit, in which Gonzalez is described as "the victim," states that he had beaten his victim, given her a black eye and threatened to harm her and her family.



WASHINGTON POST STAFF ILLUSTRATION; PHOTOS BY ISTOCK/GETTY IMAGES

In an interview with Dallas's NBC station, Gonzalez's mother said that the family had filed a report about Thompson's abuse with local police in March and made multiple attempts to reach authorities, but that the police never contacted them. Gonzalez's sister, who witnessed the killing, said Thompson was "angry" that Gonzalez had "wanted to get away from him," and that Gonzalez had "wanted to leave, but she couldn't."

According to research published in 2021 by the Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology, "homicide during pregnancy or within 42 days of the end of pregnancy exceeded all the leading causes of maternal mortality by more than twofold." In a 2014 study published by BioMed Central, physical violence decreased when women had access to abortions and increased when women were denied them. There is not much definitive research into why men kill pregnant female partners, but common threads are that men feel jealous or less important to their partners, or fear loss of control in the relationship.

A review of data by the Texas Council on Family Violence found that in 2021, Texas had "the third highest number of intimate partner homicides in the last decade," with 204 people killed; 169 of those victims, or more than 80 percent, were women, and 75 percent of those women were killed with a gun.

Proponents of relaxed gun laws like to argue that people, especially women, should carry firearms to protect themselves from violence. As an enthusiastic gun seller told me in Fort Worth last year, "You can't rape a .38."

Perhaps more women are buying this argument — gun sales to women have risen in recent years. But those who argue that guns are an effective self-defense mechanism rarely seem to imagine husbands and boyfriends as threats. Or men who rape their wives and girlfriends.

Are pro-gun advocates, especially men, going to tell pregnant and postpartum women that they have a God-given right to kill the men in their lives who abuse them? Never going to happen.

Men are allowed, even encouraged, to train to take others' lives in the name of self-defense. But we punish women disproportionately for defending themselves against men. Women charged with killing their abusive male partners are subject to significantly longer prison sentences than men.

Until recently, women in Texas, in certain circumstances, had some hope of protecting themselves by terminating unwanted pregnancies. Now, that option is unavailable. The Gonzalez case is one example of how, under the new laws, women in the state have become more defenseless and endangered — in essence, more at risk of being killed.

In a dream world, if Texas and other so-called pro-life states wanted to reduce abortions, they would stop producing men willing to beat, rape and kill their female partners. But of course, that's a fantasy. Given the reality, Texas could at least stop granting such men easy access to guns. It could offer pregnant women more resources to leave abusive situations. It could have police departments that take domestic violence cases seriously and that do not leave frightened families to fend for themselves.

Perhaps, if she'd had the ability to terminate her pregnancy secretly in Texas, or if police had responded sooner, Gabriella Gonzalez would be alive today.

But, as I said, that's a dream world. For pregnant and abused women, Texas will only continue to be a nightmare.

OPINION



EMIN OZMEN/MAGNUM PHOTOS/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Abdelrahman ElGendy, an Egyptian writer and former political prisoner, on May 11.

My friend kept me human in prison. Please don't forget him.

BY ABDELRAHMAN ELGENDY

"Does the world even remember us, brother?"

The question came tucked in one of the letters our mothers smuggled to us in our separate prisons. I'd met Ayman, the author of the letter, one evening in October 2013 in a prison cell in the Egyptian desert. There were 64 of us crammed inside, a jumble of bodies hemorrhaging sweat, all arrested earlier that day at a protest against Egypt's military coup. The authorities had charged us with "unlawful assembly," the standard charge levied against protesters, and in a mass trial that felt like absurdist theater, we were given 15-year sentences. Six years and three months later, thanks to a miracle, I was released. Ayman hasn't been as lucky.

A little after midnight on that October night, a cell door opened and a guard flung shriveled bread and halva bars in our direction. The sight of prison food on the dirty floor unlocked something in me, and anguish gushed out, the knees of my sweatpants soaking up my tears like a tender shoulder. My cellmates tried to console me — I had told them I was supposed to be starting college that day, and I guess it had finally sunk in. I couldn't stop shaking.

In the background, I heard grunts of annoyance as someone walked over, failing to avoid stepping on other prisoners' hands and toes in the small cell. It took a few pokes from this someone for me to realize he had walked over to *me*. I raised my eyes. He was about 20, with a fresh goatee, chestnut-colored eyes and a wide, bright smile that creased the corners of his face.

"I hear you're going to the German University?"

I stared at his squatting figure, perplexed.

"I'm supposed to start my first day in a few hours," I said.

"No way! I studied engineering there for a couple semesters, but I failed computer science and transferred to the British University." He smiled. "You in engineering as well?"

I nodded.

He punched my shoulder. "You're lucky, man. This place is a piece of cake by comparison. *Way* easier."

And then it happened. I smiled.

"Look, the first week is lecture week," he said. "No sections. No one goes to class. Hopefully we'll be out of here by tomorrow anyways," he said and winked, running his fingers through his dark brown hair. "I'm Ayman Moussa." He stretched his hand toward mine.

"Abdelrahman ElGendy."

And so it began.

We couldn't have been more different, Ayman and me. I was 17; he was 19. Ayman radiated charisma, narrating wild stories of parties and dates. I stammered and confessed that I'd only ever had one girlfriend. (I didn't dare mention that she and I had been all of a chaste 10 years old.) Ayman could break-dance and had been on the national youth diving team; I spent my time devouring poetry and literature, hovering in the shadows.

And yet, for the next six years, Ayman and I were soulmates. Long after the other prisoners had gone to sleep, we'd stay up talking until the first sign of dawn, dreaming of what we'd do when we got out: He'd start his own gym, where I'd train with him for free. I'd write a memoir and dedicate a whole section to him in the acknowledgments. When he made it to the Olympics, I'd be there with him, cheering in the stands, and when I won a Pulitzer Prize, he'd give a speech at my award ceremony.

When we ended up separated from each other, we wrote letters that our family members would slip in with the mail from outside.

We remembered each other, always.

Sometime in 2015, we were moved to our fourth prison. To this day, I recall the sight of two lines of guards stretching from the back of the police truck to the prison gate. Handcuffed, clutching our plastic bags, we tangoed through the maze of men: dodging their punches, flitting to evade their whips, ducking to protect our faces.

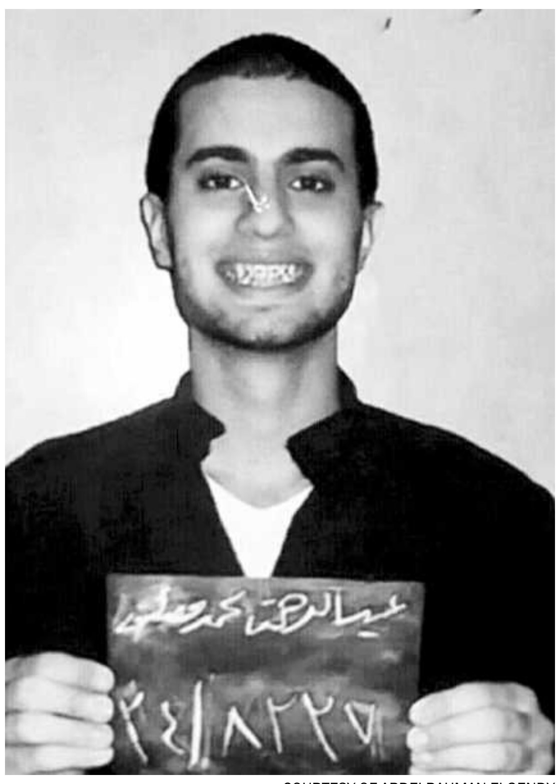
Inside the prison, Ayman stood 10 feet away as we peeled off our clothes for the guards' inspection, every touch implying: "We own you." Razor blades zipped across our heads, ringing our shoeless feet with tufts of cut hair and humanity.

I watched as it was Ayman's turn to step forward for the search. A guard's Swiss Army knife sliced his plastic bag, and Ayman's life tumbled to the ground.



FAMILY PHOTO

Ayman Moussa performing a backflip at the German University in Cairo when he was a student there.



COURTESY OF ABDELRAHMAN ELGENDY

A photo of Abdelrahman ElGendy in prison.

"What's this?" the guard barked, holding a purplish item up for inspection.

"An avocado," Ayman replied.

The guard dropped the fruit and stomped on it until its guts splattered beneath his boot. Ayman bent over, gathering the pieces of his existence inside a prison-issued blanket, tying its corners into a bundle.

"Emshy ya kossomak," the guard growled. *Move, motherf-----.* Ayman froze, clenching his jaw at the insult. I wanted to walk over and tell him that they were trying to break us, that they loathed us because they knew that we could sing through the pain, drown them out. I wanted to wrap my arms around him and tell him they could never fathom the way our laughter turned the stars behind the window bars to caramel, the way our tears coppered the morning sun.

I wanted to tell him, but I was too scared.

Instead, I blinked, my eyelids capturing the wretched scene like camera shutters.

One morning during our third year of incarceration, I shuffled back and forth along the one-meter-wide cell corridor of Wadi Al-Natroun prison, unable to bear the heat in the yard where Ayman worked out. I rolled up my undershirt in hopes of a breeze, then strode to the door and called to him.

"One more set and I'll be done!" Ayman yelled back as he hopped off the pull-up beam.

We ran to our cells and picked up the letters our families had smuggled in during our brief visits. We had a little ritual: We would crouch in the corridor, backs to the wall, and sift through the words together. We learned a lot about each other's lives — weddings, deaths, births. The news filled us with nostalgia, yearning: His brother had become a certified kite surfer; my introverted sister had been promoted in her student organization. Some letters inquired about our studies.

Back in 2013, the prison administration announced that we could benefit from a preexisting law for incarcerated students and sit for our final exams if our families provided proof of enrollment. Each semester, they'd bus all of us to Tora prison in Cairo, and teaching assistants would arrive to supervise the tests. I received study materials from supporters and learned what I had missed. I complained to Ayman about my frayed nerves as the new semester approached. I really couldn't imagine teaching myself engineering in prison for another year.

"Well, I have good news, bro," Ayman said, shrugging. "First week is lecture week."

We slapped our thighs and roared with laughter, even though we knew that the joke wasn't all that funny. We relished happy tears for a change, forgetting for a moment the itchy prison-issue blankets, the vomit-colored lentils, the claustrophobia of those cramped cells. "Lecture week" was our private joke, guaranteed to get a laugh, until one day five years on, I finished my degree.

I had Ayman to thank for that. He kept me laughing, which is to say, he kept me human.

Who makes him laugh now, I wonder?

Whenever we were moved to a new prison, Ayman and I would stand side by side, gawking though the chain-link fence at the sulky-faced old-timers with the hollow stares. Our pulses would spike as we imagined ourselves meeting the same fate.

But I wasn't there with him the day life maimed Ayman beyond repair. He'd been transferred to another prison when word arrived through the grapevine that Ayman's father had died of a heart attack, his heart condition made worse by his son's ordeal.

After Egyptian activists launched a social media campaign on his behalf, Ayman was given an hour-long furlough. He didn't know why until they dragged him out of a transport vehicle and into his family's apartment. Months later, he told me he'd heard nothing but a long, deafening whistle in his ears for the rest of that day. That was his only memory.

The break-dancing boy who had done backflips that could make your jaw drop, who tickled and teased our casemates when our 15-year sentence was announced, who joked as we put on our new convict uniforms, "At least navy-blue is more fashionable than pre-trial detention white!" — that boy ceased to exist.

How can he ever heal, when he hadn't been able to embrace his Baba a final time, wave him into the ground?

But he didn't cry the day his father died.

One of the few times I saw him shed a tear was in 2016, when he saw photos his mother had smuggled in from what would have been his graduation day. We looked at them together, mouths agape. His entire class, every last student, wore T-shirts with Ayman's face printed on them over their gowns. Ayman's mum told him how they had stomped on the stage, chanting his name, and thunder-clapped.

When I saw Ayman's eyes caressing the pictures, seeing in his frozen features a self who had long since slipped through the cracks of his memory, I understood the way remembering re-members — for a moment, at least, it can make one whole again.

Prison is designed to obliterate this sense of self. When one cannot blink without the threat of abuse breathing down one's neck, rebellion becomes a luxury; a person too broken to remember himself ceases to be a threat. Ayman's tears that day cemented my perception of revolution as an act of remembrance: of the world, by the world and, of course, of oneself.

In December 2019, suddenly and almost without warning, I was released. The public prosecution office had finally investigated my family's appeal — I had been a minor at the time of my arrest, so the argument was that my trial as an adult was invalid — and the office agreed. My 15-year sentence was summarily terminated. And so, as absurdly as I had walked in, I walked out. Ayman found out in a letter; he had been in another prison at the time.

Today, Ayman's breaths remain filtered through wrought-iron bars and chain-link fences, while I breathe freely. A technicality had gotten me out of prison, allowed me to become a graduate student on the other side of the world, while Ayman withers away, a whisper shy of his 30th birthday.

I grapple with the longing, the guilt I feel for the comrade I left behind.

2013 to 2023: 10 years and how much longer?

"Does the world even remember us, brother?" Ayman had asked.

Where do untold stories go? If no one remembers us, do the stories cease to exist? Do *we* cease to exist?

In the letters we exchange today, Ayman tells me that since my departure, he feels like an alien: no longer seen, no longer able to see. I tell him about the online campaign I launched for his release, calling on the authorities to grant him a presidential pardon. He responded ecstatically when he found out that his favorite singer, Wegz, shared a story about him on social media. Ayman is moved to know that complete strangers have heard his story, know his name.

I understand his joy: Over the years, our faces faded from the reminiscences of loved ones. The world moved on. But we prisoners remembered everything. Like frantic children, we clung to each memory.

I try to explain to people on the outside how being able to lean on someone widens the handcuffs, offers a lifeline, when you're in prison. Tucked away from the world, Ayman and I blew out matchsticks instead of candles on our birthdays, roasted illicit marshmallows on contraband lighters on holidays, and used humor as a shield when the prison walls loomed too close. We sobbed and laughed the night away.

That's why when Ayman handed me his notebook one day and asked me to write something for him to have as a keepsake for the day we would finally leave that place, I flipped to a blank page and wrote:

I don't know what to say, except: If I could go back to October 6, 2013, and redo my life, I would have to think about it. If I didn't get arrested, I'd never have met you.

At the start of the semester, when the phrase "lecture week" hangs in the air, other students think about squeaking chairs, rival syllabi and monotonous rambling of one or another professor. But not I. I will always recall the smile that defrosted the heart of a petrified 17-year-old who was destined never to see a lecture week. When I was curled in the corner of a cold cell, sobbing, when trepidation drained the air of hope, Ayman offered me friendship.

I hold my memories tight. I understand that when the powers that be seek to rewrite our stories and stomp on our souls, only one act of resistance remains.

Dear Ayman,

When the world forgets, I'll remember.

Abdelrahman ElGendy, an Egyptian writer and former political prisoner, is a Dietrich fellow in the University of Pittsburgh's nonfiction writing graduate program.

The model city for transforming downtowns?



PHOTOS BY CHRIS MALLOY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

It's in Canada.

BY THE EDITORIAL BOARD

Almost every direction one looks in downtown Calgary, there's a crane. The downtown transformation that so many other cities are desperate for is underway in Calgary, a city of 1.4 million in Alberta, which is often dubbed the "Texas of Canada" for its ties to the oil and gas industry. But today, office towers that once housed energy companies are rapidly being converted into apartments. Calgary offers a road map — and a tool kit — for D.C. and other beleaguered cities on how to make the switch rapidly and efficiently.

Calgary got a jump-start on its downtown metamorphosis because of the 2014 oil price crash. Initially, many believed the industry would bounce back, but by the time the coronavirus crisis hit, even the talk at Calgary's Petroleum Club had turned toward how to reinvent the city.

The numbers were dire: Offices vacancies were at more than 30 percent. There weren't just empty floors; there were empty towers. Fears spread of the city becoming the "next Detroit." At City Hall, staff calculated that the value of downtown commercial buildings had nosedived from nearly 25 billion Canadian dollars in 2015 to about 9 billion Canadian dollars in 2021. (One Canadian dollar is worth about 75 cents.) Ultimately, it galvanized the community to take dramatic action.

The biggest takeaway is to go big and bold. Calgary launched its turnaround plan with 200 million Canadian dollars and a goal to invest 1 billion in the next decade. It included incentives of up to 75 Canadian dollars per square foot for developers, and — equally important — City Hall sped up the permitting process to less than two months. So many developers applied that it was akin to a bidding war.

Another lesson is the importance of broad community buy-in. Property mogul Hannes Kovac took over the city's Real Estate Sector Advisory Committee at the end of 2020. He and co-chair Trent Edwards held their first meeting in January 2021. When they presented parts of the greater downtown plan to the City Council in April 2021, it was clear this wasn't a real estate developer's wish list; it was a community plan with input from retail, arts, nonprofits, government, businesses, education and more. The endorsement from so many sectors led to a 10-3 approval from the council.

The heart of the strategy was a big, yet simple, incentive program to transform offices into apartments to increase the number of downtown residents. Under the plan, developers submit bids to a newly created Downtown Strategy office. If approved, funds are set aside but developers don't get the money until the building opens for residents. This puts the risk on the developer if a project fails.

As for permitting, "Our mantra is to move at the pace of business," said Sheryl McMullen, manager of investment and marketing for the Downtown Strategy office.

Two years after Calgary's council approved the turnaround plan, the city is nearly a quarter of the way to its goal of transforming 6 million square feet of office space into new uses, especially apartments. Calgary is largely a commuter city with many living in the suburbs and exiting quickly after work, creating a ghost town feel.

One transformed building already has residents living in it and is made up entirely of affordable housing. Eleven other office conversions are underway, with one set to open later this year. The initial round was so successful that the city quickly approved a second. Even more applications poured in, including from large national firms. Now there is a push to spur office conversions to hotels, schools and art centers, as well as demolition of buildings deemed too hard to transform.

Maxim Olshevsky, managing director of People-first Developments, is a Ukrainian immigrant who grew up a few blocks away from the office tower he is now transforming. He had watched Calgary's "West End" deteriorate after the 2014 oil price slump. He knew the corner building at 909 5th Ave SW had been empty for years. He even sent an email of interest to his mortgage broker about it in 2018 because he saw the potential (his broker wasn't enthusiastic at the time). But after the council approved the incentives, he bought it.

In his hard hat, Mr. Olshevsky walks through the building, dubbed the Cornerstone, pointing out the balconies and three-bedroom units for families he's putting in. There's already a waiting list of people interested in renting there. The project has gone so well that Mr. Olshevsky just announced he's doing another conversion nearby. He plans to transform the city's iconic Petro Fina building to make it a beacon of the city's rising fortunes in a new era.

"Nothing is more attractive to investors and developers than the reduction of red tape," Mr. Olshevsky said, praising the speedup of Calgary's bureaucracy.

One of the controversial aspects of Calgary's program is that it gives grants with no strings attached. There are no requirements for affordable housing. Projects such as Mr. Olshevsky's aim for "attainable luxury" with about 40 percent below-market units. In a city where rents have shot up 25 percent in the past year, there's a dire need for housing that the middle class, let alone families living paycheck to paycheck, can afford. Officials say so many developers have applied that the city has been able to be picky. Projects that aim to build larger, more reasonably priced units typically receive preference.

Calgary was also fortunate that at the same time the city approved the downtown plan, a nonprofit developer called HomeSpace, which specializes in affordable housing, put forward a proposal to transform an office building, too. (It received local, provincial and federal funding.) The project was completed in a miraculous 12 months and became Calgary's first office-to-residential conversion to open. The Neoma building houses a homeless shelter on two floors and low-income housing on the rest. It's bright and edgy, with large murals inside and out. Kids who live there even get to choose artwork donated from local artists to decorate their bedrooms. It's heralded as an overwhelming success, but there are no other affordable conversion projects like it in the works. "Not everybody makes top dollar and can live in these million-dollar condos," said Bernadette Majdell, chief executive of HomeSpace.

Momentum is palpable among builders and city officials who say the 10-year plan is ahead of even their most optimistic projections. The "East Village" side of downtown is thriving again, buoyed by Calgary's Central Library, an architectural masterpiece that opened in late 2018 and continues to draw people of all ages. Sarah Meilleur, Calgary Public Library's chief executive, said 86 percent of visitors are back at the central location. Arts centers and a college nearby are also humming again. It's no longer a leap of faith to invest there.

It's different on the west side of downtown, where many of the city's conversion dollars are going. Riding Calgary's free tram line west reveals more graffiti, boarded-up buildings and "for lease" signs, a jolt when viewed against the awe-inspiring Canadian Rockies in the distance. The small-business owners of Yara Flower Art and Daily King Convenience Store said they had not felt any uptick yet. There are pockets of hope — the Westley Hotel is housed in a recently converted office — but across the street are vacant buildings and a concrete lot where a construction company is keeping spare windows and dumpsters. Like many cities, Calgary has seen some increase in crime. A series of stabbings downtown in early April added to fears.

But almost everyone, even shop owners, said they were staying put because they can see movement.

Mayor Jyoti Gondek was a progressive council member in April 2021 when she voted in favor of the downtown transformation. Now, as mayor, she's keeping in mind a warning from Houston leaders when she consulted them about revitalization: "People get antsy in the first year and they want results right away. You have to stay the course."

The next task for Ms. Gondek is persuading the province to kick in funding for another university campus downtown. It has become a big issue in the upcoming Alberta provincial elections this month. But most expect some money will eventually come.

For now, Calgary's leaders point to the cranes — and the emails and voice mails they've been getting from leaders in San Francisco and other U.S. cities — as a reminder they are doing a lot right. D.C. officials should be calling, too.



TOP: Commercial redevelopment on the west side of 5th Street SW in Calgary by the Manulife building. ABOVE: A large mural by artist Jacquie Comrie depicts motherhood and a fresh start on the side of the Neoma building, the first office-to-apartment conversion to open in Calgary's redevelopment. BELOW: Condemned commercial properties along 4th Avenue SW.



The Washington Post
AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER



EDITORIAL

Here is how to think about Mr. Biden's age

It might not be the decisive issue, but it is one the president will need to address.

IF A REMINDER was necessary as to the potential stakes in 2024's election, former president Donald Trump's performance at a CNN town hall with New Hampshire voters on May 10 provided it. The Republican front-runner remains as committed to his lies about the 2020 election, as extreme in his approach to major issues — for example, encouraging GOP members of Congress to hold the debt limit hostage for "massive cuts" — and as belligerent as ever. Mr. Trump's nomination is not yet ensured, but his words foreshadowed the chaos that a second Trump administration might bring.



Therefore, the event provided a fresh reason to focus on President Biden's bid for reelection, which appears to be unopposed except by two long shots within the Democratic Party. The strong likelihood of Mr. Biden's nomination, in turn, raises his greatest vulnerability in a general election: his age. In seeking another four-year term so late in life, Mr. Biden, who would be 82 on Nov. 20, 2024, is asking voters to do something unprecedented. And they seem to have reservations about it. Seventy percent of U.S. adults do not believe Mr. Biden should run again, and 69 percent cite his age as either a "major" or "minor" reason, according to a recent NBC News survey.

What is the right way to think about this unique situation? First, voters need to maintain a sense of perspective. "Don't compare me to the Almighty. Compare me to the alternative," the president likes to say. He has a point, particularly if the alternative to four more years of Mr. Biden is four more years of Mr. Trump — who would himself be 78 on Election Day next year.

Nevertheless, there is a rational basis to concerns about Mr. Biden's age. His frequent verbal lapses do not help assuage them. There is no public evidence these moments reflect anything other than the forgetfulness and difficulty at multitasking that often occurs among generally healthy seniors, according to the National Institute on Aging. In a way, though, that's just the point. They're normal. Voters can expect more of the same in a second term.

Mr. Biden's physicians have declared him, credibly, in good physical and mental shape relative to his years. Yet Social Security Administration actuarial data indicates the average person his age can expect to live an additional 8.5 years. This points to another reality: the risk, in a second term, of serious health challenges or even invocation of the 25th Amendment, which deals with presidential disability.

History provides at least one counterexample: Konrad Adenauer was 87 when he stepped down after 14 years as chancellor of West Germany, having started in 1949 at the age of 73. Still, the median age of world leaders is 62, according to the Pew Research Center. And the U.S. presidency, with its enormous international responsibilities, is an especially demanding office. Nor is the presidency comparable with service in Congress (median age: 57.9 years for the House; 65.3 years for the Senate), where an aged member's death or disability could force a single state or district into a possibly disruptive transition — but not a whole branch of government.

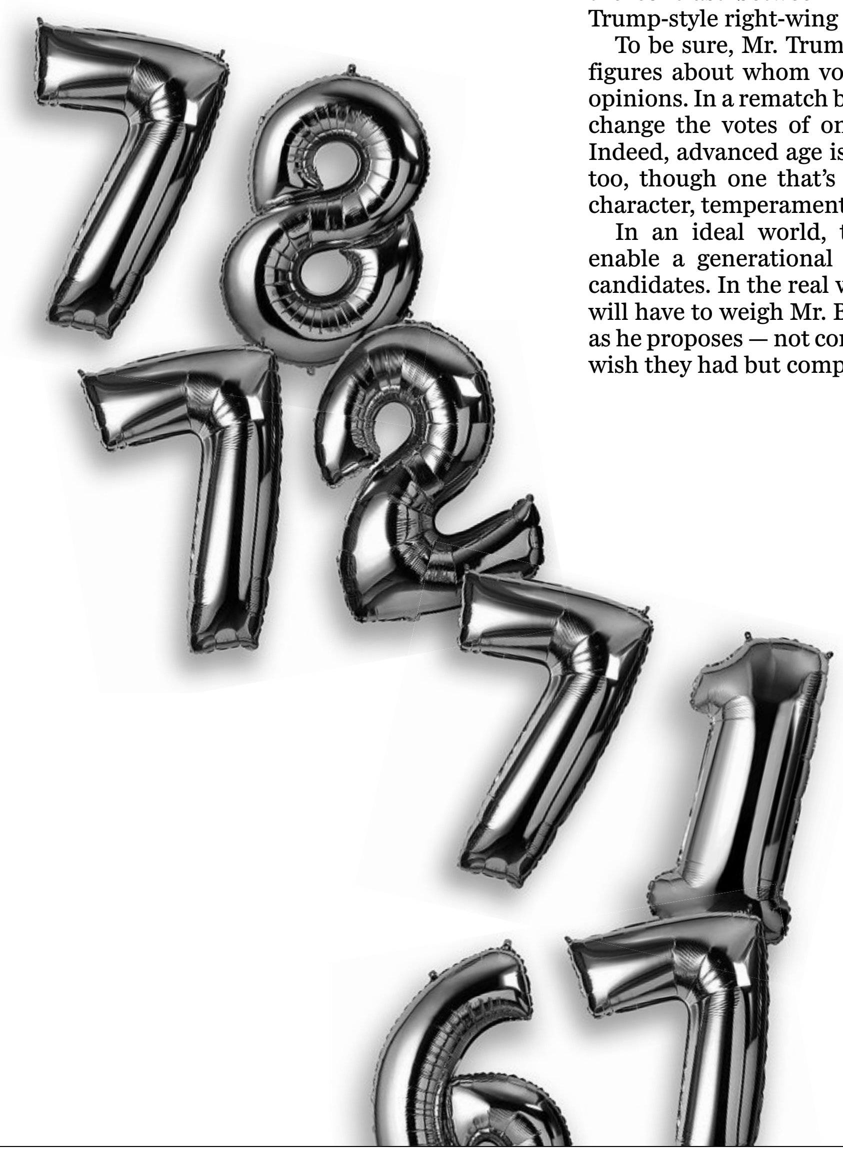
In short, Mr. Biden's age is not inevitably the decisive issue, but it is a real one, and he will have to address it, forthrightly, whether the choice in 2024 is between him and Mr. Trump or another Republican. The public has a right to know details about his health, physical and mental, and about what he is doing to maintain it. The president also has an obligation to interact with the public, especially with reporters, regularly, and in settings that are not tightly controlled by the White House staff.



The good news is that, after a long period of shunning the media, Mr. Biden has fielded questions on several occasions, including an April 26 joint news conference with the South Korean president. In that encounter, he acknowledged that voters are evaluating this historically unparalleled aspect of his candidacy: "I respect them taking a hard look at it. I'd take a hard look at it as well," he said. That was the right attitude. By acting on it, Mr. Biden could reassure voters and shift the campaign to the contrast between his record and the GOP brand: Trump-style right-wing populism.

To be sure, Mr. Trump and Mr. Biden are well-known figures about whom voters have already formed strong opinions. In a rematch between them, the age issue might change the votes of only a relative handful of people. Indeed, advanced age is a question mark for Mr. Trump, too, though one that's overshadowed by his defects of character, temperament and extremism.

In an ideal world, the U.S. political system would enable a generational update among our presidential candidates. In the real world, it looks as if voters in 2024 will have to weigh Mr. Biden's advanced age more or less as he proposes — not compared with the alternatives they wish they had but compared with the ones they do.



DRAWING BOARD CLAY BENNETT



BY CLAY BENNETT FOR THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES FREE PRESS

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

letters@washpost.com

Big Brother in Fairfax

Fairfax County School Board members are considering an Orwellian bias-incident reporting system for the district's students. A similar reporting system is facing an uphill legal battle in neighboring Loudoun County. It would have students, parents and staff members report "any incident of inappropriate conduct, including, and without limitation, discrimination, harassment, retaliation, bullying, other violations of civil rights."

In other words, Fairfax County Public Schools is signaling that the eyes of Big Brother are on our children.

The proposed changes to the district's code of conduct further includes a mandatory "culturally responsive intervention" to any student accused of what the district defines as "hate speech." In its most expansive definition, hate speech in Fairfax County Public Schools is "any form of expression intended to humiliate or incite hatred against a group or class of persons based upon their actual or perceived race, ethnicity, color, national origin, citizenship/immigration status, weight, gender, gender identity, gender expression, sexual orientation, or disability."

Fairfax County school administrators use the "Bullying and Harassment Management System" for incident reporting. Why the district needs a broader system, what the cost of inevitable legal challenges regarding First Amendment violations will be, how administrators could possibly determine students' intentionality and what the proposed reeducation training entails are all unclear.

Stephanie Lundquist-Arora, *Springfield*

The Durham report reactions

If you read Marc A. Thiessen's May 18 op-ed, "A damning indictment of the FBI — and the media" and believed it, you'd be a victim of the media misinformation he railed about.

Despite the admittedly thin source of information that instigated the FBI investigation and the Mueller report, the fact remains that the Mueller report cited at least 10 instances of probable obstruction of justice by then-President Donald Trump in response to the investigation. Was it for no reason?

Then-Attorney General William P. Barr declined to pursue any of those alleged obstructions and made a point of whitewashing the entire Mueller report before it came out and anyone else could read it.

And, of course, the doubt the American public has about the veracity of reporting is greatly fueled by the rise of right-wing echo chambers such as Fox News.

William Hettinger, *Rockville*

Marc A. Thiessen's May 18 op-ed accused "the media" of playing down special counsel John Durham's "damning indictment of the FBI" and contributing to the tragic events of Jan. 6, 2021.

Mr. Durham's report was hardly revelatory and certainly was no justification for the additional taxpayer expense. His report resulted in no new charges for wrongdoing, unlike Robert S. Mueller III's investigation. The FBI misconduct Mr. Durham and Mr. Thiessen rehashed was addressed by the Justice Department's inspector general report.

Mr. Thiessen implied that a baseless "conspiracy theory" has wasted precious resources and time, but he failed to report Mr. Mueller's introductory admonition that "the investigation did not always yield . . . a complete picture of the activities undertaken by subjects of the investigation" because of the limitations of his purview, deleted and encrypted communications, false and incomplete statements by Trump campaign associates, and their invocation of their Fifth Amendment rights.

Nor did Mr. Thiessen mention the 2020 GOP-led Senate Intelligence Committee's damning findings regarding connections between the Trump campaign and Russia.

Notice, too, Mr. Thiessen's glib gloss on the critical phrase "as part of the materials"; it is already an acknowledged fact that Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act warrants for Carter Page did not rely solely on the dossier.

Most galling, Mr. Thiessen excoriated "the media" for insufficient curiosity, creating distrust, misleading the public and "directly [contributing] to the events of Jan. 6, 2021." Outrageously, Mr. Thiessen failed to mention the epic defamation suit against Fox News, the largest conservative media outlet, that was recently settled. Nor did he acknowledge that the Republican politicians and operatives who repeated the falsehoods from conservative media indubitably contributed to the anger that led to Jan. 6.

Natalie Lauren Patten, *Washington*

Paul Waldman's description — "a molehill" — in his May 17 op-ed, "Trump finds use for the Durham dud," of special counsel John Durham's report of the FBI investigation into Russian interference on behalf of Donald Trump's 2016 presidential campaign will be ignored by the fanatical Trumpites in Congress and the current version of the Republican Party.

But all the would-be apologists for the former president's pro-Russian policies and statements need to be reminded of one particular investigation. And that is the conclusions of the Republican-led Senate Intelligence Committee on Aug. 18, 2020.

That committee, led by Republican Sens. Richard Burr (N.C.) and Marco Rubio (Fla.), concluded — and I believe unanimously — that Russia intervened broadly and deeply to try to help Mr. Trump win the 2016 election. The committee, while saying there was no "coordinated" link, found that there were extensive contacts between Trump campaign leaders and Russian officials in an all-out attack to help Mr. Trump.

No wonder he accepted Russian President Vladimir Putin's denial of interference at Helsinki, turning his back on U.S. intelligence agencies; no wonder Russian gun interests donated to the National Rifle Association to help Mr. Trump in 2016. No wonder Mr. Trump today effectively supports Mr. Putin's war in Ukraine.

Fred Hill, *Arrowsic, Maine*

Did the May 17 editorial "Would you pay $6.5 million for this investigation?" seriously question the $6.5 million cost into special counsel John Durham's investigation — when the erroneous Mueller investigation that prompted the Durham investigation cost $32 million? Based on those significantly different costs, perhaps the editorial should have questioned why the Mueller investigation cost so much.

The fact is that the FBI's flawed handling of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act applications to surveil Trump adviser Carter Page was the ultimate catalyst for two unnecessary investigations costing taxpayers $38.5 million.

Mike Jones, *Alexandria*

Long-term help for Ukraine

Regarding Mark Hertling's May 17 op-ed, "Why Ukraine hasn't counterattacked just yet":

The war between Russia and Ukraine is the ongoing, life-or-death case study of a live, as-it-happens, conventional (nonnuclear, so far) war between two nations with crucial worldwide implications and heavy, if indirect, U.S. participation. This is an extremely rare, almost World War I-style military battle that war colleges must be studying minute by minute around the clock and will continue to study for many years to come.

The motivational and other psychological factors involved in this war are as important as the physical tactics and weaponry involved.

Ben Lacy, *Washington*

The excellent May 18 editorial "How to protect Ukraine — after the war" fell short in one respect.

I strongly believe that the United States should enter into a security treaty with Ukraine to deter another Russian invasion. We did so with the Republic of Korea when United Nations forces negotiated a cease-fire on the Korean Peninsula in July 1953.

That cease-fire has held for 70 years, and the treaty has deterred attacks by China and its North Korean ally.

Richard W. Murphy, *Bethesda*

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FAREED ZAKARIA

Turkey's free and unfair election

Many of us had high hopes for Turkey's recent general election, believing that a flat-out victory for the opposition could mark a break with the worldwide trend toward illiberal democracy. But perhaps we were all misguided, seduced by the lure of free elections and trusting ultimately in the will of the people. In fact, what happened in Turkey this past weekend highlights the latest and most disturbing trend in the rise of illiberal democracy.

While incumbent President Recep Tayyip Erdogan did not win outright reelection, the results were sort of a victory for him all the same. He did better than polls predicted and came out well ahead of his main opponent, leaving him highly likely to win a runoff scheduled for May 28. This is stunning, given that Turkey is a country in economic catastrophe, with sky-high inflation. The vote also took place just months after an earthquake, in which the government performed miserably.

Consider, though, the backdrop to these elections. Erdogan was up against Kemal Kilicdaroglu, the opposition candidate, a colorless bureaucrat without much charisma or eloquence. But the opposition had little alternative. The president had already eliminated from the field perhaps his most powerful potential rival, Ekrem Imamoglu, a charismatic politician from the same party as Kilicdaroglu, who was on a winning streak. In 2019, Imamoglu handily won the election for Istanbul mayor, a pivotal position that was Erdogan's own path to power.

But on the flimsiest grounds, Erdogan's party claimed fraud, and the electoral council ordered a fresh round of voting. Imamoglu won the second election by a larger margin. So Imamoglu was then charged with insulting public officials over the incident and was tried by a judiciary that has been widely described as packed with ruling party loyalists. Sure enough, last December, a court barred Imamoglu from politics and sentenced him to prison for almost three years. The decision is under appeal. In the meantime, though, Imamoglu has been prevented from running for the presidency.

Turkey's political playing field is massively tilted in favor of Erdogan. The state lavishes funds on his supporters, and the country's media is slavishly pro-government. Most of Turkey's major media properties have been bought by business executives who are supporters of Erdogan. (The largest business group that maintained its distance from the president found itself mysteriously facing massive charges of tax fraud and ultimately sold its media holdings to a more compliant owner.)

State television, the country's main source of broadcast news, relentlessly extols the virtues of Erdogan and his party and trumpets the achievements of the government. In April, state TV spent 32 hours on coverage of Erdogan vs. 32 minutes for his opponent. Of all democracies, Turkey imprisons the most journalists. The Turkish government initiated more than 30,000 cases for the offense of "insulting the president" — in just one year (2020).

Erdogan's government has systematically taken over ostensibly independent institutions, including courts and the body that controls elections. (If the May 28 runoff election turns out to be close and the opposition candidate comes out ahead, you can be sure that Erdogan will appeal — and that the election authorities will rule for him, just as they did in the case of the Istanbul mayoral vote.) Nongovernmental organizations face severe government investigation and scrutiny, limiting their ability to operate. The government has passed laws giving it tight control over social media and, over the election weekend, asked Twitter to block the accounts of about a dozen opposition figures. After February's earthquake, when the government confronted intense criticism on social media for its mishandling of the disaster, it simply blocked Twitter for a while.

This is the next innovation in illiberal democracy. Elected presidents and prime ministers use their majorities to pass laws that give them sustained structural advantages over their opponents. They use government funds to shower their supporters with benefits. They file tax and regulatory cases against independent media groups, investigate journalists and NGOs, and reshape independent agencies and courts into compliant arms of the ruling party. They then hold "free" elections.

Erdogan's tactics will seem depressingly familiar to citizens in many democracies around the world. Look at India, once home to fiercely independent media. Today, it has fallen to No. 161 in a world press freedom index issued by Reporters Without Borders. Look at Hungary, where the government and pro-government businesses control almost all the country's media, and the body overseeing the judiciary effectively became an arm of the ruling party, drawing the ire of the European Union. (The office's first head was a godparent to Prime Minister Viktor Orban's oldest child.) Look at Mexico, where the president has tried to gut that country's proudly independent election authority.

When elections are held in these circumstances, and international observers duly note that the ballots were properly cast and counted and then certify such elections to be genuinely competition, they are doing the world a disservice. We need a new vocabulary to describe this phenomenon. Are such elections free? Technically, yes — but they are also profoundly unfair.



WASHINGTON POST PHOTOS

Clockwise from top left: President Biden, Sen. Charles E. Grassley (R-Iowa), Martha Stewart and Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.).

KATHLEEN PARKER

America's gerontocracy is getting too old

Forget about aging gracefully. We've reached a moment when the old refuse to resign, when pouty octogenarians hawk sex appeal from magazine covers (okay, just one), and when officials teetering on the brink of non compos mentis insist upon leading the country.

The notion of a generational changing of the guard has become a relic. But the past days and weeks have brought several reminders that age won't be denied no matter how many live in denial.

Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.) recently returned to the Senate after a 2½-month medical leave necessitated by a shingles infection. The oldest current-serving member of Congress, Feinstein, 89, entered the chamber looking weak and diminished, presumably from the painful effects of the virus. She was in town to resume work, she said, while also saying she'd been at work all along, as though she'd never left.

When a reporter asked whether she meant she had been working from home, Feinstein said, "No, I've been here. I've been voting. Please — You either know or don't know."

True enough. Feinstein already announced she won't run for reelection in 2024, when she will be 91. This followed reports of her mental decline by several colleagues, including three Democratic senators, three former staffers and a Democratic House member from California. They agreed that her memory deterioration meant she couldn't do her job even with help from her staff.

In fact, Feinstein voted last week and attended a Judiciary Committee hearing to approve nominations that had been stalled by her absence. Otherwise, she's keeping a light schedule on doctor's orders and getting around in a wheelchair. Unsurprisingly, 83-year-old Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) has called reports about Feinstein's mental diminishment "ridiculous attacks that are beneath the dignity in which she has led and the esteem in which she is held."

Commentary about someone's age and related issues is painful to write and painful to read. At best, it seems disrespectful. But public life carries a duty to be honest with oneself while self-awareness is still possible.

Which brings us, inevitably, to President Biden. At times I think, *oh, whew, he got through that speech pretty well.* I'm always pulling for him because he's our president. I want him to be strong; I wish him good health and strong knees. But at other times, his speech is so muddled, I have no idea what he's saying, and it seems he doesn't either.

I hate saying this, but Biden is too old to serve another four years, not least because, should he become debilitated by illness or injury, we'll be saddled with one of the least-popular Democratic candidates from the 2020 primary campaign: Vice President Harris. Her word salads make Biden seem like Demosthenes. Ninety percent of the time, I have no idea what she's talking about. Or why she's laughing.

Here is Harris addressing climate change: "We will work together, and continue to work together, to address these issues . . . and to work together as we continue to work, operating from the new norms, rules, and agreements, that we will convene to work together . . . we will work on this together."

And she's only 58.

Lest my observations seem partisan, Sen. Charles E. Grassley, 89, has served as one of Iowa's senators since 1981. That's eight terms for Grassley, who, by the way, is fit as a fiddle. Just ask him. He described his daily routine to a group of Iowa radio reporters last fall: "I go to bed at 9. Get up at 4. [Run] two miles in morning. Get to the office before 6. Usually in the office until 6:30, quarter 'til 7. I have a full schedule when I'm in the office — you know, committee meetings, caucuses, interviews like this that I do 52 times a year."

Grassley forgot to mention that he'll drop to the floor and do push-ups for no reason whatsoever, and has the best Senate attendance record, according to one of his ads.

No one has challenged Grassley's mental acuity, though the Iowan will be 95 at the end of his term. I suppose he, like many men, worries that retirement means imminent death. But can't a case be made for going home as a gesture of good manners and fair play — to give someone else a turn at the wheel? Surely, some younger version of Grassley can vote for what Iowans want.

I'm guessing not many women are busting their bustles to challenge another older woman, who, the same week Feinstein rolled back into the Capitol, was flashing leg on the cover of the 2023 Sports Illustrated swimsuit issue. Martha Stewart just can't quit herself. For just $15.99 plus $4 shipping, you can view the 81-year-old vixen posing in a variety of bathing suits, including a white bikini. In one photo, she's lying on a beach, leaning on one arm and looking a little sleepy, as a young dude in jeans-no-shirt rides a stallion through the shallows, dragging two more horses behind him.

To each her own — and heaven forbid anyone should judge any woman's decision about her body — but note to self: To all things there is a season. Martha looks fine from what I've seen online, but I'd buy the magazine only for her beauty Rolodex — names, numbers and none of this nonsense about drugstore body glow.

She has no plans to retire, but you knew that. The woman who is about to publish her 100th book is in an important way different from the rest: No one can replace Martha.

St. Jude isn't the only cancer charity for kids

BY LAURIE STRONGIN

I was refueling my car at a gas station near my D.C. office recently when a prompt appeared on the pump: It urged me to donate to St. Jude Children's Research Hospital, one of the nation's largest and wealthiest pediatric cancer charities, based in Memphis.

The sight of that prompt was so frustrating because my office is the headquarters of the Hope for Henry Foundation, a local nonprofit organization I founded two decades ago to enhance health outcomes for Washington's most vulnerable children. How, I thought, can Hope for Henry have the best chance of finding support for its work when the fundraising behemoth St. Jude is essentially knocking on doors in our neighborhood from nearly a thousand miles away?

The well of charitable support in this country is both deep and broad, and raising money is not a zero-sum game among nonprofits. But because fundraising can also be a business — with the biggest nonprofits spending the most money to make the most money — it's worthwhile to remind folks now and again to think about how they choose the organizations they support.

Last year, the investigative journalism outlet ProPublica reported that of the $2 billion St. Jude raised to much fanfare in fiscal 2021, nearly half went unspent, and that by the end of that period, the hospital's reserve fund had grown to $7.6 billion. In related articles, ProPublica questioned the charity's financial management and mission fulfillment as it documented families sleeping in their cars to access treatment.

Local institutions that are closest to the needs of their communities, start-ups that offer new energy and innovation in their field and other midsize nonprofits often find themselves overshadowed by the colossal presence of the St. Judes of the world. Large national organizations certainly do plenty of good work serving many people, and charitable donations are the oxygen they need. It is only when they start hoarding the oxygen tanks — or leaving billions unspent — that potential donors should consider whether their dollars are making a difference in someone's life.

St. Jude's formidable fundraising arm, the American Lebanese Syrian Associated Charities, spent $626 million in fiscal 2021, accounting for 35 percent of all the organization's expenses that year. Among other things, ALSAC's money buys hundreds of millions of direct-mail solicitations and celebrity-endorsed commercials that blanket television and social media. Shouting loudly in this way has helped give St. Jude the image as *the* preeminent children's cancer charity. And, indeed, in 2020, it attracted more funding than the nine hospitals ranked higher in pediatric cancer care in the U.S. News & World Report rankings combined.

And it's not just a matter of competition for dollars. Spreading news, information and, yes, appeals around our message and mission is challenging, especially in children's health care, where St. Jude has trademarked the common phrases "Finding cures. Saving children." These kinds of monopolistic tactics can hamper the fundraising efforts of other nonprofits, especially those working in the children's cancer research and treatment space, including Hope for Henry and this community's own cutting-edge Children's National Hospital.

In addition to being home to such world-class hospitals as Children's, MedStar Georgetown's Lombardi Comprehensive Cancer Center and Inova Children's Cancer Program, which treat local children fighting cancer every day, the Washington area is replete with nonprofit organizations that focus on the care of sick kids. These include such groups as Horizon Day Camp, Children's Inn at NIH and DC Candlelighters Childhood Cancer Foundation, all of which rely on the generosity of their neighbors and corporate support to do the great work they do to help our area's sickest children heal and thrive.

As St. Jude continues on its fundraising course — including with an inaugural Global Gala to be held at Washington National Cathedral in June — perhaps it's time for the local businesses, philanthropies and individuals who plan to attend to pause and reflect. I encourage them to have a good time and learn about critical issues in pediatric health care. But I also urge them to make informed giving decisions, prioritizing factors such as local impact — and an equitable distribution of resources.

The writer is founder and chief executive of the Hope for Henry Foundation.

GEORGE F. WILL

There's a name for the debt ceiling debate

Today's dispute about raising the government's borrowing limit might produce an anesthetizing boredom because such contretemps occur frequently. And because this one probably will end, as 11 of the 14 since 2008 have (including three during the previous administration), with other measures attached to an increase of the limit. Some people, however, who are fluent in today's vocabulary of catastrophe (the planet is boiling, democracy is dying, etc.) think there is a risk of a default that will blow prosperity to rags and atoms.

Actually, there is a name for what is occurring: politics. Republicans are resisting progressives' usual three priorities: unrestrained spending, unconstrained presidential power, and unlimited deference by Congress to the administrative state's regulatory agencies.

House Republicans have been prone to fractiousness. And to fantasies, e.g., promising to balance the budget in 10 years, which the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget says would require cutting nondefense discretionary spending 85 percent. Now, however, they are united and realistic. They have coupled raising the debt ceiling with some measures as moderate as they are sensible.

One is restraint in the rate of *increase* of the small (15 percent) discretionary nondefense spending portion of the budget. The House GOP proposal: 1 percent annual increases after going all the way back to the spending level of — brace yourself — 2022.

House Republicans' most important provision is designed to partially revive the much diminished — the largely self-diminished — role of the legislative branch. It would combat the leakage of legislative branch responsibilities to the executive branch. It would require Congress to participate, more than it often wants to, in governing. The provision stipulates that all "major" regulations (those with annual economic impacts of at least $100 million) shall not go into effect until Congress takes responsibility by explicitly approving them.

This assertion of congressional power would combat executive aggrandizement and somewhat reverse the marginalization of Congress. It accords with Republicans' refusal to comply with President Biden's ukase to Congress regarding the borrowing limit: Stay out of governing. Pipe down and raise the ceiling unconditionally.

Biden's need to climb down from his refusal to negotiate with the legislature — which enacted the debt ceiling — is related to the fact that he is the most rhetorically clumsy president since the invention of broadcasting. In a 16-month span, he has given three of the worst speeches — shrill, divisive, untethered from facts — in the 234-year history of presidential rhetoric.

Atlanta, Jan. 11, 2022: Georgia's new voting laws are "Jim Crow 2.0" and "voter suppression." (Ten months later, Georgians broke the state's midterm turnout records.)

Philadelphia, Sept. 1, 2022: The nation's "foundations" are threatened by extremists who "do not believe in the rule of law." (This, from a president repeatedly reprimanded by the Supreme Court for his extralegal, anti-constitutional executive highhandedness regarding vaccine mandates, rent moratoriums, the Environmental Protection Agency presuming to redesign the electric power industry, and — perhaps, soon — student loan forgiveness. So far, Biden has not uttered a peep against progressives' itch to delegitimize the Supreme Court by enlarging it.)

To Howard University, May 13: Assaults on "our right to vote" are coinciding with Black history "being erased" by a "ferocious pushback" from "sinister" forces so powerful they are achieving erasure despite the vigilance of Biden, democracy's savior. (Spoken 10 weeks after Black History Month.)

The sound you hear is the rustling of chickens coming home to roost. A critical mass of Americans probably has come to the conclusion that Biden does not mean what he says. The public's cynicism does not matter much when he is just emitting noise about how the survival of what George Washington founded and Abraham Lincoln preserved now depends on . . . him. His flapdoodle is, however, important when he says: Trust me, I will negotiate serious spending restraints and other reforms — but only after Republicans forfeit their leverage regarding the debt ceiling.

Progressives' unvarying agenda is to concentrate power in Washington, to concentrate Washington power in the executive branch, and to concentrate ever more of that power in administrative agencies that are effectively exempt from being accountable to people who are accountable to voters. Hence progressives' impatience with the Constitution and its separation of powers.

This rivalry between the branches usually gives each party the power to stymie the other sufficiently to compel compromise. Unless the president considers this institutional architecture unreasonable, even unintelligible. Ohio's John Sherman (1823-1900), senator and secretary of state, warned us: "The Constitution provides for every accidental contingency in the executive — except a vacancy in the mind of the president."

The Washington Post | LIVE

Coming Up This Week



MON. MAY 22 AT 11:30 A.M.

'YOU HURT MY FEELINGS'

Julia Louis-Dreyfus, Actor & Producer
Tobias Menzies, Actor

The actors offer an inside look at their new comedy about a long marriage that is suddenly upended.



TUES. MAY 23 AT 9:00 A.M.

'NO LABELS'

Joe Lieberman, Founding Chair, No Labels and Former Senator (I-Conn.)
Pat McCrory, Co-Founder, No Labels and Former Governor (R-N.C.)

Lieberman and McCrory discuss a $70 million effort to get a potential third-party presidential candidate on the ballot in 2024.



TUES. MAY 23 AT 4:00 P.M.

WELL+BEING

Orna Guralnik, Psychologist & Psychoanalyst, "Couples Therapy"

Guralnik talks about the documentary series that uses psychoanalytic principles to explore couples' relationships.



WED. MAY 24 AT 11:00 A.M.

LEVELING THE PLAYING FIELD

Reagan Carey, Commissioner, Premier Hockey Federation

Carey outlines her vision to increase funding, viewership and support for women's hockey as the commissioner of the Premier Hockey Federation.



WED. MAY 24 AT 1:00 P.M.

A CONVERSATION WITH SUSAN E. RICE

White House Domestic Policy Advisor

Rice provides an update on President Biden's agenda and reflects on her time in public service as she prepares to step down as the administration's domestic policy advisor.



WED. MAY 24 AT 3:30 P.M.

PROTECTING PUBLIC SAFETY

Minnesota Attorney General Keith Ellison, Author, "Break the Wheel"

Ellison shares his new book about leading the prosecution of Derek Chauvin for George Floyd's murder and the country's ongoing racial reckoning.



THURS. MAY 25 AT 2:00 P.M.

RACE IN AMERICA: GIVING VOICE

Angeline Boulley, Author, "Warrior Girl Unearthed"

The best-selling author discusses her new book, a follow-up to her prize-winning debut novel, centered on the lives of a group of Native American women.



FRI. MAY 26 AT 9:00 A.M.

FIRST LOOK

The Post's **Jonathan Capehart**, **Hugh Hewitt** and **Jennifer Rubin**

Washington Post Live's "First Look" offers a smart, inside take on the day's politics. Jonathan Capehart hosts a reporter debrief followed by a roundtable discussion with Washington Post columnists.

To register for upcoming events and watch recent interviews with Washington Post Live, visit wapo.st/wpl or scan code with a smartphone camera:

The Washington Post
BOOK WORLD
SUNDAY, MAY 21, 2023 · SECTION B
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ILLUSTRATION BY JON STICH FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; BASED ON A PHOTO BY JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Josh Hawley's impractical guide to American manhood

The Republican senator detects a crisis among men. His solutions don't make a lot of sense.

BY BECCA ROTHFELD

For practically as long as men have existed, they have been in crisis. Everything, it seems, threatens them with obsolescence. As far back as the 1660s, King Charles II warned English men that a new beverage called coffee would destroy their virility, and in the early 1900s, opponents of coeducation worried that feather beds, dancing and even reading might emasculate little boys. Men were in peril at the turn of the 20th century, when the founder of the Boy Scouts cautioned that "we badly need some training for our lads if we are to keep up manliness in our race instead of lapsing into a nation of soft, sloppy, cigarette suckers," and they had not recovered by 1958, when the historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. reported in Esquire that "something has gone badly wrong with the American male's conception of himself." A dispatch from the journalist Susan Faludi confirmed that manliness remained "under siege" in 1999. No wonder there is such a chorus of complaints about the dearth of male role models. After so many centuries of coffee, reading and cigarette-sucking, are there even men left to emulate?

Of course, there are men to look up to in practically every field of human endeavor. Eliud Kipchoge, the only person to complete a marathon in under two hours, is a man; Ding Liren, the world chess champion, is a man. But these figures are succeeding in their capacity as athletes and competitors, when what is needed is not someone who is good and, incidentally, male, but someone who is good *at being* male — someone whose primary occupation is masculinity itself. Men do not want inspiring examples of fortitude or ingeniousness; they want what Faludi has called a "gender rule book," preferably one that is easy to follow.

SEE HAWLEY ON B7

RON CHARLES
A possessive best friend inserts herself into a marriage. B2

FICTION
For a grumpy husband, a sudden illness forces profound change. B2

PSYCHOLOGY
A memoir-ish cultural history of mental healing. B4

HISTORY
How the Ku Klux Klan took over Indiana in the 1920s. B6

FICTION

A marriage that isn't big enough for everybody



ILLUSTRATION BY HAILEY HAYMOND/THE WASHINGTON POST



Ron Charles

Everybody needs a friend as loyal as Temi.

God help anybody with a friend like Temi.

That's the paradox at the center of "The Three of Us," the debut novel by the British-Nigerian writer Ore Agbaje-Williams. She presents a day in the lives of a husband and his wife and the wife's best friend, Temi.

She's rich, dazzling and deeply possessive. *Watch out.* At just 192 pages, "The Three of Us" is as short and sharp as a paring knife — perfect for carving up this marriage.

Agbaje-Williams writes in a fluid, conversational style that dissolves paper and ink into sound waves. Arranged in three acts — I mean, *chapters* — the novel is so theatrical in its structure and immediacy that the moment you finish reading it, you'll imagine you actually *heard* it. (In fact, you can: The audiobook version, narrated by Jake Fairbrother, T'Nia Miller and Tariye Peterside, exquisitely exploits the story's performative quality.)

Only Temi gets a name in these pages, as though she's already smudged out the identity of the other two. But we hear from them first, in a clever sequence that sets the stage for Temi's calamitous meddling.

At the opening, the wife is excited to see her old friend, who drops by the couple's posh English home with wine and chips for a luxurious afternoon of drink and gossip. "Sometimes I get jealous listening to her stories," the wife says. "They are full of chaos and one-liners and people who seem cartoonish and contrived but are somehow real. Whenever she tells them — always with a drink in hand — I am completely rapt."

So are we.

While Temi delivers her signature tales about dates with insufferable men, the wife talks directly to us in a winding, illuminating confession. We learn that she and Temi were raised by strict Nigerian parents who expected total obedience and impressive academic performance. "Our entire lives were mapped out in Excel spreadsheets where they calculated various probabilities and formulated a strategy for each one of us." But Temi eventually broke away from those strictures and encouraged her best friend to follow her bold philosophy of BMFM: "By Myself, For Myself."

"Becoming friends with Temi was like having someone lift the lid on my sheltered life and offer a hand to pull me out," the wife says. "Until Temi, I didn't know it was even possible to decide things for myself."

But just how free the wife is now remains a point of some friendly disagreement. Convinced that men are useless or worse, Temi can't fathom why her friend got married three years ago, swapping one prison — living at home with her parents — for another. "This man doesn't fit into the plans we made," Temi complains.

But the union makes perfect sense to the young wife. "My husband and I match because he expects nothing from me," she says. "I love him because he loves me without requirement."

Like so much in this crafty novel, that's not entirely true. One disagreement persists in this marriage, like a splinter buried under the skin. The husband very much wants — and expects — to have children. "I don't want children," the wife confesses. "But over time my husband has convinced me — or I've let him, and a recent (and deeply uncomfortable) conversation with his mother, who is nice but very much believes that the world revolves around her son — that we should at least try for one child."



Ore Agbaje-Williams's debut follows a husband, a wife and the wife's best friend.



THE THREE OF US
By Ore Agbaje-Williams
Putnam.
192 pp. $26

"It's a contentious subject," she adds, "the baby thing." But there's the rub: It's a contentious subject *with Temi*, who presumes that she has some significant role to play in her friend's marriage.

In the novel's second section, we hear directly from the husband, and it may not surprise you that he takes issue with Temi's frequent presence in his house — and her influence over his wife. "I expected to live with one woman when I got married," he sighs. "Apparently I live with two." In fact, his whole monologue is a series of irritations compressed under such pressure and heat that they become little diamonds of adamantine hatred. There's something equally horrible and hilarious about watching him struggle to contain his rage against this woman who drinks his liquor, interrupts his evenings and dismisses him as "the human equivalent of a Bic pen." He knows he shouldn't let Temi get the best of him but he can't help himself, and Agbaje-Williams follows his rage along a great spiral of exasperation.

This comédie à trois moves along so briskly and with such sly wit that it's easy to overlook how the novel teases issues of class and race. As wealthy Nigerians living in England, these three immigrants live suspended between the suspicions of their White neighbors and the expectations of their African families. For the wife, especially, that position seems to exacerbate a nagging sense of unease.

Toward the end of "The Three of Us," there's a reference to "Romeo and Juliet," but "Othello" is a more apt allusion. If Temi isn't as evil as Iago, she's certainly as conniving in her efforts to poison her friend's marriage. And yet "The Three of Us" is no tragedy. Not only is Agbaje-Williams too witty for anything that heavy, but every one of these characters bears some responsibility for their cringingly awkward situation. The wife admits as much when she says: "It is strange, and every so often uncomfortable, when the insults become more pointed and personal. But it's also entertaining. I like to say almost nothing, see where it goes."

That's a foolish risk for her; an amusement for us. The final section — Temi's monologue of what she calls "unfiltered honesty" — is more destructive than anything the wife could have imagined, and more deliciously wicked than anything we could have anticipated.

You may not want a friend like Temi, but keep a copy of "The Three of Us" handy. It's the perfect bridal shower gift for that special frenemy.

Ron Charles reviews books and writes the Book Club newsletter for The Washington Post.

Alina Bronsky is a pseudonym. Her latest novel is the real thing.

BY ELENA LAPPIN

Novelist Alina Bronsky is a master of honest yet intricate storytelling, delivered with dark humor and a sharp edge. Her debut, "Broken Glass Park" (2010), tells the story of a teenage girl whose mother has been murdered and who moves from Russia to Germany. Her second novel, "The Hottest Dishes of the Tartar Cuisine" (2011), revolves around a steely mother who goes to extreme lengths to protect a daughter she seems not to love. Like many of her key characters, Bronsky moved from Russia to Germany. She writes in German under a Russian-sounding pseudonym, as if hiding her origins in plain sight. It is an intriguing mix.

Her latest, "Barbara Isn't Dying," is a Russian doll of a novel, the hidden story of a difficult marriage slowly revealed through the stages of a husband's care for his terminally ill wife. The elderly German couple, Herr Walter Schmidt and his wife, Barbara, have been living a peaceful life in a small town, enjoying their routines — some shared, some completely separate: their garden, their German shepherd (Helmut!), their regular social circles and visits from their son and daughter, and their only grandchild.

But one day Walter wakes up and does not smell the coffee his wife has been making every morning for five decades. When he finds her on the bathroom floor, having had an unexplained fall, Walter helps her back to bed and tries to take over her daily chores.

Thus begins a gradual but profound change in a man who was perfectly content living his life in complete reliance on his wife's robust health and in denial of almost all her needs. Bronsky made the interesting choice to allow this story to unfold through the eyes of Herr Schmidt, who is not a pleasant character. He is cantankerous, emotionally cold, driven by prejudices (including some racist ones), argumentative and abrasive. He has no patience for anything he doesn't understand. This, as it turns out, includes his wife.

A retired home-appliance repairman, Herr Schmidt is a meticulous man. He approaches each household challenge with the precision of an engineering task. He writes down every recipe and follows it like an algorithm for success, each ingredient perfectly measured and timed. To his own amazement and that of his family, his cooking is not only increasingly palatable but in fact extremely tasty. Barbara, now fully bedridden and hardly able to eat, accepts the nibbles of food he forces on her and even begins to request what she would *really* like to eat. To Walter's surprise, she suddenly has a craving for Russian food, specifically borscht.

Herr Schmidt's inner monologue reflects the full degree of his disgust at this plea, as it triggers the suppressed memory of the couple's immigrant identity: "Old recipes from abroad. He had to resist spitting on the floor." Barbara is Russian, having arrived in Germany as a young girl. Walter's ethnicity is not exactly specified, but from his memories of being mocked for his odd German accent in primary school, readers can assume that he is from an ethnic German minority, somewhere in Eastern Europe. He takes great pride in having forced his wife to erase her foreign accent over the years, and in their passing for fully German, without roots anywhere else. He seems to have been selectively asleep for much of his adult life, completely unaware of who his adult children are and how they live, happy but not excited to receive their rare visits. But now, because of Barbara's illness, their visits are frequent, sometimes last awhile and are revelatory.



GÜNTHER JOCKEL

Alina Bronsky's new novel tells the story of a difficult man who must take care of his bedridden wife.



BARBARA ISN'T DYING
By Alina Bronsky.
Translated by Tim Mohr.
Europa.
182 pp. $17, paperback

As he ventures into areas he previously left to Barbara — shopping and other errands — Walter is constantly running into people who know and adore his beautiful wife, and who seem to know everything about her condition and the state of her palliative care at home. Walter himself continues to be in hopeful denial, until almost the very end. He grudgingly accepts a stream of visitors but dislikes every single one of them. Barbara is a much-loved, saintly character, with a multitude of friends and charity groups grateful for her regular help and contributions. It is one of this novel's most wonderful achievements that to the reader, the angelic dying character turns out to be far less likable than her extremely difficult and annoying husband. Whether he was also a physically abusive one, readers will never know; but given his self-questioning, it is highly likely: "When she looked at him that way, he never knew what she wanted. Back when he had cursed at her, right at the beginning, when she didn't yet know how things worked, she never objected, she just looked at him exactly that way. And even then, when she did, he felt like a piece of crap and hated her for it." Yet with all his flaws, Walter the literary creation is perfectly human.

Through Walter's walks around his neighborhood, usually with his dog, Bronsky paints a clear picture of a small German town where people have known one another for a long time, many going back to school-age friendships and love affairs. It is a vivid microcosm of Germany today, with old values (or their opposite) underlying and mixing with the new. Walter himself is still drawn to his first love, a feisty, sexy pub owner whom he might and possibly should have married instead of Barbara. The danger of such neighborhoods is that old secrets are known to all.

Bronsky writes about difficult topics with a light touch and much humor. The funniest part is Herr Schmidt's sudden fame as a contributor to his favorite TV chef's Facebook page, initially asking for recipes under Barbara's name. Oblivious that screenshots of his grumpy exchanges have gone viral, his arrival in the times he actually lives in is now complete. He has also finally emptied his wife's freezer full of old leftovers and replaced them with dishes he cooks daily, from freshly bought ingredients.

The transformation of Walter Schmidt the obnoxious tyrant into Walter Schmidt the caring husband and father is linked to a truly shocking surprise from his and Barbara's past, an act of redemptive responsibility, which only the newly honest Herr Schmidt can possibly undertake. Barbara may or may not be dying, but her husband has finally learned how to be fully alive. This is a wise, carefully constructed novel about fragile hidden identities, whose ending reads like a deeply felt beginning.

Elena Lappin is the author of the story collection "Foreign Brides," the novel "The Nose" and a memoir, "What Language Do I Dream In?"

BOOK WORLD

Jackie Kennedy, through her youthful lens

BY ALEXIS COE

It is a truth universally acknowledged that a Kennedy author in possession of unused material must be in want of a new book deal. And yet, almost three decades have passed between Carl Sferrazza Anthony's "As We Remember Her," a 1997 oral history of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, and his new book, "Camera Girl: The Coming of Age of Jackie Bouvier Kennedy."

While Anthony tended to other first ladies and their families — including biographies of Florence Harding and Nellie Taft — a spate of new books on Jackie arrived. They plodded along a predictable timeline, beginning with her parents' bitter divorce after the Great Depression, followed by Jackie excelling and rebelling at Miss Porter's boarding school, perfecting her French at the Sorbonne, feeling uninspired at Vassar and a little less so at George Washington University. She abandoned her hard-won guest editor job at Vogue, wrote a column in Washington and was briefly engaged to a man whose greatest aspiration was making a perfect martini. All the while, Jackie was being driven toward her real destination.

"Camera Girl" offers one of the most detailed, nuanced portraits of Jackie to date. Anthony covers much of her early life, but the heart of the book, as the title suggests, was her time as an "inquiring photographer," later renamed "inquiring camera girl," at the Washington Times-Herald. From the fall of 1951 until the summer of 1953, Jackie was a gumshoe journalist who published, in addition to other works, a column six days a week. She left the job to marry Jack — a name Anthony withholds to good narrative effect until the congressman actually appears. Before he does, we see how Jackie was working on becoming, as she once wrote, "a sort of Overall Art Director of the Twentieth Century, watching everything from a chair hanging in space."

It's delightful to see her pursue such a lofty goal. "Someday I'll send him a literary masterpiece," she wrote about a boy who had wronged her, "that will make him swallow his braces."

Jackie was a voracious reader who took hours to wonder at ideas, often processing her thoughts in letters to friends and family. "Write — or I will kill you," she warned her beloved stepbrother Yusha, in a long letter from Paris in 1949. She described dropping a pencil and hearing it roll, roll, roll, after a professor at the Sorbonne explained that, "once oppressed people have experienced freedom, they can never again be truly controlled." She was fun and smart, even in adolescent defiance. In high school, the music teacher who caught her playing "strip polka" demanded to know, in Jackie's retelling, "What would Chopin think?"

Some part of her was always in perpetual motion. "Once classwork is done," she needed "stimulation." Jackie danced, rode horses and excelled at the arts; she painted, drew, designed sets. She wrote short stories, poems and holiday plays for her siblings to perform, and illustrated books to commemorate milestones.

The 1947 Debutante of the Year wanted to chart her own path, not be "a schoolgirl among schoolgirls." But it was more complicated than that. "Maybe because I'm Catholic and my parents were divorced when I was young," she wrote, "I've always felt an outsider in that world." She was rarely so vulnerable. Jackie's happiness depended on maintaining the facade of a privileged boarding-school student with many homes: her stepfather's grand estates in Fairfax, Va., and Newport, R.I., and her father's high-rise apartment in Manhattan and family home in East Hampton.

In reality, her parents, Janet and Black Jack, made "Kramer vs. Kramer" look tepid. Allowance was delayed or withheld for such high crimes as loving both parents. When Jackie disappointed them, they retaliated: Janet, an unrelenting critic, hit her. Black Jack, a reckless bon vivant, blamed his wet, depressive episodes on her. Nothing was ever really hers, except her imagination.

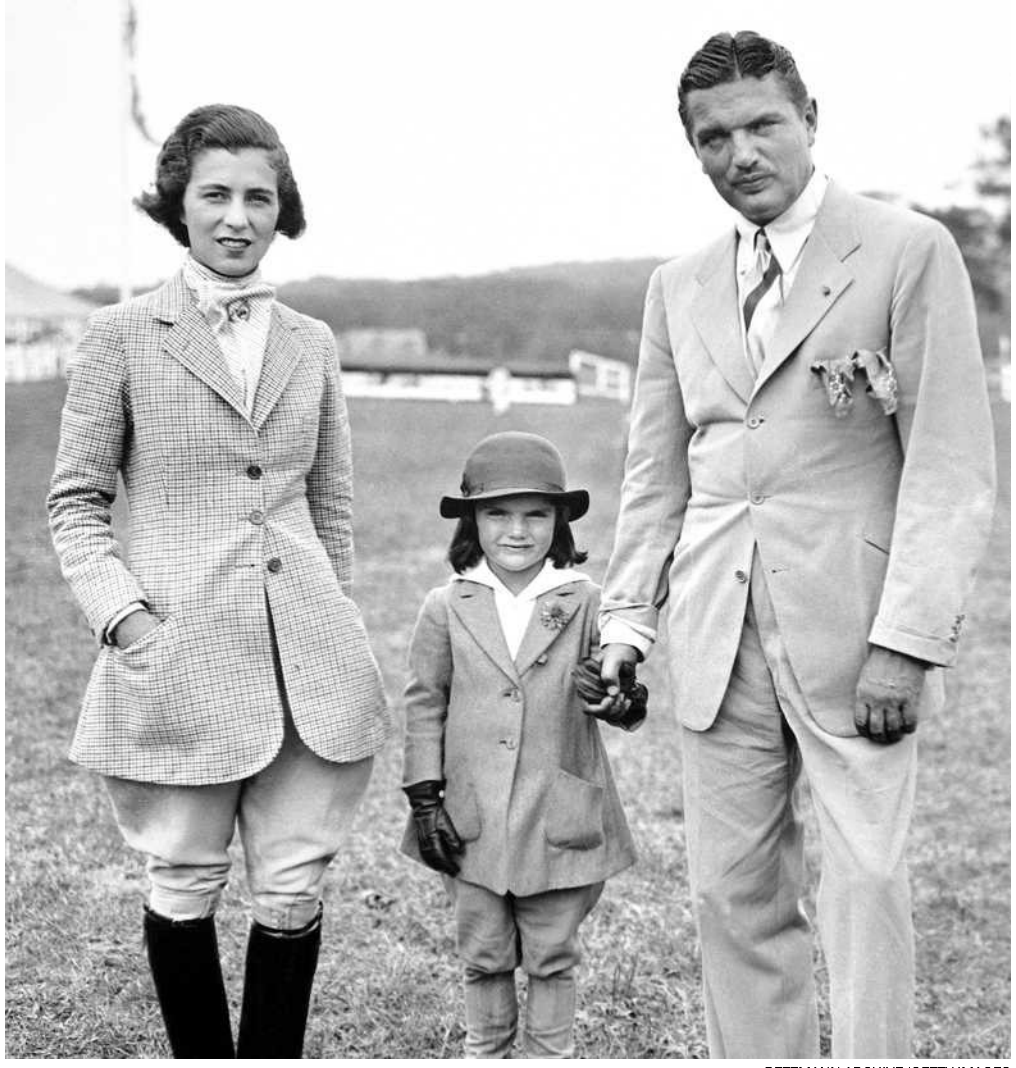
Jackie, from an early age, showed great promise as a writer. Grampy Lee, Janet's father, submitted her poetry to the East Hampton Star. "I honestly think you could write a book on your travels," praised her father, predicting a "best-seller." But that kind of success could ruin a girl's prospects. Every author quotes Jackie's intention, memorialized in a 1947 high school yearbook, "not to be a housewife," but Anthony does well to show what being "distinct" — her advice to lovelorn friends — meant in the real world. John Husted, her erstwhile fiancé, deemed her career "insipid" and her column "stupid." She wanted to "marry a man with imagination," but "that's not easy to find."



BETTMANN ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES



CAMERA GIRL
The Coming of Age of Jackie Bouvier Kennedy
By Carl Sferrazza Anthony
Gallery.
379 pp. $29.99



BETTMANN ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

ABOVE: Jacqueline Bouvier photographs Dale Chestnut feeding goldfish in the rooftop pond of the Washington Times-Herald building in 1952. RIGHT: Janet, Jacqueline and John "Black Jack" Bouvier at a horse show in the Hamptons.

Careful what you wish for. As her engagement waned, she met John F. Kennedy. "I was rather frightened of him — because I knew if he came towards me, I wouldn't have the power to run away — though it would probably be better if I did." If it worked out, Kennedy's dreams would clearly eclipse hers, but at 35, Jack had never gotten close to proposing to anyone. "He didn't look like someone who wanted to get married, and I pictured heartbreak," but still, it "seemed worth it." In theory. After they met, he didn't call for months.

"He hurt me terribly when he was campaigning," she admitted to her priest, "and never called up for weeks." Today, we'd call it ghosting, and the rest — a couple of short telegrams, a couple of books as gifts in lieu of flowers and last-minute invites — breadcrumbing. And she allowed it. When he disappeared, she didn't chase him, and when he reemerged, she accepted his overtures. Jack's insouciance was painful, but his whereabouts could be accounted for in the papers: He was running for senator in Massachusetts, where women accounted for 51 percent of the vote. They flocked to see the rich, eligible bachelor on the campaign trail, and the eligibility wasn't an act. "He was as much in love with me as he could be with anyone," Jackie said, aware that he was publicly dating other women.

Was she buying time before becoming a senator's wife and, as it was clear even then, the first lady — or building a future on her own terms? An attractive, unmarried woman of little personal wealth — she was a guest at her stepfather's estates, and her father's wealth had been greatly reduced by the Great Depression — had, at 24 years old, little time to waste. But Jackie, mired in courtship limbo, was determined to make her own luck. She shopped around a screenplay about the Octagon House, where James and Dolley Madison moved after the British burned the White House in 1812. She wore down her boss, who assigned her features and published her illustrations alongside stories. She kept up the column, too, posing questions to subjects that reveal an otherwise quiet pining: "Can you give me any reason why a contented bachelor should get married?" "What is the food of romance?" "The Irish author Sean O'Faolain claims that the Irish are deficient in the art of love. Do you agree?"

Anthony lingers on her ambition, critical to her sense of self, but his approach has a fundamental flaw: He prioritizes her photography over her writing. She didn't. The Leica camera she's wrangling for when the book opens, which Anthony emphasizes as a Rosebud-like object, isn't the one she used at work. Few of the new photos in the book were taken with it. The title, "Camera Girl," sounds unserious, but more important, it omits a key word, and function, of her column: "*Inquiring* Camera Girl" featured photos *and* interviews. She identified as a writer. Kennedy described her as a journalist. But Anthony sees her as a photographer, and his tunnel vision, which sometimes thwarts his narrative, leaves future scholars with gaps to fill.

Anthony has written a good book. With a bit more vision, diligence and energy, he could have written a great one.

Alexis Coe is the author of "You Never Forget Your First: A Biography of George Washington," and she is at work on a biography of John F. Kennedy.

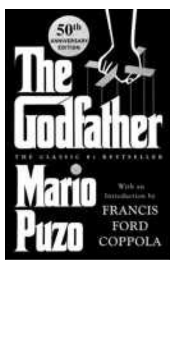
Readers pick the best movies adapted from the worst books

BY RON CHARLES

In Tom Hanks's new novel, "The Making of Another Major Motion Picture Masterpiece," a famous director objects to anyone claiming that they hated a movie. "Hate should be saved for fascism and steamed broccoli that's gone cold," he says. "The worst anyone … should ever say about someone else's movie is *Well, it was not for me, but, actually, I found it quite good.* Damn a film with faint praise, but never, ever say you *hate* a movie."

In that spirit, a few weeks ago I asked readers to tell me about the *best* movie made from the *worst* novel.

The votes were as surprising as a box of chocolates. And speaking of Hanks, several readers voted for **"Forrest Gump,"** based on the novel by Winston Groom. Sue Parks of The Colony, Tex., put it succinctly: "The movie is a classic. The book is unreadable."



The voters were also gunning for Philip K. Dick's classic novel **"Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep?,"** which inspired the movie "Blade Runner." "The set design, the soundtrack, the multilayered script and the acting all contributed to the movie's greatness," wrote Lorenzo De Leon in Arlington Heights, Ill. "I had high hopes for the book but was deeply disappointed. There was no depth to the story and no character development."

Meanwhile, Peter Benchley's **"Jaws"** took a bite out of the nominations. (I'm gonna need a bigger poll!) Jonathan Plummer of Kansas City, Mo., said Steven Spielberg's movie is "a scary monster flick, a rollicking adventure and a fully developed character study that buries the beach-read novel." And who could forget John Williams's Oscar-winning musical score? "The movie gets it right," said Deborah McColloch from Philly. "Focus on the shark!" Several readers thought the movie's success depended on cutting that long subplot about an affair between the main character's wife and a shark expert, which, frankly, I don't remember because I read a much-pawed copy of the novel during a single fit of terror in a friend's attic when I was in middle school.

"The Devil Wears Prada," by Lauren Weisberger, took a turn on the great hate runway, too. "The book was so whiny, a slog to try to finish," wrote Kathy Blumenstock from Gaithersburg, Md. "The movie with Meryl Streep, Anne Hathaway, Stanley Tucci and Emily Blunt transformed that inside-magazine-land whine to a win, and all those fantastical fashions certainly didn't hurt!"

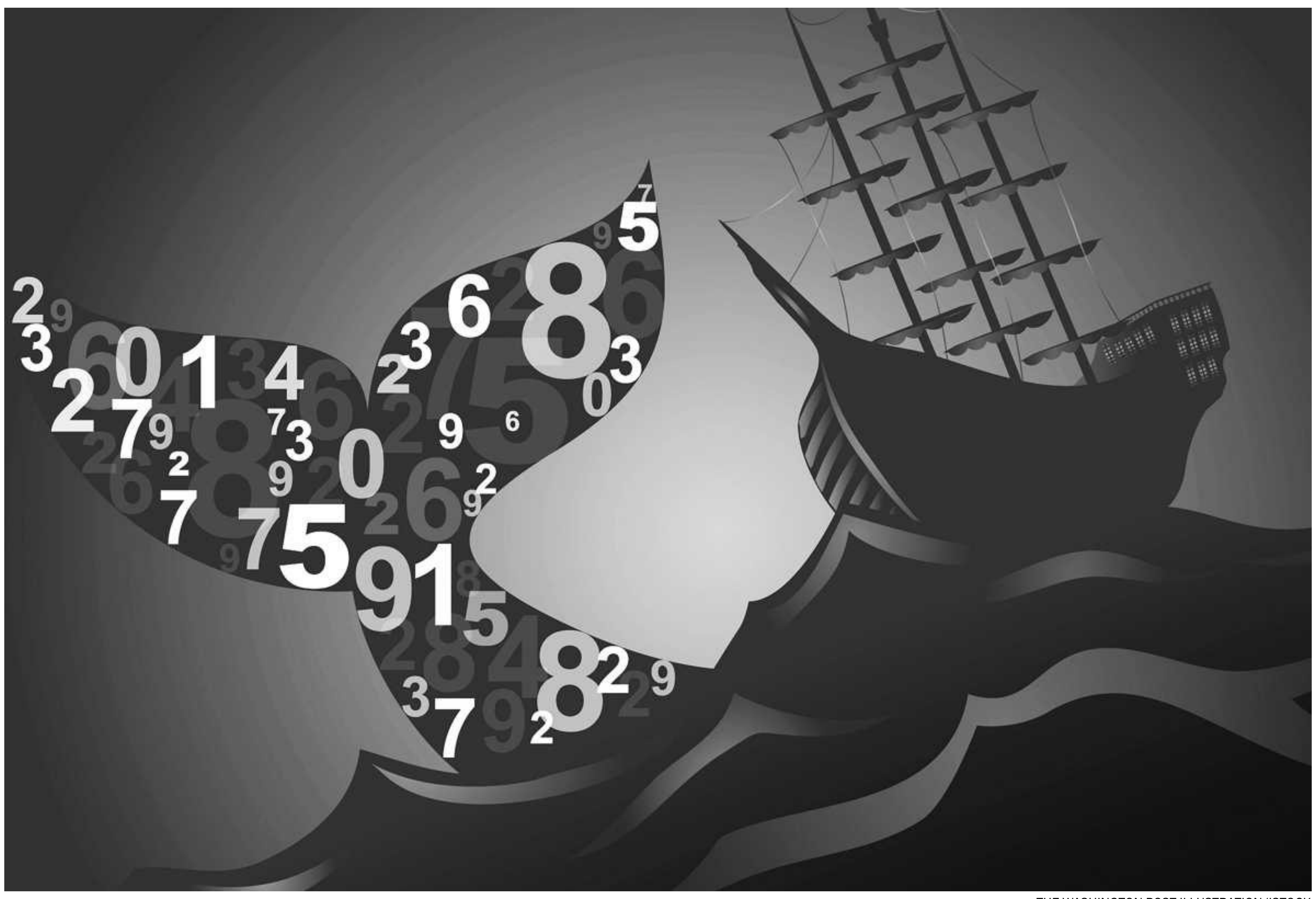
But in the end, readers made me an offer I can't refuse: The best movie based on the worst book is Francis Ford Coppola's **"The Godfather,"** adapted from Mario Puzo's novel. Voters riddled the book with bullets: "schlock," "tacky," "vulgar," "labored" and "clunky." But the movie is il migliore di sempre. Horror meister R.L. Stine wrote simply, "Classic film; far from a classic novel." Amanda Paulson in Boulder, Colo., broke down the reasons: "The movie is an iconic masterpiece: great acting, directing, innovative, with an outsized impact on popular culture and the future of cinema. The book is a trite B-grade pulp novel (though I found it hugely informative when I found it on my parents' bookshelf and read it in 8th grade)."

I won't name the reader who dared to nominate Jane Austen's **"Pride and Prejudice"** as the worst novel that inspired the best film. And no, I don't care how good Colin Firth looked when he emerged from a Pemberley lake. It is a truth universally acknowledged that you're dead wrong about "P&P."

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BOOK WORLD

Exploring the fascinating math that underpins great literature



THE WASHINGTON POST ILLUSTRATION/ISTOCK



Michael Dirda



ONCE UPON A PRIME
The Wondrous Connections Between Mathematics and Literature
By Sarah Hart
Flatiron.
304 pp. $29.99

As a high school sophomore in the 1960s, I was struggling with geometry, then being badly taught according to the notoriously ill-conceived system known as the New Math. In despair over one D+ too many on my week's homework, I finally resolved never, ever to take another course involving numbers. Instead of advancing to trigonometry in 11th grade and calculus in 12th, I politely asked my guidance counselor if I could sign up for electrical shop instead. No way, he sternly informed me, colleges required four years of high school math. But I was stubborn and as a compromise was eventually allowed to substitute two years of German. Ironically, the first words I learned were "eins, zwei, drei."

Despite my near innumeracy, math has always enthralled me. As we know from Norton Juster's "The Phantom Tollbooth," numbers can be magical. Even as a kid, I used to marvel at that neat trick for multiplying two-digit numbers by 11. How much is 11 times 63? Simple. You just add the 6 and 3 together and place the resulting 9 between them. Your answer is 693. This works for larger numbers too, with a bit of adjustment. Being bookish even as a teenager, I happily studied a paperback of George Gamow's classic of popular science, "One, Two, Three … Infinity," read with pleasure the essays and stories in Clifton Fadiman's collection "Fantasia Mathematica," and puzzled over the first of Martin Gardner's many collections of his recreational math columns from Scientific American.

All three of those authors loved words and stories as well as numbers. So too does Sarah Hart, as she demonstrates in "Once Upon a Prime: The Wondrous Connections Between Mathematics and Literature." Now Professor of Geometry at Gresham College, London, Hart is the first woman to hold this position. It's an honor with a long history that runs from the 17th-century scientist Robert Hooke to the 20th century's Roger Penrose. The goal of her book, she tells us, "is to convince you not only that mathematics and literature are inextricably, and fundamentally, linked, but that understanding these links can enhance your enjoyment of both."

In her introduction, Hart stresses that poetry and mathematical proofs are both things of beauty and patterned elegance. As she points out, even nature-loving William Wordsworth, in his poetic autobiography, "The Prelude," speaks of the beguiling charms of geometry, "an independent world/ Created out of pure intelligence."

The Gresham professor often sounds as if she were conducting a class and pausing occasionally to scribble formulas on a blackboard. She frequently addresses the reader as "you" and begins each chapter by announcing what she's about to "show" us. Her prose throughout is clear, direct and jokey, a near necessity given some of the more ferocious mathematical arcana in "Once Upon a Prime."

The book is wide-ranging. Early on, Hart lists several mnemonics for remembering pi, the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter. For instance, the phrase "How I wish I could calculate pi" will give you pi's first seven digits: Just count the letters in each of the words and you arrive at 3.141592. A few pages later, we learn about primes, those numbers like 2, 3, 5, 7 and 11 with only two factors — that is, they can be evenly divided only by 1 and themselves. A 6 isn't prime because of its additional factors: Besides 6 and 1, it can also be evenly divided by 2 and 3. To me, this seemingly random mix of primes and non-primes — called composites — implies some strange mystical undercurrent running beneath the orderly march of the cardinal numbers.

In other chapters, Hart intersperses the exposition of mathematical theorems — the Fibonacci sequence, the Koch curve — with reflections on meter in poetry, Kurt Vonnegut's whimsical graphs of fiction's basic plot arcs, the arithmetical substructure of Eleanor Catton's Booker Prize-winning novel "The Luminaries" and much else. Chapter 3, for example, explores the French "Ouvroir de la littérature potentielle," a "workshop for potential literature" composed of both mathematicians and writers, each hoping to learn from the other.

The most dazzling works of the Oulipo, as it's commonly referred to, include Georges Perec's "La Disparition" — a novel written without using the letter e — and its companion "Les Revenentes," which excludes all vowels except e. Hart also explicates such wordplay tours de force as Mark Dunn's "Ella Minnow Pea" (say its title aloud) and Christian Bök's "Eunoia," which consists of five chapters, each of which uses just one of the five vowels (excluding y). In Claude Berge's Oulipian mystery, "Who Killed the Duke of Densmore?," the detective knows that the duke's murderer must be one of seven "lady friends," all of whom paid him a visit at overlapping times during the fatal evening. Hart then demonstrates how an interval graph determines the identity of the murderer.

Many readers will be particularly drawn to the chapter about Choose Your Own Adventure novels and those interactive plays in which the audience periodically votes on what should happen next. How do the creators of such works keep the number of options manageable? Consider that a play with four pauses, each offering two different courses of action, would require actors to memorize 31 possible scenes. We learn how a "theater tree" can ingeniously cut this number in half. From here, Hart segues into a consideration of B.S. Johnson's "The Unfortunates," a loose-leaf novel in which the first and last chapters are specified but the 25 others can be arranged in any order. How many different orders are possible? A mere 15.5 septillion.

The middle section of "Once Upon a Prime" turns the reader's attention to mathematical symbolism. Hart begins by scrutinizing the magical numbers 3, 7, 12 and 40, which recur so often in folklore and fairy tales. Why is it always the third son who behaves differently from his two older brothers and thus wins the princess? "The narrative reason for this," she explains, "is obvious — we require two repetitions to get to know the pattern, so that the breaking of the pattern in the third iteration can surprise or amuse us."

In the book's final third, Hart examines the use of math in Melville's "Moby-Dick," George Eliot's "Daniel Deronda," Jonathan Swift's "Gulliver's Travels" and the works of James Joyce. She offers an especially acute and extended analysis of the two-dimensional world of Edwin Abbott's "Flatland," mentions that "The Inheritors," a science fiction novel by Joseph Conrad and Ford Madox Hueffer no less, involves fourth-dimensional beings, and deduces why the main action of Yann Martel's "Life of Pi" takes 227 days: That number can be rejiggered into the fraction 22/7, which when divided out yields an answer very close to pi. She also touches on Lewis Carroll's Alice stories, investigates the fractal chapter ornaments in Michael Crichton's "Jurassic Park" and reminds non-Sherlockians that Professor Moriarty was an authority on the "binomial theorem." Hart ends by confessing her fondness for Sydney Padua's 2015 graphic novel, "The Thrilling Adventures of Lovelace and Babbage," which is "set in a parallel universe where the two protagonists" — the Victorian computer visionaries Ada Lovelace and Charles Babbage — "have managed to get the Analytic Engine to work and use it to fight crime and generally be awesome."

"Once Upon a Prime" is generally awesome too, though some parts may require patience and close attention. At least that was my experience, but then I can do little more with numbers than make change and count my blessings.

Michael Dirda is a Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist and the author of the memoir "An Open Book" and of four collections of essays: "Readings," "Bound to Please," "Book by Book" and "Classics for Pleasure."

A broad chronicle of mental healing, including her own

BY JUDITH WARNER



FIRES IN THE DARK
Healing the Unquiet Mind
By Kay Redfield Jamison
Knopf.
381 pp. $30

Kay Redfield Jamison's "Fires in the Dark" is not a book for the lazy or the linear-minded. It is a cultural history of mental healing and healers, impressively researched and broad in scope. It is often fascinating and sometimes exquisite. But it can also leave you with your head spinning, wondering why you can't keep up.

Jamison, an acclaimed author and an expert in mood disorders who teaches at Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, traces rituals, practices and philosophies of healing across countries, continents and millennia. She travels back to Neanderthal caves and to the healing temples of the ancient Greeks and Egyptians; to the bucolic grounds of Scotland's Craiglockhart War Hospital for shellshocked World War I officers; to Moscow with the "wounded healer" Paul Robeson; to Paris, as Notre Dame is restored after an almost-fatal night of flames. And then she lands on the Chesapeake Bay.

Late in the book, after a scene-setting quote from explorer Captain John Smith (of the Jamestown colony, circa 1608) — "As for your feares that I will lose my selfe in these unknown large waters, or to be swallowed up in some stormie gust … there is as much danger to returne, as to proceede" — Jamison's historical journey takes a sharp autobiographical turn. "Most of us have home waters, a bay or river, a sea, to which we return in fact or longing," she writes; the "restless and various" Chesapeake, with the "irregularity" of its geography, "its incomprehensibility, its dotting of coves and islands," has, since childhood, been the place where her mind has always been "at home."

And that makes everything clear.

"Fires in the Dark" is not meant to be read as a memoir. But it reads best if you think of it as one: a companion volume to Jamison's landmark book "An Unquiet Mind: A Memoir of Moods and Madness" (1995) — and, with its wide selection of the literary, philosophical, theological and historical voices that have shaped Jamison's consciousness over the past 70 years, a topological map of her sometimes overflowing "restless and various" mind.

Jamison entered unknown, potentially treacherous waters when she published "An Unquiet Mind." There was no mental health TikTok. Celebrities weren't yet discussing their addictions. Mental illness was highly stigmatized. Even as a mental health professional — especially as a mental health professional — admitting to having manic-depressive illness (Jamison finds the term more evocative than today's "bipolar disorder") could very well have spelled professional disaster.

We have come a long way since then. In "Fires in the Dark," Jamison circles back. And takes care of unfinished business.

"An Unquiet Mind" was, in many ways, a paean to lithium, the medication that saved Jamison's life and restored her ability to work, think, sleep and otherwise function. Yet medication-induced healing was for her, as for many, a deeply unsatisfying thing: dreary, monochromatic and, above all, incomplete. In "Fires in the Dark," she demonstrates how to bring the colors back in. Psychotherapy — *good* psychotherapy — plays a central role; it's what allowed Jamison, once returned to "sanity" by lithium, to learn to live among those slower and divorced from the sublime, "to reconcile the glory of having reached for the stars with a more anchored, less splendid world," as she puts it. Music does this, too, as does art, great literature — whatever can spark transcendence, religious or secular.



THOMAS TRAILL

Kay Redfield Jamison's latest is a companion to her landmark book "An Unquiet Mind."

There's also work — compelling and absorbing activity — to distract the mind from rumination. And there's love; but love writ large, to include friendship, loving kindness and even the therapeutic relationship. In "An Unquiet Mind," Jamison wrote of finding a life-renewing relationship with her doctor. In her new book, there is the high school English teacher who gave her his own copies of books by the World War I poet Siegfried Sassoon and his wartime psychotherapist, W.H.R. Rivers, sensing that their "courage and determination" would lift her spirits when she was severely depressed. She describes Sassoon mentoring the shellshocked younger poet Wilfred Owen, walking and talking through the protected paths of Craiglockhart. (Owen's psychiatrist, A.J. Brock, liked his patients to work in pairs, "acting as one another's doctors.") There are other individual accounts of wounded warriors and "wounded healers": Sir William Osler, the great physician who lost his only son on the Western Front of World War I; Viktor Frankl, who survived the Nazi concentration camps to write "Man's Search for Meaning."

Jamison is a beautiful writer, with a vast store of knowledge. (And, though it's not her stated purpose, an ability to make the case for why the humanities matter in a way that is deeper and more emotionally resonant than anything I've seen before.) Her book contains a blueprint for finding a way out of darkness — a great gift for anyone who sometimes struggles to overcome psychic pain. But it would have benefited from a clearer narrative through-line. For while there are some exquisite moments, the book's power is undermined by problems of pacing. There's too much accumulation of detail, too much repetition, a feeling at times that Jamison couldn't decide which form of a phrase was the best and so, having tried out many, kept them all. And there are too many long digressions that suddenly end in hastily made conclusions.

Psychotherapy, Jamison writes, can be a means of "giving order to a chaotic personal universe." Great editing can do that, too.

Judith Warner's most recent book is "And Then They Stopped Talking to Me: Making Sense of Middle School."



JULIA WERTZ

Escaping a life of 'comfortable misery'

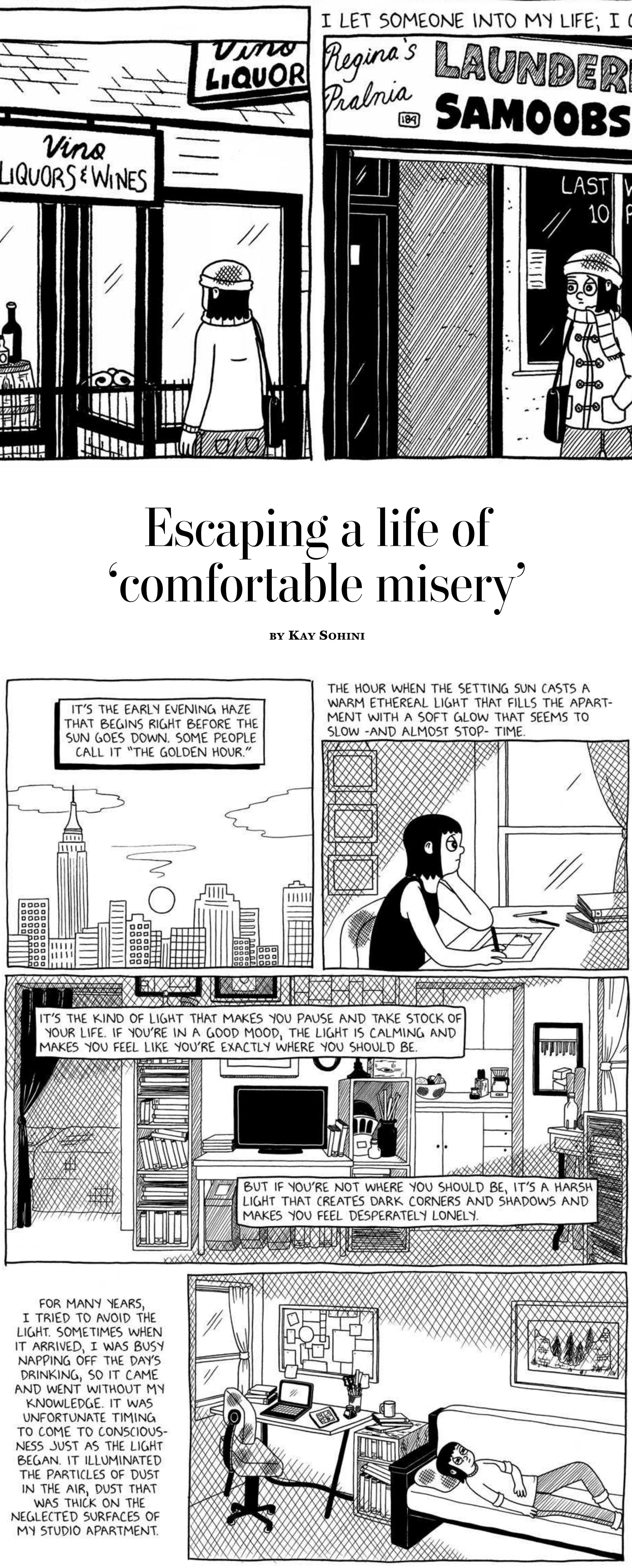
BY KAY SOHINI

A basement apartment in Brooklyn. A cat named Jack. A crew of cartoonists who share a studio known as Pizza Island. These are among the people, things and places inhabiting Julia Wertz's latest graphic memoir, "Impossible People: A Completely Average Recovery Story." But it is, more generally, a story about the self-deprecating and sometimes curmudgeonly Wertz's alcoholism and rocky road to recovery as she grapples with depression and an overactive sense of guilt.

Wertz has garnered a reputation for her witty, observational and somewhat goofy humor. "Impossible People" is her fourth memoir, if you count the book previously titled "The Fart Party" and now collected in a more respectable-sounding volume as "Museum of Mistakes." Themes of health, illness and addiction recur here and throughout the rest of her oeuvre, but with "Impossible People" she has a new story to tell. We follow her throughout her 30s in New York as she plummets into depression, cycles through periods of solitary drinking and sobriety, survives a halfhearted attempt at rehab and wrestles with many relapses, until she achieves a semblance of stability. Her misfortunes do seem relentless at times, but there are moments of unadulterated joy, too: especially in her urban explorations, where she finds herself in dilapidated ruins of old asylums and abandoned factories, risking asbestos exposure (a footnote informs the reader that these expeditions will appear in detail in a future book), but also with friends who love her and her company, despite her insistence on being antisocial.

Wertz's visual style is a mix of her first graphic memoir, "Drinking at the Movies" (2010), and her last book, on hidden histories of New York, "Tenements, Towers & Trash" (2017). Most of the panels comprise close-ups of her characters in conversation, torso up, but the magic lies in the larger spreads, where she zooms out to reveal sweeping cityscapes, spanning skyscrapers, brownstones, bodegas, an assortment of storefronts, cafes, fire escapes, window units, light poles and street signs. She draws her characters in a spare but expressive style, capturing them with crisp, minimal lines. By contrast, the backgrounds, especially the ones featuring Manhattan and Brooklyn neighborhoods, feature laboriously dense linework and deep inks, creating a charming, if unexplained, stylistic discontinuity.

Wertz writes with witty introspection, punctuated by moments of bottomless sadness and crude humor, both with surprising timing. Even as misfortunes pile up, she worries that she has not had it quite as hard as others, that her problems are self-inflicted and therefore not worthy of pity or care. Her brother, a recovering addict turned social worker, urges her to give group therapy a try,



Julia Wertz's latest graphic memoir follows her through her 30s in New York, years when she struggled with alcoholism and depression but also found moments of joy.

for the perspective if not anything else.

This willingness to accept that things can still be bad even when they're not the worst ultimately elevates Wertz's story. If "Impossible People" is a "completely average recovery story," as its subtitle suggests, it is so mostly in the first half. In the second, it is much more: Wertz writes cleverly about unsatisfactory dating scenes, shaky mental health, the joys and pitfalls of cartooning, and how it is easier to "stagnate in comfortable misery" than to do the hard work of fixing one's life.

At 320 pages, the book sometimes seems bogged down by detailed accounts of seemingly inconsequential incidents, but every time it does, Wertz pulls you back in with a moment of vulnerability that turns you into an unsuspecting confidant. On one such occasion, she reveals that she wished her MRI came with a cancer diagnosis so that she would have an external imperative to stop drinking. Elsewhere, she talks to her therapist candidly about that brief window of time between late afternoon and dusk, when everything is awash in the soft glow of a setting sun, sometimes known as "golden hour," when she is painfully reminded that she is "not where [she] should be." There's something hauntingly beautiful about the four-panel spread where Wertz tries to capture light and shadow in black and white ink and a loose crosshatch pattern. A single squiggly line and a low-hanging sun hover over a minimalist New York skyline, gesturing at the warm haze that briefly takes over the city.

In my favorite episode, Wertz finds herself in Connecticut, in longtime New Yorker cartoonist Roz Chast's studio. In one panel, she depicts two stacks of A4 sheets with cartoons on them, one low and the other high, the latter corresponding to rejections and the former to the hugely successful Chast's rarer acceptances. It's an indictment of the life of a cartoonist that only another cartoonist could have shown us: minimal, depressing, funny. Wertz is now a regular at the New Yorker herself, thanks in part to Chast, who sent her to meet Bob Mankoff, then the magazine's cartoon editor. And like the more established Chast, she would unsuccessfully submit dozens of gag cartoons before eventually persuading him to consider the other, more uncategorizable cartoons at which she excels.

Eventually, Wertz's studiomates Kate Beaton, Sarah Glidden and Lisa Hanawalt would leave New York, some to follow Hollywood dreams, others to raise families in affordable parts of the world. "Stability was more attainable pretty much anywhere but New York," Wertz writes. As she, too, is priced out of the city, she packs 10 years of her life into a dozen boxes and attempts a heartfelt goodbye to her neighborhood fruit seller of 10 years, only to be met by an indifferent "Huh? That'll be $1.49." Both her decade in the city and our time with the book end as they began. There are no life-changing revelations and no epic epiphanies, but we don't need either. Wertz masterfully turns the everyday and the mundane into stories funny enough to keep you entertained, and sad enough to leave you just a little wistful.



IMPOSSIBLE PEOPLE
A Completely Average Recovery Story
By Julia Wertz
Black Dog & Leventhal.
320 pp. $30

Kay Sohini is a writer and cartoonist based in New York. Her graphic novel "This Beautiful, Ridiculous City" is slated to be published in 2024.

BOOK WORLD

A terrifying, riveting portrait of the Klan's rise in the 1920s

BY RICHARD JUST



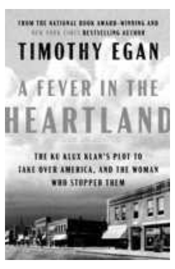
BALL STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES' ARCHIVES AND SPECIAL COLLECTION

Why are people drawn to demagogues? Why have millions of citizens of democracies chosen, from time to time over the centuries, to pledge fealty to leaders whose actions — political and personal — are obviously repugnant? What could possibly be the appeal?

These questions hover over Timothy Egan's excellent new work of narrative nonfiction. "A Fever in the Heartland: The Ku Klux Klan's Plot to Take Over America, and the Woman Who Stopped Them" is a highly readable chronicle of how the early-20th-century Klan resurrected itself following decades of dormancy; how it obtained millions of converts, not only in the South but throughout the country; and how, by the 1920s, it had infiltrated all levels of the U.S. government. But it is also a terrifying study of one particular Klan leader — a rapist and bigot who managed, in a matter of years, to acquire a vast popular following and to become the unelected boss of Indiana politics, all while formulating plans to propel himself to the White House.

D.C. Stephenson, born in Texas, was a drifter with an amoral entrepreneurial streak, and he happened to find himself in Evansville, Ind., in the early '20s, a moment when the national Ku Klux Klan was rapidly expanding and seeking inroads in Northern states. "He was a young man on the make, and a quick learner," Egan writes. "His new life in Evansville was a dash and a dodge, just a few steps ahead of the multiple lives he'd left behind." Stephenson was hired by a Klan recruiter, and he "presented a plan to leadership: He would conquer all of Indiana for the Ku Klux Klan, not just a bridgehead in Evansville."

He fulfilled this plan with shocking speed. The Klan's agenda of white supremacy turned out to be all too popular among rank-and-file Hoosiers, who began joining the terrorist group en masse. Many institutions — especially Protestant churches, whose ministers the Klan bribed — were quickly co-opted. Within years, "the Klan owned the state, and Stephenson owned the Klan," Egan writes. "Cops, judges, prosecutors, ministers, mayors, newspaper editors — they all answered to the Grand Dragon. ... Most members of the incoming state legislature took orders from the hooded order, as did the majority of the congressional delegation." And this hate-filled reign might have continued if not for the decision of Madge Oberholtzer, who was raped by Stephenson in 1925, to speak out. Her bravery set in motion a trial and conviction that ensured that Stephenson would spend decades in prison. The Klan was humiliated in the eyes of the public, and its power in Indiana began to wane.



FEVER IN THE HEARTLAND
The Ku Klux Klan's Plot to Take Over America, and the Woman Who Stopped Them
By Timothy Egan
Viking.
404 pp. $30

A Ku Klux Klan initiation ritual in Marion, Ind., in 1922. Timothy Egan's book traces the KKK's rapid expansion in Indiana in the early 1920s and delves into why the group was so popular.

Egan is a meticulous researcher and, perhaps especially, a skilled storyteller. His reconstruction of Stephenson's deplorable arc — his lie-fueled rise, his vile charisma, his ultimate fall — is a master class in the tools of narrative nonfiction: high stakes, ample suspense and sweeping historical phenomena made vivid through the dramatic actions of individual villains and heroes.

But it was the question of "why" — why did so many people place their trust and admiration in this self-evidently horrible man and his fellow terrorists? — that I found myself returning to in the days after finishing this book.

The most fundamental answer, unfortunately, is that bigotry — xenophobia, antisemitism and particularly racism — has always managed to find a receptive audience in American life. Depending on the moment and the context, that audience can be large or small, but it invariably seems to exist in some form. "A vein of hatred," Egan writes, "was always there for the tapping."

Yet the Klan benefited from other factors as well. William Simmons, founder of the 20th-century Klan, said his group was aided by early attempts to discredit it, including congressional hearings. "It wasn't until the newspapers began to attack the Klan that it really grew," Simmons said. "And then Congress gave us the best advertising we ever got."

As for Stephenson, Egan notes how adeptly he manipulated the public: "He discovered that if he said something often enough, no matter how untrue, people would believe it. Small lies were for the timid." Egan also suggests that Stephenson's abhorrent personal behavior may have actually, for a time, reinforced his popularity. The year before he raped Oberholtzer, he was briefly detained after attempting to rape a manicurist at a hotel and severely beating a bellhop. In the wake of this episode, Egan notes, many Klan members "chose selective amnesia," and "some were even impressed. For here was a man liberated from shame, a man who not only boasted of being able to get away with any violation of human decency for his entire life, but had just proved it for all to see."

More sensible citizens, meanwhile, may have been caught unaware. Stephenson and his allies demonstrated what demagogues throughout history have discovered: Odd-seeming movements can migrate from the fringes to the center in the blink of an eye. Egan quotes Robert Coughlan, from Kokomo, Ind., who wrote about the town's embrace of the Klan. "It first appealed to the ignorant, the slightly unbalanced and the venal," Coughlan explained, "but by the time the enlightened elements realized the danger it was already on top of them."

A press that inadvertently makes itself complicit in the rise of demagogues by showering them with attention; habitual liars who successfully blur the distinction between truth and fabrication through endless repetition of falsehoods; leaders admired by loyal followers in part because of their moral transgressions; a movement that begins with the unbalanced and venal before conquering the mainstream: Maybe this all sounds depressingly familiar to you in 2023. Egan mostly resists making explicit parallels to the present, but they lurk just below the surface of this well-crafted and thoughtful book — a grim, necessary reminder that the difficult-to-fathom appeal of the most unappealing extremists never really goes away.

Richard Just is a former editor of The Washington Post Magazine, National Journal magazine and the New Republic.

Washington Post Paperback Bestsellers

COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN BOOKSELLERS ASSOCIATION

FICTION

1 **TRUST** (Riverhead, $17). By Hernan Diaz. In this Pulitzer Prize-winning novel, an excessively wealthy family with a secret is the catalyst for examining how stories can shape the truth.

2 **THE MIDNIGHT LIBRARY** (Penguin, $18). By Matt Haig. A regretful woman lands in a library where she gets to play out her life had she made different choices.

3 **THE SEVEN HUSBANDS OF EVELYN HUGO** (Washington Square, $17). By Taylor Jenkins Reid. A Hollywood icon recounts the story of her glamorous life to a young reporter, and both discover the cost of fame.

4 **MEET ME AT THE LAKE** (Berkley, $18). By Carley Fortune. A chance encounter brings together two strangers who have an outsize effect on each other's lives.

5 **THE LAST THING HE TOLD ME** (Marysue Rucci, $17.99). By Laura Dave. Looking for answers about her husband's disappearance, a wife and her recalcitrant stepdaughter discover shocking secrets.

6 **A COURT OF THORNS AND ROSES** (Bloomsbury, $19). By Sarah J. Maas. A threat is growing over a magical land where a huntress is being held captive.

7 **DAISY JONES & THE SIX** (Ballantine, $17). By Taylor Jenkins Reid. A singer and her band look back at their days as one of the most iconic rock groups of the 1970s.

8 **THE THURSDAY MURDER CLUB** (Penguin, $18). By Richard Osman. Four septuagenarians join forces to catch a killer.

9 **IT ENDS WITH US** (Atria, $16.99). By Colleen Hoover. A woman questions her relationship with a commitment-phobic partner when her old flame appears.

10 **THE INVISIBLE LIFE OF ADDIE LARUE** (Tor, $19.99). By V.E. Schwab. A young woman's bargain for immortality renders her cursed to be forgotten by anyone she meets.

NONFICTION

1 **CRYING IN H MART** (Vintage, $17). By Michelle Zauner. A Korean American indie rock star chronicles her relationship with her mother and their shared culture.

2 **BRAIDING SWEETGRASS** (Milkweed, $20). By Robin Wall Kimmerer. Essays by an Indigenous scientist offer lessons in reciprocal awareness between people and plants.

3 **ALL ABOUT LOVE** (Morrow, $16.99). By bell hooks. The first volume in the iconic feminist's "Love Song to the Nation" trilogy considers compassion as a form of love.

4 **THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE** (Penguin, $19). By Bessel van der Kolk. A scientific look at how trauma can reshape a person's body and brain.

5 **KILLERS OF THE FLOWER MOON** (Vinatge, $17). David Grann. A look at the FBI's investigation of Native American deaths in 1920s Oklahoma.

6 **THE DAWN OF EVERYTHING** (Picador, $25). By David Graeber and David Wengrow. An anthropologist and an archaeologist challenge modern scientific principles of human cultural evolution.

7 **HOW TO TELL A STORY** (Crown, $18). By Meg Bowles, Catherine Burns, Jenifer Hixson, Sarah Austin Jenness and Kate Tellers. "The Moth Radio Hour" directors offer advice on crafting and delivering compelling stories.

8 **THE ANTHROPOCENE REVEIWED** (Dutton, $18). By John Green. Essays from the best-selling author reviewing aspects of modern living on a five-star scale.

9 **DOPAMINE NATION** (Dutton, $18). By Anna Lembke. A psychiatrist explains how to avoid overconsumption by balancing pleasure with pain.

10 **THE FIELD GUIDE TO DUMB BIRDS OF NORTH AMERICA** (Chronicle, $15.95). By Matt Kracht. Birds are mocked in this guidebook parody.

Rankings reflect sales for the week ended May 14. The charts may not be reproduced without permission from the American Booksellers Association, the trade association for independent bookstores in the United States, and indiebound.org. Copyright 2023 American Booksellers Association. (The bestseller lists alternate between hardcover and paperback each week.)

LITERARY CALENDAR

May 21-27

21 SUNDAY | 3 P.M. *John Feinstein* discusses "Feherty: The Remarkably Funny and Tragic Journey of Golf's David Feherty" at Politics and Prose, 5015 Connecticut Ave. NW. 202-364-1919.

3 P.M. *Jonathan Eig* discusses "King: A Life" at the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Library, 901 G St. NW. 202-727-0321.

5 P.M. *Alaina E. Roberts* discusses "I've Been Here All the While: Black Freedom on Native Land (America in the Nineteenth Century)" at Politics and Prose.

22 MONDAY | 7 P.M. *Mitchell Zuckoff* discusses "The Secret Gate: A True Story of Courage and Sacrifice During the Collapse of Afghanistan" at Politics and Prose.

7 P.M. *Abraham Verghese* discusses "The Covenant of Water" at Sidwell Friends School, Robert L. Smith Meeting Room, 3825 Wisconsin Ave. NW. 202-537-8100. $40.

23 TUESDAY | 7 P.M. *Kevin Griffin* discusses "The Greatest Song: Spark Creativity, Ignite Your Career, and Transform Your Life" at Politics and Prose.

7 P.M. *Stacey Abrams* discusses "Rogue Justice," streamed through Sixth & I Historic Synagogue at *sixthandi.org* and in person at 600 I St. NW. 202-408-3100. $25-$42.

7 P.M. *Fred Guttenberg* and ***Thomas Gabor*** discuss "American Carnage," streamed through Politics and Prose Live at *politics-prose.com/events*.

24 WEDNESDAY | 7 P.M. *Scott Chaskey* discusses "Soil and Spirit: Cultivation and Kinship in the Web of Life" with ***Hiu Newcomb*** at Scrawl Books, 11911 Freedom Dr., Reston. 703-966-2111.

25 THURSDAY | 7 P.M. *David Von Drehle* discusses "The Book of Charlie: Wisdom From the Remarkable American Life of a 109-Year-Old Man" at Politics and Prose.

26 FRIDAY | 7 P.M. *Kristen Ghodsee* discusses "Everyday Utopia," streamed through Politics and Prose Live.

27 SATURDAY | 6:30 P.M. *Courtney LeBlanc* presents poetry from "Her Whole Bright Life" at Del Ray Artisans, Nicholas A. Colasanto Center, 2704 Mount Vernon Ave., Alexandria. 703-838-4827.

For more literary events, go to *wapo.st/literarycal.*

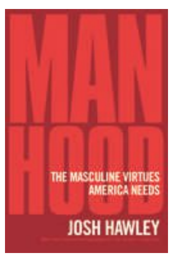
BOOK WORLD



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Sen. Josh Hawley (R-Mo.) on Capitol Hill in March. "No menace to this nation is greater than the collapse of American manhood," he writes in his new book. Men have become irresponsible and aimless, Hawley laments, placing much of the blame on liberalism while offering some self-help-style advice.

If manhood is in crisis, Hawley's book won't help



MANHOOD
The Masculine Virtues America Needs
By Josh Hawley
Regnery.
255 pp. $29.99

HAWLEY FROM **B1**

A gender rule book is precisely what Sen. Josh Hawley of Missouri attempts to provide in "Manhood: The Masculine Virtues America Needs," the latest in a long line of guides. Recently, there's Jack Donovan's "The Way of Men," which boasts that it is for anyone who has ever "wished for one day as a lion," and Jordan Peterson's best-selling "Twelve Rules for Life," which is nominally gender-neutral but in fact instructs readers in the art of masculinity (and which is a literal rule book). New Age types can consult Robert Bly's "Iron John," the loosely Jungian urtext of the mythopoetic men's movement, published in 1990, which counsels men to embrace their "Zeus energy." Pseudo-intellectuals may prefer the more refined if less coherent "Manliness" (2006), by Harvard professor Harvey Mansfield, who blusters about chivalry and gentlemen. These books have significant differences, but they all find themselves in the awkward position of claiming that masculinity is both unassailable and endangered, both natural enough to be obvious and fragile enough to require defense.

Hawley toes the same wavering line in "Manhood," in which he posits that masculinity is, at once, a biological endowment and a personal achievement. The book has many of the same tics as its forebears: It includes the usual eulogies for physical labor (romanticized as working with your hands), the standard invocations of legends from the "ancient Near East" purported to confirm manhood's universality, the familiar hagiographic celebrations of Teddy Roosevelt and the obligatory assurances that "men" are called to be "warriors," this time on the cultural battlefield.

But Hawley's opus is less of a riot than its predecessors. As serious thinking about gender, works like "Iron John" and "Manliness" fail, but as parodies and performances, they succeed by dint of their sheer outrageousness. Hawley, a Republican and an especially dreary type of fervent Christian, is too much of a dour moralist to write, as Bly does, that inside every man lurks a "primitive being covered with hair down to his feet," or to speculate, as Mansfield does, that women are not fit for combat because "they fear spiders." Despite himself, he is doing drag, but he will be pleased to hear that he is doing it poorly.

'Manhood" sees itself as a tragedy, not a farce. American men, it proclaims, are in dire straits. They are not working, getting married or raising children. Instead, they are taking drugs, feeling sorry for themselves and watching pornography on their phones. Hawley's tone is alternately sympathetic and scolding as he suggests that men have become aimless and irresponsible, a development that will surely prove catastrophic for the country. "No menace to this nation is greater than the collapse of American manhood," he writes, because "self-government" succeeds only when citizens cultivate "strength of character." Women, it is implied, do not have enough of this precious resource to keep the country running.

Like a campaign speech, "Manhood" is an adventure in impressionistic and impassioned disorganization. Chapter breaks may as well be accidental; most passages could be reshuffled into any section without any loss of coherence. Hawley identifies six roles that men should occupy — husband, father, warrior, builder, priest, king — but never manages to distinguish them clearly from one another. Men in each guise are supposed to do hackneyed and abstract things, like "endure." We are treated almost at random to tirades about the "chattering classes" and, quaintly, the French Revolution, which is characterized not as an assault on monarchy but as a "campaign of wholesale atheism."

Insofar as it is possible to impose an organizational principle onto "Manhood," the book takes up four distinct projects, though not in any particular order. The first is halfhearted biblical exegesis. The second is wholehearted self-promotion. Hawley is keen to cast himself as a man of the people by neglecting to name his elite alma maters (Stanford and Yale Law School), name-dropping the less-demonized university where he says he taught many floundering young men (the University of Missouri School of Law), reminiscing about his participation in organized sports (football) and selectively remembering the parts of his childhood that he spent on his grandparents' farm (where he went only during vacations). He is effusive about his grandfather, a farmer, and his uncle, who started a concrete-pouring business, but is comparatively silent about his father, whose profession (banker) he conveniently neglects to mention. His autobiographical forays are desperately folksy: He remembers "Christmases with a tree in the parlor and a fire on the hearth and summers of chasing fireflies in the front yard," and recalls that meeting his wife "felt somehow like being at my grandparents' house in Kansas," which sounds punitively unsexy.

Hawley's third fixation is liberalism, defined not as a political system but as an all-encompassing ethos that consists, primarily, of the fetishization of choice. There is no sin for liberals, he writes, but "the sin of intolerance." This faulty account of liberalism as a philosophy of personal morality, rather than a philosophy of state action, is buttressed by even faultier intellectual history. It would be impossible to survey all that Hawley gets wrong — suffice it to say that America would be considerably more interesting if the Democrats read as much German philosophy as he believes they do — but his most impressively bizarre assertion is that the Greek philosopher Epicurus is the forefather of modern political theory. Hawley insists on interpreting Epicurus as a hedonist, even though the thinker urged his followers to moderate their appetites, and as a proto-liberal, even though he was famously allergic to politics.

The final strand of "Manhood" is standard self-help fare, much of it inoffensive. Who would contest that you should "stop buying stuff to make yourself feel better" or, even more banally, "aim to do something with your life"? I too regard courage, assertiveness and ambition as virtues, but if men aren't the only ones who display them, in what sense are they "manly" virtues in particular? Surely women, too, can aim to do something with their lives. Hawley writes that "a man is built for commitment," but he thinks men are supposed to marry women, so presumably he thinks that women are built for commitment, too. Men are "meant to lead," but wait, "Genesis says God directed man — *and woman* — to rule" (emphasis mine). Hawley writes that he admires protesters in Hong Kong, but wait, they are led "by a group of young, very young, men *and women*" (emphasis mine again).

What is a man, anyway? Hawley's various answers are not very illuminating. Men are dependent ("a man cannot be who he is meant to be on his own") but also independent ("dependence is in fact a temptation to every man, in every age. It is the temptation to let someone else do it for you"). Men do not "blame someone or something else," such as "society," or "the system," but men do, apparently, blame "Epicurean liberalism" for almost everything that ails them. "Manhood is real and biological," but some of the central masculine virtues "can be learned," and the venerable Greeks and Romans "held that manhood was a vocation that each man must struggle to assume. … Boys were born as males, but not yet as men. One became a man only by acquiring certain character traits." A man is a rugged individualist who figures things out for himself, but he also relies on how-to guides to teach him how to exist.

Hawley identifies several real social and economic problems, such as wage stagnation and the over-diagnosis of ADHD. But he goes on to offer unhelpfully personal solutions. "Say no to yourself, discipline your passions," he urges. But how is saying no to yourself going to raise your salary?

No wonder so many men are in despair. They are tasked with being social yet solitary, victimized yet valorous; they are assured that their estate is natural but cautioned that it is tenuous to the point of dissipation; they are instructed to forge their own paths, but also directed to an endless stream of gurus peddling weightlifting programs and diets of raw organ meat. Even their supposed advocates berate them for failing to perform tasks that it is no longer possible for them to perform. In addition to scaremongering about liberal plots, Hawley identifies several real social and economic problems, such as wage stagnation and the over-diagnosis of ADHD. But he goes on to offer unhelpfully personal solutions. "Say no to yourself, discipline your passions," he urges. But how is saying no to yourself going to raise your salary or prevent pharmaceutical giants from marketing Ritalin to children?

Working-class men "have watched their prospects steadily dim over the last five decades, as more and more blue-collar jobs have disappeared overseas or been simply eliminated," he concedes. But having acknowledged that there is no work to be had, he concludes, "My advice to young men looking for work is to do whatever honorable work is available" because "no work is beneath you" — except, he clarifies, effeminate work in the service industry. "There is nothing wrong" with teachers and caretakers, "but the fact is, men are historically less interested in those fields." Should we try to interest men in those fields, then? No, "to the experts safely ensconced in their think tanks, I would just say this: Is it really too much to ask that our economy work for men as they are, rather than as the left wants them to be?" But it's not for lawmakers like Hawley to do anything differently. It's for you to "get a job. Keep it. Then pay your bills."

So let's review: You, an aspiring man, are supposed to get a blue-collar job, even though there are no blue-collar jobs. If you object that you cannot find work, you are a weakling making excuses. If you find a job in the sectors that are expanding, perhaps as a home health aide, you are emasculating yourself. And if you accept welfare while searching for a job that no longer exists, you are "servile." Even as self-help goes, this advice is pretty unworkable.

Ultimately, "Manhood" differs only cosmetically from the book that Hawley's liberal straw man would write. The Epicurean liberals of his imagination are invested in self-gratification, and he is invested in self-improvement. Both are invested in the self. In 1976, the cultural critic Christopher Lasch wrote that "the contemporary climate is therapeutic, not religious. People today hunger not for personal salvation, let alone for the restoration of an earlier golden age, but for the feeling, the momentary illusion, of personal well-being, health and psychic security." Hawley is nominally as religious as they come, but his book is really just a work of two-bit therapy.

It is easy — and reasonable, to say nothing of fun — to mock men's manuals, which are in fact ridiculous. But male pain is real, and it is no laughing matter. There is something touchingly vulnerable, if misguided, about the image of a man reaching for "Iron John" or "Manhood" in the hopes of discovering how to live. The questions that bring people to self-help are often admirably philosophical ones, in want of less frivolous and sentimental answers than those Hawley is equipped to provide.

"Manhood" opens with a nod to the many American men who worry that they are at sea. "I'm not sure what I'm supposed to do with my life," they think (or at least, Hawley thinks they think). In anecdote after anecdote, male students at the University of Missouri come to his office, asking where to go, what to do, how to *be*. These are stomach-churning questions, but they are also questions all mature and thoughtful people must confront, not glitches to be plugged into an all-ameliorating algorithm of masculinity. Hawley laments that these youths have "no template, no vision for what it is to be a man." But why are they owed a template? Why must they rely on rule books and role models? Why is it so intolerable if they have to spend a few years mulling matters over before deciding which path to pursue?

If I believed in "manliness," I would say that it is not very manly to seek out a father figure to hand you a script for adulthood, but I don't, so instead I'll say that the longing for a lifelong coach is gender-neutrally juvenile. Hawley's quest to obviate existential uncertainty is animated by a desire that seems to undergird much of contemporary conservatism, with its mania for conventions and guardrails: a desire for an eternal parent to tell you exactly when and how to clean your room.

The sociologist Michael Kimmel reports that the reactionary denizens of the early men's rights movement were plagued by a central gripe: "If men were supposed to be so powerful and oppressive, how come so many men were still living lives of quiet desperation?" Faludi comes to similar conclusions in "Stiffed," her sweeping journalistic investigation of male dissatisfaction. "To be a man means to be at the controls and at all times to feel yourself in control," the men she interviewed told her, yet these men felt themselves to be impotent and ineffectual. The problem was not that they were out of control but that they felt so obliged to be in it. No amount of admonishment from Hawley and Peterson and other members of the surrogate-dad brigade can change the patent fact that the world is uncontrollable and always has been. Men would not have to suffer from the conviction that they are failing if they were encouraged to accept that total sovereignty over the chaos of interpersonal affairs is both impossible and undesirable.

A ready-made role certainly provides the illusion of certainty, but is it a sustainable, or even worthwhile, illusion? And can it compensate for all that we lose when we encounter one another not as singularities but as avatars of social tendencies? What Hawley says about porn is true of the entire system of gender: "Relationships are risky. They are difficult. Porn, by contrast, is cheap and easy. It's safe." Individuality is risky; self-help about masculinity is safe. What we need is not the armor of manhood, the ideal of the warrior or builder or priest, but the courage to face each other in all our glorious particularity, without teachers or templates.

Becca Rothfeld is the nonfiction book critic for The Washington Post.

BOOK WORLD



ILLUSTRATION BY JAVI AZNAREZ FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

What Book World writers and editors are reading now

BY WASHINGTON POST STAFF

In Staff Picks, Book World editors and writers share what they've been reading off the clock. We hope you'll be spurred to read some of these books, whether they're new releases or just new discoveries.

'The Magic Years,' by Selma Fraiberg, and 'Untangled,' by Lisa Damour

Nora Krug, editor

When I find time to read books outside my job, often I'm reading not for pleasure but for help. I have two teenagers.

Reaching for a parenting book sometimes feels like an admission of failure. Then there are the books themselves — not exactly page-turners. But there are exceptions. When my son was born, my aunt, a former social worker, gave me "The Magic Years," by Selma Fraiberg, a 1959 classic that reassures in lilting, dare I say magical, prose: "There are 'magic' years because the child in his early years is a magician — in the psychological sense," she writes. "But a magic world is an unstable world, at times a spooky world, and as the child gropes his way toward reason … he must wrestle with the dangerous creatures of his imagination and the real and imagined dangers of the outer world, and periodically we are confronted with his fears and baffling behavior."

Now that my kids are 13 and 15, the magic has faded a bit, and yet the baffling behaviors continue. Thankfully friends have steered me to "Untangled," by Lisa Damour. I now understand why the 2016 book was a bestseller. Like Fraiberg, Damour looks at the world from a kid's perspective — a point of view that, surprisingly, parents often forget, despite our pasts. Damour has a new book, "The Emotional Lives of Teenagers," and a very calming podcast, "Ask Lisa," but "Untangled" focuses on a very specific problem: teenage girls. "I understand why we sometimes talk about adolescence as though it is a punishment girls inflict on their parents." (It sure does feel that way sometimes!) But the wisdom that has helped me most is this: "Adolescence isn't about us." I don't know if "Untangled" is making me into a better parent — ask my kids! — but at the very least it has taught me not to take all the difficult stuff so personally. "Untangled," like all good books, makes me feel less alone.

'The Universal Baseball Association, Inc., J. Henry Waugh, Prop.,' by Robert Coover

Jacob Brogan, editor

I've been putting off Robert Coover's "Universal Baseball Association" for more than 20 years, ever since it was assigned in an elective course on contemporary fiction my senior year of high school. Every other book on the syllabus — especially Robertson Davies's "World of Wonders" and John Gardner's "Grendel" — would go on to become a personal favorite. That may be why I've held onto my copy of Coover's novel through all the intervening years; so long, in fact, that there's still a ticket stub from a screening of "Meet the Parents" seven days after my 18th birthday embedded in it.

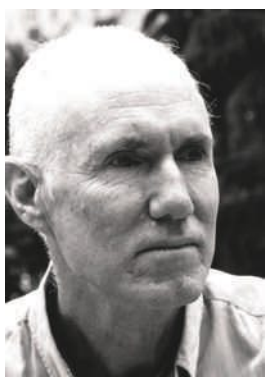
I should have made time for it sooner. The novel follows Henry, an accountant who has created an elaborate, dice-based game that allows him to simulate whole seasons of baseball. As Henry spins elaborate stories about his fictional players, Coover seamlessly pulls us in and out of his protagonist's imagination, bringing us along as the constraints of reality finally begin to slip away. In the process, Coover offers a fable of creation through self-destruction — a gnostic tragedy of a demiurge who may have been the one true god all along, if only because he loves his creation so totally.

My apologies to Gary Jones of the Northwest School in Seattle for probably pretending that I'd read it already when we talked about it in class. If it's any consolation, I was ready for it when I was partly because of your teaching way back when.

'Dancer From the Dance,' by Andrew Holleran

Becca Rothfeld, nonfiction critic

Sometimes I know exactly why I pick up a book — I'm reviewing it, I'm reviewing something related to it, it's high on the interminable list of books I know I ought to have read already, I saw an essay about it that galvanized me to crack it open — and sometimes I have absolutely no idea. So much of my literary life is project-oriented that I try to obey my more obscure urgings when they boil up and nag at me. I do not know why I opted to begin Andrew Holleran's 1978 debut novel, "Dancer From the Dance," last week, but it ravished me. A chronicle of gay life in New York in the 1970s, in the delirious years before the onslaught of AIDS, it is a book about a culture bewitched by beauty. Its two protagonists, lovelorn Malone and extravagantly glamorous Sutherland, dance their way through the druggy ecstasies of the party circuit in search of transcendence. Holleran is funny, and his characters are at once entirely human and mythically aloof, but above all, he is a dazzling stylist. "Dancer From the Dance" is an embodiment of the beauty its characters seek with such single-minded and sometimes desperate fervor. Holleran's prose is so luscious I wish I could reach out and touch it.



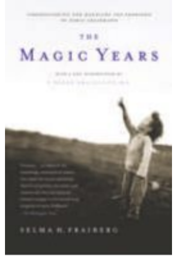
Andrew Holleran

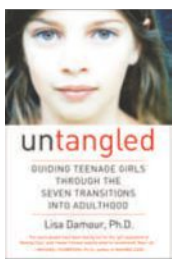
'Confessions of a Conservative' and 'The Second Civil War,' by Garry Wills

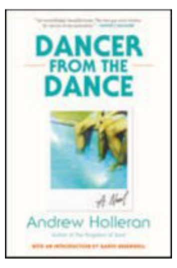
John Williams, Book World editor

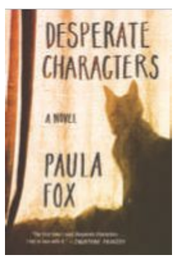
I recently toggled between two older books by the great Garry Wills, a fantastic writer and — not coincidentally to that fact — an interesting and not always predictable thinker. (His "Nixon Agonistes" is one of the most brilliant books I've read on any subject.) "Confessions of a Conservative" (1979) is not nearly as straightforward as a memoir with such a title would probably be today. He recalls working with William F. Buckley Jr. at National Review, his eventual disillusionment with that magazine and why he still considered himself essentially conservative despite not jibing with many elements of the contemporary ideology.

"The Second Civil War" (1968) grew out of a piece he wrote for Esquire about how police departments were preparing to handle future urban riots. In the book, he also profiles Black militants for their perspective on the country's problems. With all the talk of the "next civil war" that's been floating around in recent years, it's fascinating to see the ways in which the book does and doesn't feel dated. (To give a sense of both its style and its relevancy: "Our crime is not that America is white, but that we do not even know it is.")









'Final Edition,' by E.F. Benson, and 'Who's Got Mail?' by Linda Osborne

Michael Dirda, columnist

A few days ago I finished E.F. Benson's memoir, "Final Edition," which I would read a little of each night before falling asleep. It was this prolific writer's last book, appearing in 1940, just after his death. Benson (1867-1940) is best known these days as the author of the comic Mapp and Lucia novels and of some of the best spooky stories in English. (My favorites are "The Room in the Tower," "Negotium Perambulans" and "At the Farmhouse.") Benson's family was quite distinguished: His father, for instance, was not only the archbishop of Canterbury but also the man who gave Henry James the idea for "The Turn of the Screw."

This week I also received a warmly inscribed copy of "Who's Got Mail?: The History of Mail in America," the latest work of history for young people by the acclaimed Linda Barrett Osborne. Once upon a time I pulled Linda's résumé out of a slush pile, telling my Book World colleagues that we should give her some work. We did, and Linda was a frequent reviewer for many years.

'Desperate Characters,' by Paula Fox

Jill Pellettieri, editor

I first read Paula Fox's "Desperate Characters" more than 20 years ago, and I often turn to it when I'm in a reading rut and want a book that can completely transfix me. It's 1970, and Sophie, a literary translator, and Otto, a lawyer, are a 40-something married couple who live in gentrifying Brooklyn. The story unfolds over the course of a weekend when a stray cat comes around. Otto has warned Sophie not to feed it; Sophie does not listen, and when she sets down some milk, the cat bites her, breaking the skin. This incident does not spark a cataclysmic fight, but in Fox's able hands it gives us our first window into the tension brewing beneath the surface of this troubled marriage. As Sophie worries about whether the cat has infected her with rabies, Fox presents a series of additional small events that further reveal the couple's fractured relationship: "They were both standing rigidly, each half-consciously amassing evidence against the other, charges that would counterbalance the exasperation that neither could fathom." It's impossible not to be affected by the undercurrent of alarm running through this slim little novel.



Paula Fox

'Demon Copperhead,' by Barbara Kingsolver, and 'Tomorrow, and Tomorrow, and Tomorrow,' by Gabrielle Zevin

Becky Meloan, editorial aide

I was happy to have found the time to read two big books that I missed last year, starting with "Demon Copperhead," by Barbara Kingsolver — a newly minted Pulitzer Prize winner — which kept me up late turning pages. I adored the voice of the titular Demon, whose practicality was always tinged with optimism despite his harrowing life circumstances. During a subsequent book club discussion, many reported that the book was "too depressing," but we still found almost two hours' worth of topics to discuss, so I'd count that as a win.

"Tomorrow, and Tomorrow, and Tomorrow," by Gabrielle Zevin, was the other book I read, and another I didn't want to put down. I enjoyed the interplay between Sam and Sadie, who meet as children and go on to have a lifelong relationship, both as friends and as creators of wildly popular video games. It reminded me of "Halt and Catch Fire," a drama about the dawn of the personal-computer industry and the personalities involved that ran on AMC starting in 2014, but this book felt more modern, centered on the "you have died of dysentery" generation. Following the lives of people who are preternaturally talented in their fields is especially engaging, and Zevin has her finger on the pulse of the computer gaming industry in a way that feels new and fresh.

'Why Fathers Cry at Night,' by Kwame Alexander

Ron Charles, fiction critic

Kwame Alexander, a celebrated writer of books for young adults, presents a sweet and raw account of his path to adulthood in "Why Fathers Cry at Night." "This is not a traditional memoir," he confesses at the opening. "These are just snapshots of a man learning to love." But it's more than that — and more artful, too. Interspersed between family recipes and a number of his moving poems, Alexander describes his demanding father, his own two failed marriages and his challenges with his daughters. He also traces the surprising route of his literary success, which began by self-publishing more than a dozen books. Among the memoir's many treasures is a funny section about his long-running feud with the poet Nikki Giovanni, who knew nothing about his acrimony until after it faded into friendship.

'The Mabinogi,' by Matthew Francis

Sophia Nguyen, news and features writer

While on my honeymoon in west Wales, at a place called The Bookshop by the Sea in Aberystwyth (a place name that's hard to spell but fun to say), I picked up Matthew Francis's "The Mabinogi," a retelling in verse of a collection of very old Welsh tales. I'd taken a class on medieval Celtic literature to fulfill a major requirement back in college and honestly found the material sort of pointlessly weird: The stories were so compressed and so cryptic, they forced you to approach them as alien objects. But Francis distills them to their essence, beautifully and simply. The incidents are still mysterious — body swaps, a cauldron that boils corpses back into life, some very significant pigs — but something about how his poetry unspools them meant that this time, the spell worked. I'd recommend this book to anyone, but especially if you haven't read folklore or poetry in a long time and want to make your way back.

8 a.m. 63° | Noon 72° | 4 p.m. 79° | 8 p.m. 74°

High today at approx. 5 p.m. 80°
Precip: 0%
Wind: NW 8-16 mph

JOHN KELLY'S WASHINGTON
Is Rockville's Agnew Drive named after the former vice president? Answer Man investigates. C3



THE DISTRICT
At a vigil for Arianna Davis, friends and family mourn the 10-year-old who was shot on Mother's Day. C7



OBITUARIES
Poker legend Doyle Brunson, 89, was the first player to win $1 million in tournament play. C7



AMANDA ANDRADE-RHOADES FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

American University President Sylvia Mathews Burwell, left, and Dean Roger A. Fairfax Jr., right, present an honorary degree to Supreme Court Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson during the graduation ceremony for American University's law school in D.C. on Saturday.

'Survivors ready? Go.'

Justice Jackson offers life lessons and reality TV references in law school commencement speech

BY SUSAN SVRLUGA

Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson told graduates at American University's Washington College of Law commencement that she had reflected on her eclectic experiences in the years since her own graduation as she prepared the address, her first major public speech since becoming a Supreme Court justice.

"I stepped back and I looked deeply inside myself to try to figure out what to say," she said. "And upon doing so, I realized exactly what it is that I wanted to talk to you about today: 'Survivor.'"

"Yes, that's right," she said. "When I say 'Survivor,' I am indeed referring to the reality TV show where people are stranded on an island and compete to become the last person standing."

Graduates and their families — some of whom may have been hoping that Jackson would hint at highly anticipated upcoming rulings on cases regarding voting rights, affirmative action and student debt, or reflect on public confidence in the Supreme Court after a tumultuous year — laughed.

"I am a 'Survivor' superfan," Jackson said. "I have seen every episode since the second season, and I watch it with my husband and my daughters even now, which I will admit, it's not easy to do with the demands of my day job," she said, again getting a laugh, "but you have to set priorities, people."

That was her first lesson: In a busy life, you can and should find

SEE JACKSON ON C4

Email erasure policy probed

METRO'S RECORDS GO BACK SIX MONTHS

Investigator: Time frame is too short for inquiries

BY JUSTIN GEORGE

The lead investigator into an intrusion of Metro's network by a former contractor's Russia-based computer said the computer contained thousands of documents, some marked confidential, that had been automatically syncing from Metro's system for years while the worker was under contract.

James S. Smith, deputy director for cyber and data analytics at Metro's Office of the Inspector General (OIG), said he began looking into the computer's owner, a Russian national and former Metro contractor, while searching the man's previous log-ins to the network, as well as his emails. Smith said he couldn't trace the former contractor's record trail beyond half a year because of Metro's policy to delete emails after that time period, even though the contractor worked on Metro's mobile fare app and other projects for years.

"This has been going on for years, but yet we could only collect email for the past six months," Smith said.

The long-standing Metro email policy automatically deletes correspondence after six months unless specifically exempted for legal or business purposes. The policy

SEE EMAIL ON C2

Life terms given for stabbings of 3 girls

Md. man was found guilty in 2017 murders of his sister and cousins

BY JASMINE HILTON

A 30-year-old Maryland man was sentenced to three life sentences without the possibility of parole after being found guilty of stabbing his younger sister and two cousins to death while babysitting them inside a Prince George's County home in 2017.

Alongside the sentences for first-degree murder, Antonio Williams was sentenced to three additional life terms for first-degree child abuse resulting in death. The sentences will run concurrently.

The sentencing brought a conclusion to the years-long legal case, held up by the pandemic and other delays, for the family of 6-year-old Nadira Withers and two visiting cousins, 9-year-old Ariana DeCree and 6-year-old Ajayah DeCree. Williams has been held without bond for six years, according to prosecutors, and after a four-day trial and two hours of deliberation, a jury convicted him in January.

"Victory and justice was served," Anthony DeCree, the father of Ariana and Ajayah, said Friday after the sentence was handed down in Prince George's County Circuit Court. "It took awhile … we made it."

Williams's mother came home from her shift as a nurse in the

SEE MURDERS ON C5

A unique new art gallery opens with a unique artist



Theresa Vargas

Some artists find inspiration while walking through nature. Others find it while studying the face of a stranger.

Denise B. Hawkins found it while in isolation.

"I was lonely," the 67-year-old told me on a recent evening.

Hawkins has five children, 21 grandchildren and four great-grandchildren, but she couldn't touch or hold any of them at the beginning of the pandemic. Because she has asthma, none of her relatives wanted to risk exposing her to covid, so they stayed away from the D.C. senior housing complex where she lives by herself in an apartment.

What happened next is not your typical pandemic story. Loneliness stole from plenty of people during that time, leaving them with less — less energy, less ambition, less hope. But in her loneliness, Hawkins gained something: an artistic skill she didn't know she possessed.

She was in search of a distraction when she turned to two authorities: God and YouTube.

"I prayed on it, and I asked God to send me a gift, send me something different," she said.

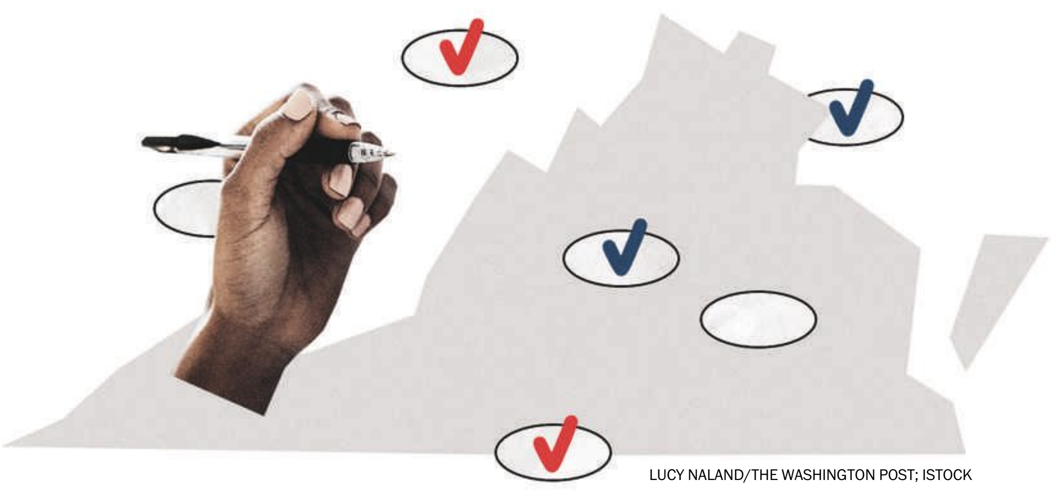
Later, when she was clicking through YouTube, she saw a video of a woman making statues out of jute, a fiber that is derived from plants and is used to make burlap bags. "I was just in awe."

Hawkins, who has spent most of her life working as a seamstress, has never taken an art class. But after seeing that video, she started envisioning masks made from jute. She then started creating them. The first mask she made was in the likeness of her oldest daughter. After that, she started experimenting more with shape and texture. Soon, she was crafting eye-catching jewelry and elaborate hairstyles for the masks. Making a single curl of hair takes careful handwork and patience. It requires twisting strands of jute around a pipe cleaner, soaking them and waiting days for them to dry.

Some of the masks took her 80 hours. And as soon as she would finish one, she would start another, even as her hands ached from arthritis and carpal tunnel syndrome.

"It was overtaking everything," Hawkins said of the pull to create. "I couldn't sleep. I would work into the night. I just

SEE VARGAS ON C3



LUCY NALAND/THE WASHINGTON POST; ISTOCK

Voting is underway in the Fairfax Democratic primary

There's much at stake in this year's Fairfax County election. The county remains an economic powerhouse in Northern Virginia but continues to deal with the effects of the coronavirus pandemic. Home values have risen, leaving many residents with higher annual tax bills. Offices are vacant, and some retail areas aren't back to pre-pandemic levels of activity, stifling commercial tax revenue. Meanwhile, schools are crowded, neighborhoods need revitalizing, and the demand for mental health counseling and other social services is up — all requiring more spending.

How Fairfax will respond to these issues will be determined in elections this year, in which voters will choose among candidates in several contested primaries. The chair, four supervisor seats, the commonwealth's attorney and sheriff are the only contested races in the Democratic primary; the Republican primary has no contested races.

We asked all candidates in contested primary races for the board of supervisors to respond to questions about their backgrounds and views. Their responses have been edited for content, length and clarity. **Continued on Page C6.**

COMMUTER

Metro email policy scrutinized after cybersecurity incident

EMAIL FROM C1

has long frustrated Smith and other OIG investigators, who say years of emails that might shed light on two of Metro's most important safety investigations in recent years — the strength of the transit agency's cybersecurity defenses and a wheel defect plaguing Metro's troubled 7000-series rail cars — are unavailable to them and the public.

The policy is under increased scrutiny amid fresh cybersecurity concerns this past week and an email retention complaint Smith filed earlier this month with congressional offices and committees, as well as the Department of Transportation. Metro said Friday that it is reviewing the policy, which investigators say is years shorter than most government agencies and hinders both external and internal investigators from piecing together critical timelines for criminal, civil, mechanical or administrative cases. Instead, auditors and investigators are forced to rely on interviews and the recollections of those involved.

The OIG was among the agencies, including the National Transportation Safety Board, investigating a wheel defect found in several of Metro's 7000-series rail cars. The problem was blamed for a derailment and created a year-long train shortage with waits of more than 10 minutes as the region sought to recover from the pandemic. Smith said digital correspondence that may have answered questions about the defect's origins was no longer available.

"There were contract disputes that happened years ago earlier, and they were trying to iron out how the wheels were going to be designed and pressed," Smith said. "There were emails going back and forth on trying to work out the issues. And so we could only do interviews, and people talked to us about what they recollect. But if we had emails, that would document and refresh the memories and also solidify what actually



MICHAEL A. MCCOY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Metro policy states that emails will be retained for six months. Employees within the transit agency's Office of Inspector General have said that the short time frame has been detrimental to investigations.

happened."

In a statement, Metro said General Manager Randy Clarke, who is in his first year leading the transit agency, has asked staff to review the email retention policy and recommend updates. The agency declined to address specific questions about its email protocols.

Retaining emails is a complex issue for agencies — a balance between keeping records available to the public, oversight and watchdog agencies, law enforcement, courts and auditors, while watching the expenses of storing and organizing emails that include a trove of inconsequential messages. Most transit agency policies are set by states, according to the American Public Transportation Association, but Metro sets its own rules with governance that consists of a board of representatives from D.C., Maryland and Virginia.

The short retention period has for years rankled Metro's OIG, a semi-independent watchdog agency that released a report Wednesday indicating that the transit agency had foregone years of security updates, ignored cybersecurity guidance, relied on shoddy background checks and permitted high-level clearance to contractors in foreign countries not allied with the United States. The report highlighted a Jan. 4 incident in which a former I.T. contractor in Washington remotely accessed his computer in Russia and logged into a Metro network that contained sensitive information on its mobile fare payment programs.

Metro said that the intrusion was not malicious and that the former contractor was obtaining work documents.

Smith did not find any sign of malicious intent, he said, but the man's home computer in Russia and his personal computers in Washington probably had been syncing for years, periodically transferring files from a Microsoft OneDrive licensed to Metro to the computer in Russia over internet networks that could be vulnerable to foreign intelligence gathering. An initial look into the drive showed documents shared between computers that were marked "confidential," including the details of a Metro "Disaster Recovery Plan" from 2018, Smith said.

Some carried the warning: "CONFIDENTIAL: This document contains [Metro's] sensitive information and is for official use only." Some involved rider safety, Smith said.

During interviews, the former contractor, who worked for EastBanc Technologies, a Washington-based firm that has contracted with Metro for more than a decade, told OIG investigators he had remotely logged on to his home computer in Russia from Washington to retrieve documents and correct a syncing problem. Smith said the contractor probably had used the computer in Russia to work on Metro projects in previous years.

Smith said the contractor told investigators that after a prompt to reauthenticate his computer connection, he logged on to his computer in Russia using the Google Chrome Remote Desktop program and used his still-active Metro credentials to reauthenticate with Microsoft, reestablishing a connection with his computers in the United States that probably began years ago when he was working on Metro projects from Russia, Smith said.

"We could go in and see that his OneDrive was syncing from Russia on a personal computer," Smith said. "It was more than just a ping."

Metro notified the federal Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA) about a week after the intrusion.

Metro has defended the security of its network while contesting many of the OIG's claims about the state of its cybersecurity, including whether the unauthorized intrusion in January constituted a "breach" — partly on the basis of CISA opening and closing the case without comment. Metro also said a Microsoft detection and response team (DART) brought in to review the OneDrive and Metro's cybersecurity preparedness didn't raise significant concerns.

"DART found no concrete indication that on Jan. 4 content on the individual's OneDrive was synchronized to a device in Russia and no indication of persistent or ongoing malicious activity," Metro spokeswoman Kristie Swink Benson said in a statement Saturday.

Smith said the discrepancy between the Microsoft investigative team and the OIG could stem from the fact that the OIG saw log-ins before they disappeared after 30 days — log-ins Smith said showed syncing. The Microsoft team's investigation came later, and Smith said they may have viewed logs that covered periods when no such activity took place.

Smith said the OIG is attempting to interview Microsoft to discuss its findings, but "our indications are that it did" sync. Microsoft did not return a message Saturday.

EastBanc has said the company ended any relationship with Russia after sanctions were imposed last year following that country's invasion of Ukraine, adding that the company complied with Metro's security requirements. Attempts to contact the former contractor, who isn't accused of wrongdoing, have not been successful.

During the investigation, Smith said, he began tracing the former contractor's network log-ins, but Metro only keeps records for 30 days. He then began tracing the man's emails and found correspondence between him and a former Metro supervisor. Smith wanted to look into other communications, he said, but he couldn't go back more than six months because of Metro's email retention policy.

Federal agencies retain most emails for a minimum of seven years, while emails from high-level officials are retained longer, according to the National Archives and Records Administration.

Among transit agencies, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority of New York — the nation's largest — has a multiyear retention policy "with the exact length of time subject to classification of data," MTA spokesman Michael Cortez said.

The Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority does not have a policy. The email system the Boston-area transit authority has used since 2010 has not required the MBTA to delete emails, agency spokeswoman Lisa Battiston said.

The Washington Metropolitan Safety Commission, an agency Congress created six years ago to monitor safety within the rail system, keeps its emails for two years, spokesman Max Smith said.

While Metro's six-month retention period is generally on the shorter end, one similar-sized transit agency deletes emails even more quickly. Bay Area Rapid

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

Transit in the San Francisco area keeps emails for 90 days, agency spokesman James K. Allison said.

Until 2007, Metro had an email retention period of 60 days, according to a ruling that was part of a lawsuit the Disabilities Rights Council of Greater Washington filed against Metro over MetroAccess paratransit service. In June that year, U.S. Magistrate Judge John M. Facciola ruled in favor of a motion to compel documents in the case after he said Metro "did nothing to stop its email system from obliterating all emails," including those pertinent to the case, after 60 days — an action the judge said was "indefensible."

Metro changed its policy that year, expanding the period to six months. The policy applies to employees, contractors and vendors who use Metro's email system.

With a workforce of nearly 11,000 employees, the transit agency's policy says "excessive retention" of emails would harm its system's performance and increase costs.

But the six-month policy has vexed OIG investigators for years. Smith and others who have worked in the OIG say the transit agency's policy is purposefully short to reduce potential legal liability.

In 2021, he began researching whether Metro could easily switch to a longer retention period, discovering that "the email retention policy can be easily changed to 3 years or 7 years, and there would be no additional cost," according to an email he sent to a supervisor that year.

At the time, the office was being asked by Rep. Gerald E. Connolly (D-Va.) to investigate why top-level Metro leaders and the safety commission had not been alerted to the wheel defect Metro inspections had uncovered in the 7000-series rail cars over a four-year period. A federal investigation into the October 2021 derailment uncovered inspection records and other evidence.

"In light of the current derailment investigation, OIG feels that this policy (which is hindering our investigation) may come to light and since other investigative agencies outside of [Metro] are also conducting investigations, we feel you should be made aware in advance of any issues," then-Inspector General Geoffrey A. Cherrington wrote in an email to Metro Board Chairman Paul C. Smedberg in November 2021.

In a letter to the full Metro board, Cherrington wrote that the email policy also inhibited work of the National Transportation Safety Board, Department of Transportation and the safety commission — all of which were looking into the 7000-series cars. He said the OIG had brought up the issue as early as 2019 in a memo to then-General Manager Paul J. Wiedefeld.

"If the investigations uncover emails to or from [Metro] personnel in the files of non-[Metro] entities that are material to the investigations but were not provided by [Metro] to investigators because [Metro] had deleted them, new questions will arise, fairly or unfairly, about [Metro's] transparency with its oversight bodies," he said in the letter. "The current email deletion policy needlessly increases [Metro's] reputational risk."

Dave Gallagher, who worked as Metro's deputy inspector general for audits between late 2021 and this month, said the push to change the policy should continue.

"It's a public agency," he said. "There's a responsibility to the taxpayers, to the riders."

Smith filed a formal whistleblower complaint this month against Inspector General Rene Febles with the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee, the Department of Transportation, Connolly's office, the Virginia State Office of the Inspector General, the Washington Metrorail Safety Commission and the Maryland Department of Transportation. The complaint said Febles has done too little to seek changes to the six-month retention policy and is not safeguarding the office's independence from Metro interference.

Febles said he has not heard Smith bring up email retention problems this year. Febles said he shares Smith's opinion that the policy needs to be changed, noting that he researched and wrote the memo that Cherrington sent to Metro leaders in 2021 calling for emails to be saved longer than six months. Any change would have to be enacted by Metro's board.

Febles, in turn, has filed a complaint against Metro to the Department of Transportation, saying the agency is preventing his office from being fully independent so it can better serve as a watchdog. Federal transportation officials have not spoken to Smith or Febles, but Metro has hired a law firm to investigate the claims.

Razzan Nakhlawi contributed to this report.

What's in a name: Is Rockville's Agnew Drive named after Spiro?



John Kelly's Washington

What are the origins of Agnew Drive in Rockville? Is the road named after Spiro Agnew, the former vice president whose career ended in scandal when he was forced to resign? Agnew was from Maryland, so I wondered if the road was named after him to honor his years of service in our state.

— Nancy Traver, Silver Spring

Answer Man can say with some certainty that Agnew Road was not named after **Spiro Agnew**. But he cannot say for whom it *was* named.

Agnew Road first shows up on Montgomery County documents in 1940, said **Sarah Hedlund**, archivist/librarian at Montgomery History. At that time, Spiro Agnew had yet to enter public life. The Baltimore restaurateur's son was working at an insurance agency during the day and going to law school at night, a schedule that would be interrupted by Army service in World War II.

Agnew Drive was — and is — part of a subdivision called Rockcrest that is nestled in the wedge between Veirs Mill Road and Rockville Pike. The street is on the first plat for the development, along with Crawford Drive, Paul Drive, De Beck Drive, Wade Avenue and Lewis Avenue. The development would later include Gail Avenue, too.

Street names do not burble up out of the ground like oil or reveal themselves like petroglyphs when the ground above is scraped away. They are bestowed by humans. The streets of Rockcrest memorialize some of those humans. Hedlund said she suspected Rockcrest's streets would have been named after the developer's family members or friends, "typical of real estate speculators of the time."

The developer behind Rockcrest was **Thomas O. de Beck.** Born in Denmark in 1897, de Beck — also rendered in print as De Beck and DeBeck — immigrated with his family to the United States in 1912. By the early 1920s he was in Washington working in real estate. He advertised properties around the District, in such neighborhoods as Mount Pleasant, Cleveland Park and Petworth.

De Beck sold both single-family homes and small apartment buildings. Some of the homes he handled were advertised under a "Colored" heading, signaling that African Americans were allowed to buy them. Such were the practices of the day.

In 1935, de Beck married **Gail Wade**. The Wades were farmers in Barnesville, Md. Gail's siblings included **Crawford Wade**. Critically, Crawford Wade was a partner with de Beck in the Rockcrest development.

So there are four of the street names: De Beck, Wade, Crawford and Gail. Another Wade sibling was **J. Paul Wade**. There's another street name: Paul.

We're left with Lewis Avenue and Agnew Drive. Answer Man poked around in census records but could find no obvious inspirations for those names, no children or other family members. There was a tavern in Gaithersburg called Agnew's Inn. Perhaps de Beck drove past it on the way to the Crawford farm. Or perhaps he and Wade Crawford hammered out Rockcrest details there.

In December 1940, de Beck's Rockcrest Realty Corp. advertised a "big value in low cost homes." The small, tidy homes were priced from $4,125 to $4,575. That included hardwood floors, venetian blinds, a Johns Manville roof and a sodded yard.

De Beck advertised another feature: Rockcrest was "an outstanding restricted community."

Racial covenants prohibiting the sale of houses in some neighborhoods to anyone other than Whites were common in Montgomery County then. Before launching Rockcrest, de Beck had worked for the Federal Housing Administration as a "valuator." In this role, he would have followed FHA guidance that urged mortgage underwriters to ensure neighborhood homogeneity.

A 1936 FHA underwriting manual explained that "adverse influences" could harm neighborhoods. The best way to guard against this was to prevent "the infiltration of ... lower class occupancy, and inharmonious racial groups."

Thomas de Beck died in 1944. In 1960, Rockville celebrated its centennial. The Washington Evening Star noted that the town's explosive growth had been spurred by the development of Rockcrest and its 184 homes.

"They said it couldn't be done, but we never were in doubt a minute," Crawford Wade told the Star.

An aside: Montgomery History's Hedlund pointed out that Spiro Agnew did live in Montgomery County for a while. From 1972 to 1973, **Richard M. Nixon's** then-vice president lived in Bethesda's Kenwood neighborhood.

The name game

Do you live in a development with interesting street names? Are you a developer who memorialized family members, pets or childhood hobbies? Send the details — with "Street Names" in the subject line — to me at john.kelly@washpost.com.

THERESA VARGAS

A D.C. resident finds her artistic calling and brings people together

VARGAS FROM C1

had to finish a piece. One piece after another."

By the time it was safe for her family to visit her again, her walls were covered with her new works of art.

Those masks might have stayed there — hanging in her apartment, unseen by the public — but two local artists made sure they didn't.

Dietrich Williams and Mark Garrett, who are known muralists in the city and run the Capital Hill Boys Club, chose Hawkins's art as the first exhibit for a gallery they opened in Anacostia a week ago. On that night, people who came to the gallery were greeted with food, music and a wall of canvases bearing Hawkins's masks and her signature — "Ms. D."

"I've never seen anything like it," Williams said of her work. "I want schools to come and see Ms. D's exhibit. ... I'm hoping a place like the Smithsonian will buy her work and show it locally. That is a dream of mine, because of how culturally impactful it is."

It is fitting that the gallery opened to the public by featuring the work of an artist with a unique story — because the space is unique. The gallery was created to allow people who may not otherwise get the chance to produce art, show it or sell it to enter the city's artistic landscape.

"This is an artist's gallery," Williams explained. "It's totally centered around the artist. The artist doesn't have to pay any money to show here, and we don't take any money or any sales from the artist."



D'ANGELO ANDREWS

Denise B. Hawkins with some of the jute masks she created during the pandemic. In her loneliness during isolation, she discovered an artistic skill she didn't know she possessed.

The gallery's location in Southeast Washington was a purposeful decision, said Williams, who resides in that area. Too many artists who live on that side of the city don't have the resources to buy materials, increase their exposure or try something new and fail.

"Artists need a period where they try and fail and try and fail and try again, and this space is an opportunity for that," he said. "I don't want to have to keep going uptown to see art that we've never seen before. It should be everywhere. It should be equitable. That's what we are hoping to leverage for artists over here, just a little bit of equity with our space for them to show and produce."

The building used to be a laundromat. To turn it into a gallery, washing machines and dryers had to be removed. Days before the opening, quarters coated in detergent were still being found on the ground.

Williams said their landlord warned them not to put too much work into the building because plans call for tearing it down at the end of the year.

But their organization, which relies on grants and donations for funding, had to spend about $30,000 to make it presentable and safe for the public, he said. The organization works with schools in the area and plans to use the building to hold a summer camp for children.

Hawkins, who lived most of her life in Southeast Washington before moving to Ward 5, said she is glad to see the gallery serving children in the neighborhood. "We need to help our babies out," she said. "They're hurting." She saw that on the night of the gallery's opening when she stopped to talk to a boy who looked about 10 years old.

"He said, 'I'm stupid,' and that broke my heart," she said. "I said, 'Baby don't you ever call yourself stupid again in your life.'"

She later told Williams and Garrett about the boy, so they could look out for him: "I said, 'Please, y'all, help that child. Someone has been calling him that all his life. He said it too easily, as if that was his name.'"

Hawkins may have started working on her art in isolation, but on the night of the opening, she was far from alone. Her family was with her, watching as strangers admired her work and even purchased pieces.

Hawkins said she plans to spend time volunteering at the gallery. She also plans to keep making her masks.

Her doctor ordered her to rest her hands for three weeks, and she complied. But when I spoke to her, that forced time off was nearing its end, and she was ready to pick up that jute again.

"I already see two masks in my head," she said. "I've been resting for three weeks. I'm tired of resting. It's time to create."

LOCAL DIGEST

THE DISTRICT

Maryland man is found fatally shot

Police are investigating a fatal shooting that took place Saturday morning in Southeast Washington.

The shooting occurred shortly after 8 a.m. in the 3400 block of Stanton Road SE, D.C. police said.

After responding to reports of gunfire, police found Little Price Jr., 36, of Bladensburg, Md. Price was pronounced dead at the scene.

Before Saturday morning there had been 85 homicides in the District in 2023, a 10 percent increase over the same time last year.

— Peter Jamison

MARYLAND

Man dies in crash on I-270 after police chase

Traffic was stalled on Interstate 270 on Saturday morning after a man died in a crash following a brief police chase.

Around 5 a.m., Montgomery County police officers responded to a call about a car parked in the middle lane of the Rockledge Road ramp. Inside was a man who appeared to be intoxicated and had a gun in his lap, authorities said. He drove away, traveling north on the interstate.

Officers pursued the vehicle, which crashed south of Route 28 on I-270. The driver was ejected from the car and pronounced dead at the scene. Two adults in another vehicle were taken to the hospital with non-life-threatening injuries.

Police have not released the name of the man who died. Maryland State Police and the Maryland Attorney General's Office are investigating the crash.

— Peter Jamison

VIRGINIA

18-year-old arrested in Woodbridge killing

Police have arrested an 18-year-old Dumfries man they say was responsible for a fatal shooting in Prince William County in November.

The suspect — who was a juvenile at the time of the killing and whose name has not been released — shot 44-year-old Demetrious Levar Graham of Woodbridge on Nov. 12, detectives said. Police responded to reports of shots fired near Morgan Court and Old Triangle Road in Dumfries early that morning and found Graham dead in a vehicle.

Using surveillance footage, Prince William County police identified the suspect, who they said sought out Graham after a dispute at a nearby residence involving a family member. On Thursday — when he visited court on an unrelated matter — the suspect was arrested and charged with murder, use of a firearm in commission of a felony and possession of a firearm by a juvenile.

— Peter Jamison





THE REGION

Saturday was a bit different: Warm, wet

BY MARTIN WEIL

It definitely rained on Saturday evening. Perhaps not a lot of rain, but in a dry month, we may wish to record and relish every drop.

As sunset approached, the sky grew darker in Washington, and it took considerable discernment to distinguish between the onset of storm clouds, and the usual fall of night.

Between 7 and 9 p.m. the official total for Washington was about .15. inches, no torrent perhaps, but enough to make Saturday the wettest day this month.

And all of this occurred on a milepost of the season, for Saturday represented an important way station on the annual journey from spring to summer.

Saturday, the 20th of May, could reasonably be considered the two-month anniversary of the spring equinox, which occurred on the 20th of March.

As may befit a day that brought us two-thirds of the way from spring to summer, Saturday seemed a bit on the warm side. The high temperature was 81 degrees.

That may not seem excessively warm, but it was four degrees above the average for the date, which is 77.

It was also warmer than most days this month.

So, we might describe Saturday in Washington as warm and wet. Comparatively.

Before Saturday we had been both cool and dry. Temperatures through Friday had run a little more than two degrees below normal.

And as to rain, the rainiest previous day this month had recorded a mere .13 inches.

The total for May was a little more than a quarter of an inch. And as of 9 p.m. even Saturday's two wet hours failed to boost the month's total above a half inch.

RETROPOLIS

The Supreme Court's mostly forgotten case on banning books

BY ANTHONY AYCOCK



MARTY REICHENTHAL/AP

Kurt Vonnegut in New York in 1979. Vonnegut's "Slaughterhouse-Five" was among the nine books banned in the school board decision at the center of Island Trees v. Pico. He said the ban had left him "distressed that this sort of thing can happen in my country."

Record efforts to ban books are fueling fights in Texas, Virginia and across the country. Just last week, a group including free-speech advocates, authors, parents and the publisher Penguin Random House filed a federal lawsuit against a Florida school district over the removal of books covering gender and LGBTQ issues.

Yet only one previous case of a library book ban has ended up before the Supreme Court: *Island Trees Union Free School District No. 26 v. Pico*. And, outside law school classrooms, it has largely been forgotten.

The country was engulfed then, as now, in a debate over which books should be allowed in schools and libraries. The American Library Association recorded a rise in censorship activity, from 100 book removals or challenges annually in the early 1970s to 1,000 annually by the end of the decade. In Virginia, a pastor fought a public library for offering books such as Philip Roth's "Goodbye, Columbus" and Sidney Sheldon's "Bloodline," calling them "pornography." In Indiana, a group of senior citizens publicly burned 40 copies of a book called "Values Clarification" for its discussions of moral relativism, situational ethics and secular humanism. (It also mentioned marijuana and divorce.)

The *Pico* saga began in Levittown, a hamlet on Long Island, in September 1975, when three members of the Island Trees school board attended a conference sponsored by a conservative education group, Parents of New York United. At the conference, PONY-U shared a collection of excerpts from books it deemed "objectionable."

The president and vice president of the board thereafter searched the library of Island Trees High School. They discovered nine of the listed books, including Richard Wright's "Black Boy" and Kurt Vonnegut's "Slaughterhouse-Five." Another was found in the junior high library.

A few months later, the board formed a book review committee, which recommended removing two of the books and making a third available only with parental approval. The full board rejected these recommendations, instead withdrawing all nine books for being "anti-American, anti-Christian, anti-Sem[i]tic and just plain filthy."

The New York Civil Liberties Union, on behalf of Island Trees student council president Steven Pico and four other students, sued the board in response on Jan. 4, 1977. Ira Glasser, the organization's executive director, said at a news conference that the ban had been part of a recent "epidemic of book censorship" by "self-appointed vigilantes." Vonnegut, who was also in attendance, chain-smoking, said he was "distressed that this sort of thing can happen in my country."

Long Island in the 1970s, recalled Russell Rieger, a New York-based tech executive and one of the original plaintiffs, was highly conservative. Many of his friends and neighbors "were as Archie Bunker as you can imagine," Rieger recalled. Most of the banished books, similar to ongoing book-banning efforts today, dealt with race and with racial and ethnic minorities: "Black Boy," Eldridge Cleaver's "Soul on Ice," Piri Thomas's "Down These Mean Streets," Oliver La Farge's "Laughing Boy" and "Best Short Stories of Negro Writers," edited by Langston Hughes. The board also nixed the anonymously published "Go Ask Alice," about a drug-addicted teen girl, and Desmond Morris's "The Naked Ape," a zoological approach to human evolution.

The students asked a New York federal court to declare the board's actions unconstitutional and order the board to return the nine books, which they claimed had been banned not because they lacked educational value but because "particular passages in the books offended [the board members'] social, political and moral tastes."

"Most people believed the board was right and we were radicals," Rieger said, a perspective that didn't bother him. "It was a badge of honor," he said.

After an initial burst of media attention, the plaintiffs returned to being students, leaving the legal work to the lawyers. In 1979, the district court ruled in favor of the school board. It reasoned that while "removal of such books from a school library may, indeed in this court's view does, reflect a misguided educational philosophy, it does not constitute a sharp and direct infringement of any first amendment right." An appellate court reversed that decision in 1980 and remanded the case back to district court, prompting the Supreme Court to step in.

In June 1982, the court ruled 5-4 in the students' favor. In his opinion, Justice William J. Brennan Jr. wrote that while "local school boards have a substantial legitimate role to play in the determination of school library content," those boards' authority "must be exercised in a manner that comports with the transcendent imperatives of the First Amendment." In other words, school officials can't ditch books just because they don't like them.

Yet the case wasn't the constitutional slam dunk its supporters had hoped. Only two justices fully joined Brennan's opinion, while two others agreed with parts of it. One, Justice Harry A. Blackmun, concurred that the Island Trees board should not have removed the books but rejected Brennan's argument that the students had a First Amendment right to receive information.

Although such plurality decisions are binding, they set a weak precedent. Indeed, in a case decided just three months later, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit remarked that *Pico* was "of no precedential value as to the application of the First Amendment."

Genevieve Lakier, a law professor at the University of Chicago, said the Supreme Court was trying to balance two competing considerations: that students should be exposed to all sorts of ideas in their quest to learn, and that local school boards have a mandate to regulate that exposure as they see fit.

"The line that the court draws is a very fine one," Lakier said — too fine to settle the matter for good.

The court's decision didn't immediately calm any turbulence in Levittown, either. Over the summer of 1982, 1,200 Island Trees parents petitioned to return the banned books to the library shelves. The board wanted to slap the books with a "Parental Notification Required" warning, but New York Attorney General Robert Abrams said that move would violate a state law on the confidentiality of library records. Finally, in early 1983, the board restored the books with no restrictions, though it did so reluctantly. "Until the day I die," board member Christina Fasulo said in a New York Times interview, "I refuse to budge on my position. Since when is it demeaning to take filth off library shelves?"

That debate goes on. Could it land at the Supreme Court a second time?

"I would love for the ACLU to pick it up," Rieger said. "But I would be nervous about it happening now."

Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson shares life advice with grads

JACKSON FROM C1

time for the things you love. "And I love that show."

The ceremony marked a joyful and lighthearted end to a degree program that had started for many there on screens in their bedrooms and basements all over the world in 2020, as student speaker Kimberly Salvadora Alli said, during unprecedented challenges to life and learning.

On Saturday, graduates with AU-blue gowns fluttering, and parents holding bouquets and balloons streamed across the American University campus in the sunshine. Inside, bagpipes piped, drums thumped, families hollered, calling out to graduates from the bleachers. Graduates marched with wingtip shoes, silver stilettos, sneakers colored in with markers, and heels covered in stars-and-stripes glitter. Some danced, some pumped fists and one tapped slowly along with a cane, to cheers from classmates.

"This is one of the best days of our lives," said Khamal Khan, there with his wife, Aysha Khan, and other family to see their daughter Shahnoor Khan, 23, of New York, one of two Juris Doctor students given the "outstanding graduate" award. And to hear Jackson? His eyes widened. "We are lucky to be here!"

Graduate Sudarsanan Sivakumar, 25, from Tamil Nadu, India, was beaming. "It's an honor to hear her speak," he said. "I know everyone feels that way!" he said emphatically, speaking for his nearly 400 fellow graduates, and repeated it. "I know everyone feels that way!"

In her speech, Jackson, the first Black female justice, acknowledged that May is a very busy time at the Supreme Court and that she might not have carved out the time for a commencement speech if not for her decades-long close friendship with the school's dean, Roger A. Fairfax Jr.

Jackson was a highlight of the university's 145th commencement ceremonies, which included speeches by an array of leaders such as former Maryland governor Larry Hogan; Ted Leonsis, the founder and chief executive of Monumental Sports & Entertainment; and Julie Kent, artistic director of the Washington Ballet.

Jackson said she could not have imagined, at her own law school graduation 27 years ago, that she would be where she is now. Even now, she said, it's hard to believe that she is on the Supreme Court.

She offered graduates three lessons, drawn from her own varied legal career — and "Survivor." With examples from successful contestants on the show, she urged graduates to make the most of the resources they have.

She described working as an assistant federal public defender in Washington, handling appeals and feeling the defense side was perpetually out-resourced when litigating against the government. She also described a contestant with a prosthetic leg who struggled to get through a challenge involving a balance beam, falling repeatedly but trying again and again until she ultimately won.

"Now, none of the odds that I have personally faced thus far in my career have been that daunting," Jackson said, "thanks in no small part to the civil rights-era trailblazers who opened the doors for me and my generation. But I do know what it is like to commit to moving forward even when the deck is stacked against you."

"You are enough," she told graduates. " … With patience, determination and grit and creativity, you'll find a way."

She advised them to know their strengths. "There are many ways to excel in the legal profession, and you do not need to become someone you are not. You do you," she said. "Lean in to your personal strengths and use them to get you where you want to go."

She learned this when she transitioned from an appellate lawyer to a trial judge, she said, drawing on skills she knew she had even on her high school speech and debate team. And she saw it in a contestant who described herself as a couch potato and didn't try to become a fearsome physical competitor but relied on emotional intelligence, earning others' trust.

Her last lesson was to play the long game, just as the winners on "Survivor" do. "You will need to build alliances, stay optimistic, remain levelheaded. You will have to disagree without being disagreeable. And it will be important to see things from others' perspectives and to work hard to keep everyone on board."

And she ended with one of her favorite moments from the show, when the host holds up one hand, says "Survivors ready? Go," she said, showing them how he gestures the dynamic charge to start each challenge. She told the graduates, pausing between each word: "You are ready."



AMANDA ANDRADE-RHOADES FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

A student wears American flag-themed heels during the graduation ceremony for American University's law school in D.C. on Saturday.

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JASMINE HILTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

Prince George's County State's Attorney Aisha Braveboy speaks after Antonio Williams received life sentences for fatally stabbing his sister and two cousins while babysitting them in 2017.

Md. man is sentenced to life

MURDERS FROM C1

early morning hours of Aug. 18, 2017, and found the girls fatally stabbed in a basement bedroom.

Jonathon Church, a former assistant state's attorney for Prince George's County now working at the Howard County State's Attorney's Office, came back to Prince George's to try the case. He said at the sentencing hearing that there were 15 stab wounds between the three young girls. They were found in bed, with at least one of them believed to be asleep at the time of the stabbing.

At trial, it was revealed that Williams became irritated because the girls were running up and down the stairs. According to prosecutors, Williams confessed to police that he took a knife from the kitchen and went downstairs and killed them.

But Williams and his mother, Andrena Kelley — who was also the mother of Nadira, and who found the girls the morning of the killings — maintain he is innocent.

Before he was sentenced to life behind bars, Williams apologized to his family, while also saying that he was "forced to make a confession" to police. Williams said he was interrogated without a lawyer, even though he asked for one, and "was not in my right state of mind" during the interview.

He also questioned why it took years for him to be found guilty of the crimes, saying he was "railroaded."

"I might not see daylight for something I didn't do?" Williams said to Judge Judy Woodall. "I'm going to stick to my story. I did not do this."

Kelley, his mother, said during her victim impact statement that she had to go to work to care for her children as a single mom, which is why Williams was at home watching his sister and cousins who were in town visiting.

"He treated them like no other, I don't see this happening. My child right here wasn't a bad child," Kelley told the judge. "I love him, I loved my daughter. Something happened, I don't know what happened. I don't blame him."

William Gibbs, Williams's defense attorney, asked the judge in court to give Williams a chance at parole and not run the sentences consecutively.

"This was a very emotional case," the judge said before delivering the sentence. "I feel a lot of heartbreak for the families."

The families, seated in separate galleries divided by an aisle in court, were conflicted.

DeCree said during his victim impact statement how Aug. 18 became "the worst day" of his life.

Then, 62 days after the stabbings, Ariana and Ajayah's mother died, losing her battle with leukemia. DeCree believes her death was accelerated by the loss of their children. He said his will to live came from being able to see the day Williams would "go down."

"He didn't just kill Nadira, Ariana and Ajayah ... he killed all of these people you see sitting out here," DeCree said. "What gave him the right to take my Father's Day? My Christmasses? My birthdays?"

Outside the courthouse, DeCree said "healing can truly begin" now for everyone involved, including Kelley.

"They had a right to grow up, to be women. They had a right to have a future, and that future was cut down by someone who was supposed to love and care for them," Prince George's County State's Attorney Aisha Braveboy said during a news conference about Williams's sentencing. "We are confident that he will not return to our community."

MARYLAND

Study looks at poverty, kids' asthma

BY ANGELA ROBERTS

BALTIMORE — Children with asthma whose families participated in a Baltimore program that helped move them from high-poverty neighborhoods to low-poverty ones saw their disease get significantly better, according to a study published in recent days.

The children experienced fewer asthma attacks after moving and struggled with symptoms on fewer days — improvements on par with medication used to treat the chronic condition, said Craig Pollack, a professor at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health and the Hopkins School of Nursing and one of the study's lead authors.

Asthma — a disease that constricts airways in the lungs and causes wheezing, chest tightness, coughing and trouble breathing — affects 13.7 percent of adults in Baltimore, compared with 9 percent across the state and country, according to the Maryland Department of Health.

About a third of Baltimore high school students have been told by a doctor or nurse that they have asthma, compared with about a fourth statewide. The city also has the highest rate of emergency department visits for asthma in Maryland.

In the study, researchers found that a big reason children's asthma got better after their families moved was because their new neighborhoods had fewer stressors — a finding that Pollack hopes will encourage more investment in housing mobility programs, as well as in high-poverty neighborhoods.

"Housing mobility programs that help families overcome the barriers to moving can also impact health," Pollack said. "As policymakers and practitioners are thinking about the cost of these programs, they should consider the health benefits as well."

Between 2016 and 2020, Pollack and a team of about a dozen other researchers followed a group of children whose families were working with the Baltimore Regional Housing Partnership — a housing program established as a result of a legal settlement that seeks to combat housing segregation by providing housing vouchers and support to help families move to neighborhoods with better resources.

Since the program's start in the early 2000s, it has helped more than 5,500 households move from high-poverty to low-poverty neighborhoods in the Baltimore region, said Pete Cimbolic, the partnership's managing director of operations and program evaluation.

Cimbolic worked on the American Civil Liberties Union lawsuit that established the housing program. The Department of Housing and Urban Development settled the suit and admitted violations of the Fair Housing Act for mainly building public housing in high-poverty, overwhelmingly Black neighborhoods in Baltimore and failing to provide housing options outside of segregated neighborhoods.

At any given time, the housing program, the region's third-largest administrator of housing choice vouchers, is helping around 4,300 households with rental assistance, Cimbolic said. Far more households want a voucher than can receive one: There are about 14,000 on the program's wait list, which closed in 2017.

Beyond administering vouchers, Cimbolic said, the program's larger goal is unlocking the "choice in the housing choice voucher." Staff members help families overcome obstacles to moving out of high-poverty neighborhoods, then help ensure their transition to their new neighborhood is smooth.

Before moving, according to the study, families lived in neighborhoods where the median household income was $32,542.

The Baltimore housing program helped most of them move outside of the city's limits, to more suburban neighborhoods in Howard, Baltimore, Harford and Anne Arundel counties, where the median household income was $83,333.

The researchers followed each of the 123 children in the study for a year after their family's move, visiting their homes every six months and checking in over the phone every three months.

Before the children moved, about 15.1 percent had at least one asthma attack every three months. After moving, that percentage decreased to around 8.5 percent. The number of days children experienced asthma symptoms also decreased from 5.1 days in two weeks to 2.7 days, according to the study.

Since a child's asthma often gets better as they age, the researchers compared the trajectory of the participating children's asthma with that of 115 children enrolled in another study, which follows children who live in high-poverty neighborhoods in Baltimore, New York, St. Louis and Boston. Even then, the researchers' findings remained statistically significant.

After moving, families were more likely to report that they felt safer in their neighborhoods and a greater sense of bonding and belonging among their neighbors.

Researchers estimated that reductions in neighborhood-related stressors explained between 29 percent and 35 percent of improvements in the children's asthma.

That finding surprised Pollack and his colleagues, since they expected the biggest driver in improvements in a child's symptoms would be decreases in allergens such as mice and cockroaches.

But there is a growing body of research on the effect that stress can have on a person's asthma, said Corinne Keet, a professor of pediatrics at the University of North Carolina School of Medicine and another author on the study.

"The easiest way to think about it is that stress can cause all sorts of inflammation in the body," Keet said.

That inflammation, in turn, can make a person's asthma worse, she said.

"Anyone living in Baltimore understands the impact of violence and poverty on people's health," said Keet, who worked at Johns Hopkins Medicine and was a Baltimore resident for several years before moving to North Carolina. "I mean, it's pervasive."

— Baltimore Sun



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ELECTION 2023

A guide to the 2023 Fairfax Democratic primary election

Board of supervisors chair

Jeffrey C. McKay, incumbent

First priority if reelected: To continue the economic progress we have been making, which is necessary to meet all our other community goals. I would employ the same common-sense leadership that I employed to get us through the pandemic to see us through our full recovery.



More on his candidacy: I am exceptionally proud that we have fully funded schools and look forward to our continued close collaboration on budgeting. With our One Fairfax equity policy driving our decision-making, the worst of the pandemic is in our rearview, and with a strong economy with more people working now than before the pandemic, we are poised to do great things.

Lisa M. Downing

First priority if elected: My first priority will be to unite the board in agreement that the top resource priorities for Fairfax County are education, public safety and affordable housing. Future county budgets will be crafted with the objective of funding these priorities first so that we will hold true to these goals, even while responding to changes in the economy.



Downing

More on her candidacy: A meals tax may be considered for funding a specified, targeted need, such as schools or public safety. We have areas in the county that need revitalization. These are areas of growth for Fairfax. Efforts to improve infrastructure should remain a consistent and continuing high-level budget line.

Dranesville District seat

James N. "Jimmy" Bierman

First priority if elected: Fairfax County must continue to be a welcoming place that strives to provide opportunity to all. In the short term, I want to ensure our office provides high-quality constituent services and a proactive approach to solving problems. I hope to work with the community to support our schools, protect our environment and strengthen our local economy.



Bierman

More on his candidacy: I am running to protect the progress we have made and to continue to expand opportunities for all. I want to stand up for the values of our community and to fight for positive change on education, housing, the environment, public safety, transportation and more.

David R. Fiske

First priority if elected: The Board of Supervisors and the school board share responsibility for school overcrowding. The board levies taxes and controls the land-use decisions that drive growth. The two boards have policies governing their collaboration, but we need a joint county-school system review and update that incorporates best practices from other urbanizing jurisdictions, provides transparency into and accountability for decisions and puts greater financial responsibility on developers.



Fiske

More on his candidacy: Local policy issues in all areas, including land use, environment and transportation, are increasingly data-driven. My professional and educational experience will allow me to guide the staff in asking the right technical questions, to identify potential weaknesses in analyses reported to the board, and to understand connections between issues that might otherwise seem unrelated. I am particularly concerned by problems maintaining staffing, particularly among first responders.

Mason District seat

Jeremy G. Allen

First priority if elected: Housing affordability is a huge issue in Fairfax County. I understand the issue personally, as my wife and I were able to afford our first home with the help of the Fairfax County Workforce Dwelling Unit Homebuyer Program. I would work to strengthen housing affordability countywide by leveraging all available resources, including developing land owned by the county, expanding the eligibility of those who qualify for affordable housing, and the workforce housing program.



On revitalizing the Seven Corners area: I would work to secure federal grants in addition to Smart Scale funding currently being sought from the Northern Virginia Transportation Authority. Once secured, I'd like to begin the first phase of the proposed ring road construction as soon as possible. This portion of the project will have the most immediate impact on travel times, construct detour streets during future phases of the project, and its completion will naturally bring more investment and development to revitalize the area.

More on his candidacy: For the past several years, I have supported the Mason District and Fairfax County through my work in Rep. Don Beyer's office. I serve constituents in the district by managing various portfolios such as education, Medicare, veteran affairs, Social Security, and serving as the outreach liaison for Fairfax County. Most recently, I led efforts to defeat rezoning for a data center in my community.

Andres Jimenez

First priority if elected: Mason District needs its next supervisor to have the experience to lead from day one. I have a road map for Mason District that I plan to bring forward based on what I've experienced as a resident, as well as heard from residents, firsthand. This includes much-needed environmental policy changes, the creation of more senior housing, mental health programs, bike/pedestrian improvements and economic revitalization.



Jimenez

On revitalizing the Seven Corners area: The new supervisor needs to take a fresh look at the recommendations that have been made for Seven Corners. We also need a responsible yet aggressive timeline to ensure revitalization occurs on schedule, that community stakeholders have a seat at the table, and that we hold all parties accountable, including VDOT, the county, the state and construction partners. Lastly, I think we should look at the creation of a BID-like organization or something like the Southeast Fairfax Development Corp. (SFDC), which exists along Route 1.

More on his candidacy: We need a Board of Supervisors that looks like the community and shares its values. This is particularly true in Mason District. I am honored to be running to uphold our shared Democratic values, support the strengthening of our community for everyone, and to serve as a Latino supervisor on the Fairfax County Board of Supervisors.

Steve Lee

First priority if elected: Support local small businesses so that they can, in turn, support local communities. Mason District is one of the most diverse districts. Because of this diversity, Mason residents are closer to enjoying diverse cultures. However, this diversity has also created distance from mainstream and other diverse residents. I will work to bring them together.



Lee

On revitalizing the Seven Corners area: First, I need to study BC7RC.com to better understand what was done in the previous administration and why revitalization is not moving forward. We will meet with citizens groups and project engineers to close any possible loose ends. Large projects such as these are not going to make everyone happy but may be needed. With increased population and traffic, Seven Corners is too dangerous and congested.

More on his candidacy: I have operated many different types of small businesses in Mason District. I have been a part of the diverse community in the district who worked to bring diverse and mainstream communities together. I helped to bring many new types of businesses to Mason District to improve the economic environment. Volunteer engagements and public services have prepared me to be a hands-on supervisor.

Reid Voss

First priority if elected: I will fight harder for Mason District to receive a fair share of the county's budget. For years, we have witnessed a lack of major traffic improvements, with the Seven Corners intersection ranking as the worst in Northern Virginia. In addition, our elementary schools are grappling with severe overcrowding, and mental health has yet to receive the attention it deserves. I will fight for equity.



Voss

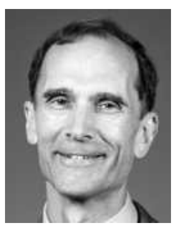
On revitalizing the Seven Corners area: The first step is to secure the necessary funding for critical traffic improvements. For years, the problematic intersection has been a source of frustration for our county. I am committed to collaborating closely with our legislature in Richmond and D.C. to make this intersection a priority. As the entrance to Fairfax County from the north, this intersection should offer a smooth and appealing welcome to our county.

More on his candidacy: While our schools should be celebrated, I believe that we must prioritize the elimination of elementary school trailers, which have become a permanent fixture. I am determined to work toward mixed-use commercial development in Seven Corners, Baileys Crossroads and downtown Annandale to help revitalize these areas and promote economic growth. We need to expand mental health services. We must ensure that our police officers are properly compensated. Finally, we must take action to protect cyclists and pedestrians. I will work to install control devices that enable safe crossing of our busy roads.

Mount Vernon District seat

Daniel G. "Dan" Storck, incumbent

First priority if elected: Our most pressing issue continues to be revitalizing Richmond Highway and Lorton. We are successfully working together re-envisioning Lorton and the highway; investing in education; delivering new parks, public safety facilities, housing of all types, businesses, "The One" bus rapid transit, pedestrian and cycling improvements, and more, while making sure no one is left behind.



Storck

On revitalizing the Route 1 corridor: We have been accelerating our results for years by continuing to implement our very successful economic development plans, Lorton Visioning, "The One" and "Potomac Banks" branding, dedicated development team and other key growth initiatives. Since 2016, I have helped secure more than $2 billion in federal, state, regional and county public investments. Our public investments have leveraged more than $1 billion in major private investments just in the past few years, a key to further accelerating our renewal, with much more coming.

More on his candidacy: I bring reasoned, action-oriented experience, thousands of community connections built over 30 years of my many nonprofit and elected leadership roles, and a proven track record for delivering results. We have become a successful, revitalizing 21st-century suburban community, very sought-after for its history, urban and natural world access, and many family-friendly quality-of-life amenities.

Maritza Zermeño

First priority if elected: My first priority will be to establish working teams: A team with school administrators to address the opioid problem in our schools — ignoring the problem will not make it go away. In a similar manner, I will create a team with the county chair, adjacent district supervisors, state legislators and our federal representatives to move big projects forward — the district is being left behind the rest of the county.



Zermeño

On revitalizing the Route 1 corridor: We need to immediately stop the pervasive move away from the county's comprehensive plan in the Mount Vernon District by simply increasing housing density along the Route 1 corridor — almost all recent changes are to increase from one to as much as 150 housing units per acre with almost no consideration to low-income housing or multiuse environments. We have also seen a haphazard grant of variances to build multiple McMansions on single-unit lots. The district should explore technological innovations, such as smart traffic lights, bike-sharing programs and mobile apps to help enhance the corridor's appeal to residents and businesses.

More on her candidacy: I emigrated from Mexico as a single mother of four. I come from a place with little regard for zoning, urban planning or concern for the environment. I have lived among a population with desperate poverty and food insecurity. It is not a world many in Fairfax County could envision, much less understand. I have seen the effects of uncontrolled population growth: more paved surfaces, more roofing area and less tree canopy. It is not something anyone here wants to experience — especially with the changes we expect from increased climate change.

Springfield District seat

John Nowadly

First priority if elected: My first priority is to mitigate teacher and public safety staffing shortages. We are understaffed, particularly with elementary education and special education teachers, and short on police officers and paramedics. We need to ensure we are offering the most competitive compensation and focusing on recruitment and retention. Shortages in these areas have a direct trickle-down impact on the taxpayers.



Nowadly

On revitalizing aging parts of the district: We should work with community groups and developers to find common ground and assess the needs of the community. Some of our shopping centers in the district could probably use modernization with regard to electric vehicle charging in parking lots, and updating to attract more customers and encourage small-business owners to open stores. However, "aging" doesn't necessary mean something is bad. Parts of the district are older, but historical, and should be preserved while modernizing utilities and other systems to keep up with modern technologies.

More on his candidacy: I'm running on issues and identifying with people in the community that I see in the field every day working as a firefighter and EMS worker. We should continue combating the opioid issue and bringing community awareness of the dangers. I'm extremely supportive of the "aging in place" concept, but we need to understand the service worker and EMS support that's required to facilitate it. Mental health is going to continue to be an issue, and conversation should be about how we can provide an affordable and appropriate service based on patient needs. At a time when tax assessments are causing many residents to contemplate moving, we need to focus on the core services the local government provides.

Albert Vega

First priority if elected: My first priority will be addressing our housing crisis. Springfield District has inadequate housing options for families of various sizes/incomes and is dead last in affordable housing. Working families deserve to live and work in the district. We need to increase inventory, work with different types of developers to improve the housing variety, and focus on redevelopment toward efficient communities while minimizing our environmental impact.



Vega

On revitalizing aging parts of the district: I would focus on redeveloping underperforming areas with more innovative and efficient mixed-use housing. These areas should be walkable and include businesses, affordable housing, child care and health-care options, workforce development centers and transportation hubs. I would also focus on incorporating renewable energy generation/storage and efforts to increase energy efficiency.

More on his candidacy: As a PhD engineer, minority and small-business founder, I want to use my common sense and background to bring back problem-solving to our district. Also, our diverse Springfield community needs stronger representation on the board. Simple actions to address the views or concerns of our residents are ignored. We need to grow our voice for working families, labor-force protections, immigrants, the LGTBQ+ community, common-sense gun laws and effective environmental protections.

Multifamily dwellings

Should the county pursue zoning changes allowing for multifamily dwellings in areas now designated for single-family homes as a way to cultivate more affordable housing?

Yes: Allen, Bierman, Downing, McKay, Nowadly, Storck, Vega, Zermeño.

No: Fiske, Jimenez, Lee, Voss.

Meals tax

Should the county again pursue a meals tax as an additional source of tax revenue?

Yes: Allen, Bierman, Fiske, McKay, Vega, Zermeño.

No: Downing, Jimenez, Lee, Nowadly, Voss.

"Missing middle" housing

How do you plan to create more affordable housing in the county, particularly "missing middle" homes for middle-income residents?

Downing (Chair): Fairfax County consists of many neighborhoods with unique features. We are obligated to examine neighborhoods individually to determine what changes, if any, are appropriate for increasing housing in those areas. The county needs to work with developers to provide incentives for building entry-level owner-occupied dwellings. Additionally, we need to accelerate and expand the construction of 10,000 new rental housing units in Fairfax County by 2034.

McKay (Chair): The county is doing more now for affordable housing than ever. We are using every tool to leverage our resources to build new homes and preserve affordable units in all parts of the county. In the FY2024 budget, we are investing $175 million in affordable housing development, programs and services, and will invest more. I made the motion to double our goal to 10,000 new units by 2034. Under this board, we have 4,000 units built or on the way.

Bierman (Dranesville): While the county is making progress, we need to increase our targets for affordable housing. We must consider strengthening set-asides for affordable units and contributions to our affordable housing fund in developer proffers. Our approach must be to continue to find ways to protect and preserve existing affordable and workforce housing while still looking for strategic openings to increase our stock of housing in opportunity zones, transit corridors, activity centers and commercial areas.

Fiske (Dranesville): "Middle" properly refers to housing between single-family detached and mid-to-high-rise apartments. It is not a financial designation. In Fairfax County, this housing is not "missing." As of 2022, at least 24 percent of units were "middle," with more units expected. The county's affordable housing plan incentivizes developers to include units by allowing bonus density. We should also consider providing an allowance to first responders and teachers who live near their station or school.

Allen (Mason): Although I firmly believe areas that are historically single-family should be preserved, I recognize there are certain communities where expanded housing options could be desirable. Some areas stand to benefit from increased multifamily developments, especially if those developments are coupled with mixed-use investments and improved transit. However, any zoning changes should be site-specific, not countywide, and made only after seeking the input of those communities.

Jimenez (Mason): The current board set an ambitious goal of growing the number of affordable units in the county, but we need to well exceed that number. We can do this by looking to invest in more subsidized and mixed-income units as well as bringing new housing online in vacant and underutilized space, especially near mass transit and job hubs. We also have to be creative. This means building units on county land, co-locating units in county projects and examining the reuse of vacant retail properties.

Lee (Mason): Mason District has many more than 50-year-old garden-style apartment complexes. They are old and out of compliance. The police department receives calls about unhealthy living conditions from many of them. We need to meet and work with those property owners and find the highest and best use of those apartments.

Voss (Mason): It is crucial to prioritize the creation of affordable housing alongside the development of new projects. I will collaborate closely with our revitalization groups to ensure that we implement smart mixed-use growth in our three major commercial regions. These developments will include affordable and workforce-subsidized housing, thereby promoting equitable access to housing and ensuring that our county is a welcoming place for all residents.

Storck (Mount Vernon): Our district has a wide range, variety and diversity of all types of housing, including lower-cost, substantial middle-income and some of the most expensive housing in the DMV. The smart-growth housing and community development policies that I helped initiate, plan, fund and implement in 2016 have resulted, in the past two years alone, in building or preserving more than 1,000 units of workforce and affordable homes, while more than 1,000 middle-income homes were built or being constructed.

Zermeño (Mount Vernon): "Areas" rather than "lots" need to be evaluated for increases to housing unit density, and consideration must be given to the cultural and historic value of the area. Simply accommodating more high-density apartment complexes in an area already overburdened by traffic in a known bottleneck does more harm than good. Replacing low-income manufactured-home neighborhoods with high-density apartment buildings is counter-productive.

Nowadly (Springfield): We should focus not only on affordable housing, which is benchmarked to the area median income (AMI), but also on accessible workforce housing for middle-class workers who might exceed the AMI. We need to strike a balance between communities of single-family homes whose owners want to preserve such neighborhoods, while utilizing land in more urban/walkable areas to prioritize multifamily dwellings. I would also like to integrate green space, stores, sidewalks and child-care facilities in future developments.

Vega (Springfield): We need to combine other county efforts alongside housing. Combining transportation, renewable energy and workforce development into mixed-use developments allows smarter housing options with shared development costs. I want to expand the usage of public-private partnerships, correctly staff our housing/zoning offices to be part of the problem-solving process, generate comprehensive housing resources for renters/buyers, and provide more detached and multifamily options.

SEE VOTER GUIDE ON C7

THE DISTRICT

Family and friends gather to remember 10-year-old shot on Mother's Day

Arianna Davis is among the latest D.C. minors harmed by gun violence

BY JUSTIN WM. MOYER

On Mother's Day, one of dozens of D.C. children who have fallen victim to gun violence this year was shot in Northeast Washington. On Wednesday, that child — 10-year-old Arianna Davis — died.

On Saturday evening, more than 100 people gathered for a vigil near RFK Stadium to remember her.

Attendees wore T-shirts with Arianna's photo under the message "Your light will shine forever." They also carried blue balloons — her favorite color — some in the shape of the letter A.

Everett Douglas, who said he was the girl's grandfather, called Arianna "the sweetest little thing I ever had." He said they talked regularly; she called him three times per week. He last saw her the day before Mother's Day, when he gave her a hug that he didn't know would be their last.

Douglas said Arianna's family is focused on one thing: finding her killer. Police need to be more vigilant when on patrol — to get out of their cars and stop violence, he said. "Get our family some justice so they don't do it to anybody else."

Forty-eight juveniles have been shot in D.C. this year — double the number from the same time last year as violent crime and homicides rise. Seven of these shootings have been fatal.

Arianna was the youngest to die in a group that includes a 13-year-old, three 16-year-olds and two 17-year-olds. The day she died, one of the 17-year-olds, a Roosevelt High School student, was fatally shot in the school's parking lot after a fight.

Police said Arianna was struck by indiscriminate gunfire as she and her family rode in the 3700 block of Hayes Street NE, not far from where she lived.

No arrests have been made in the shooting. On Saturday, a spokesperson for D.C. police said the homicide "remains under active investigation."

This past week, Police Chief Robert J. Contee III said no further information about suspects in the incident was available.

"It breaks my heart," he said. He added: "As long as we're having the conversation about people dying as a result of illegal handguns in the hands of people who shouldn't have them, then we got a lot of work left to do."

At the vigil Saturday, Arianna's father, Will, who would only give his first name, said Arianna was one of four — "a beautiful angel."

"We all had to watch my daughter die," he said. "We're just trying to get our kids through this."

The family has been isolated for the past few days — holding vigil at the hospital — and isn't sure what is going on with the investigation. Arianna, he said, was in the wrong place at the wrong time. But since the girl was returning with her family from a Mother's Day visit, even that didn't really make sense, he said. "We was almost home."

Nearby, a tween girl sobbed and little kids ran circles around a tree, playing with some of the balloons. Just before 6:30 p.m., the attendees gathered around a photo of Arianna before releasing the balloons into the air. "Fly high baby," someone said. "She's flying."



TOM BRENNER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Surrounded by family members and friends, Arianna Davis's brother Amir holds up a photo of her during a vigil Saturday. She died Wednesday after being hit by indiscriminate gunfire last weekend.

ELECTION 2023

A guide to the Fairfax Democratic primary

VOTER GUIDE FROM C6

Commonwealth's attorney

Steve Descano, incumbent

Descano, 42, is running for a second term as commonwealth's attorney. Before he was elected in 2019, he was a federal prosecutor for six years with the Justice Department and general counsel for three years with Paragon Autism Services, a behavioral health nonprofit led by his mother.



Descano

As commonwealth's attorney, Descano decided to stop recommending cash bail at defendants' bond hearings. He also released a data dashboard in the fall tracking what bail recommendations his office had made to judges and the outcomes of such bond hearings. Critics of Descano attempted to recall him in 2021, claiming that his moves "flout the rule of law." Descano, who was among a group of liberal prosecutors in the recall, rejected these claims, arguing that he was making the system fairer and better-aligned with the community's values.

If reelected, Descano said he hopes to expand his office's data program and help his prosecutors make data-informed decisions. "I want to do four more years because you can't fix decades worth of disparities and decades worth of injustice in three years," he said.

Ed Nuttall

Nuttall, a defense lawyer at the Fairfax firm Carroll & Nuttall, said he was running for top prosecutor because Descano's measures failed to consider how the local "criminal justice system works."

Nuttall, 55, has worked as an attorney in Fairfax County for about 26 years, he said. During his career, he was a prosecutor for about three years under former commonwealth's attorney Robert Horan.



Nuttall

Nuttall has represented officers in more than 20 police shooting cases in Virginia, his firm's website shows.

He defended Adam Torres, a Fairfax County police officer who pleaded guilty to fatally shooting an unarmed man in his doorway. Nuttall also defended Tyler Timberlake, a Fairfax County police officer who was acquitted in 2022 of charges that he used excessive force on a Black man.

Sheriff

Stacey Ann Kincaid, incumbent

Kincaid, 58, first came to the sheriff's office in 1987 as a deputy, moving up through the ranks until she was elected sheriff in 2013. During her time as sheriff, Kincaid ended an agreement with federal authorities that kept people who potentially faced deportation in jail beyond the end of their criminal sentences. In 2016, she helped create Diversion First, a program that the sheriff oversees to steer people with mental health disorders away from jail. If reelected, Kincaid said, she hopes to build on the office's reentry programs for people leaving jail, aiming to create a reentry center.



Kincaid

In 2022, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 4th Circuit ruled a transgender woman could sue the Fairfax County Sheriff's Office for violating the Americans With Disabilities Act by housing her with men during her time in jail. Court records show the sheriff's office has since petitioned the U.S. Supreme Court to take up the case. Kincaid said she was limited in her ability to comment on the issue but added: "We treat people with dignity and respect, and we're not there to make anybody feel less than."

Kelvin Garcia

Garcia, who said he is a law clerk at the Virginia firm Liberty Legal, was an officer with the D.C. police department between 2008 and 2019. Garcia, 38, has previously said he launched his campaign over his concerns about Kincaid's management of the county's jail.



Garcia

"Just because someone has been running an organization for 10 years doesn't mean they have been running it well," Garcia said previously of his opponent.

Referencing the sheriff's office's petition, Garcia said he would house transgender and other gender-nonconforming people in units based on how they identify rather than the sex assigned to them at birth, which diverges from the jail's current policy.

He also said he wanted to make incarcerated people's first 30 minutes of calls to family members free.

Olivia Diaz contributed to this report.

OBITUARIES

DOYLE BRUNSON, 89

Pistol-carrying poker legend who won millions

BY MICHAEL S. ROSENWALD

Doyle Brunson, a pistol-packing poker legend nicknamed "Texas Dolly" who dominated high-stakes games for 70 years, first in smoky backrooms where gunfire occasionally erupted and then later (and legally) on cable television at the World Series of Poker, died on May 14 at a hospital in Las Vegas. He was 89.

His agent, Brian Balsbaugh, confirmed the death but did not provide a cause.

The arc of Mr. Brunson's career parallels poker's history in America, from illicitly out of sight to mainstream entertainment.

Ranked by Bluff magazine as the most influential player in history, Mr. Brunson won 10 World Series of Poker tournaments, including Main Event titles in 1976 and 1977. He was the first player to win $1 million in tournament play and finished his career with $6.2 million in live earnings — though that's just what he made in public view.

Until recently, Mr. Brunson also played in private games with staggering stakes, sometimes winning (or losing) millions of dollars a month. His wife more than occasionally found him exasperating.

"But this is what I do," he told Texas Monthly last year. "It's what I've always done. And if I drop dead at the table in the middle of a monster pot, hell, I'll die a happy man."

In the early 1950s, he played in the backrooms of bars and other adult establishments in a seedy neighborhood along Exchange Avenue in Fort Worth.

"Exchange Avenue was maybe the most dangerous street in America," he explained to Texas Monthly. "There was nothing out there but thieves and pimps and killers. It was amazing."

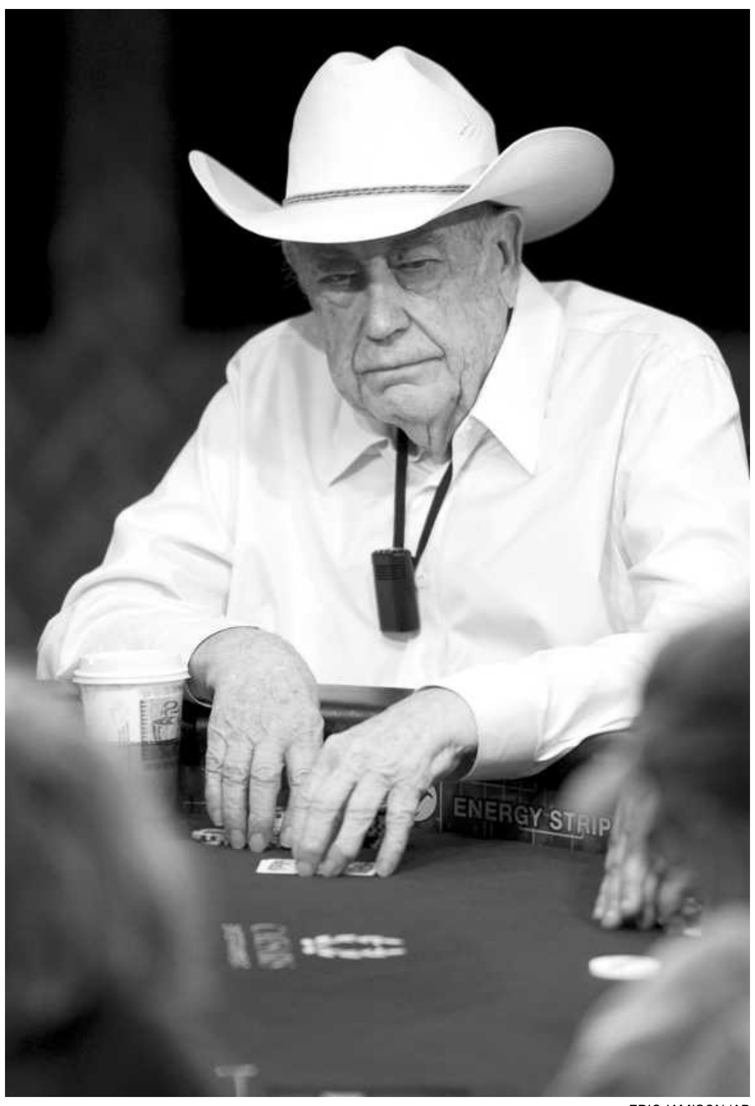
Mr. Brunson always packed a pistol. (Asked if he had ever used it, he answered, "No comment.") One night, someone interrupted a game, put a loaded gun to a player's head and fired. Mr. Brunson took off with his chips and hid in a creek.

On another night, this time in Austin, armed bandits busted in, took the cash off the table and lined the gamblers up against a wall, ordering them to drop their pants. The bandits threatened that if players were hiding money, their legs would be blown off.

Suddenly, the players began throwing $100 bills on the floor.

Mr. Brunson was philosophical about the mayhem.

"You have to have absolutely no regard for money," he told the New York Times. "You have to look at it as action and the money as units. What you're trying to do is win as many units as possible."



ERIC JAMISON/AP

Doyle Brunson competes in the 2011 World Series of Poker. Mr. Brunson won 10 tournaments, including two Main Event titles.

"Poker depends on your understanding your opponent. You've got to know what makes him tick."

Doyle Brunson

Mr. Brunson eventually joined up with other players, traveling throughout Texas to play in private games with doctors, lawyers and other professionals where there was ever more money at stake — and certainly less violence.

In the early 1960s, he moved to Las Vegas, where poker was thriving. He played in the first World Series of Poker event in 1970.

A few years later, World Series events began to be televised. ESPN began broadcasting events in the 1980s, and interest grew steadily. Mr. Brunson became one of the game's most familiar faces, a cowboy hat always fit tight on his head. He was fabulously wealthy, reportedly investing millions to raise the Titanic and find Noah's ark.

Mr. Brunson also wrote several books on poker, including "Doyle Brunson's Super System," in which he described his methods. The book, and a follow-up, became the sport's bible, appearing in the opening scenes of the gambling movie "Rounders" (1998) starring Matt Damon.

"More than any other game," he wrote, "poker depends on your understanding your opponent. You've got to know what makes him tick. More importantly, you've got to know what makes him tick at the moment you're involved in a pot with him. What's his mood … his feeling? What's his apparent psychological frame of mind right now?"

The neck is the best place to look for a tell.

"On a lot of people, the pulse in the neck is visible," he wrote. "If so, a man can't hide it, since nobody can control their heartbeat in [stressful] situations. When you see a man's neck just throbbing away, you know he's excited, and usually he's excited because he is bluffing."

Doyle Frank Brunson was born on Aug. 10, 1933, in Longworth, Tex., a rural farming town consisting of a few houses, a general store and no indoor plumbing. His father worked at a gin manufacturer and secretly, Doyle later found out, played poker to finance his children's college educations. His mother was a homemaker.

Mr. Brunson excelled at sports, primarily basketball and track. At Hardin-Simmons University, a Baptist-affiliated school in Abilene, Tex., he starred on the basketball team and played poker with friends on Saturday nights.

After graduating in 1954, he stayed at Hardin-Simmons and received a master's degree in education. He got a job selling business equipment. On his first day at work, he stumbled on a poker game.

"It was a Seven-Stud game where I cleared a month's salary in something less than three hours," he wrote in "Super System." "'My God,' I thought, 'what am I doing trying to sell machines nobody wants to buy from me when I can sit down at a poker table and make ten times the money in one-sixth the time?'"

He quit and headed for Exchange Avenue.

In 1962, he married Louise Carter, a pharmacist, at a funeral home where his brother-in-law worked. "The chapel was lovely," Mr. Brunson told Texas Monthly.

Survivors include his wife; their children Todd and Pamela Brunson; a stepdaughter, Cheryl Carter; and several grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

Mr. Brunson was a master at figuring out tells.

"Once I had a tell on Puggy Pearson," he wrote in "Super System." "Every time he put his chips in the rack and bet them, he was bluffing. He must have been doing that six months before somebody else discovered it and told him."

But he was equally adept at bluffing.

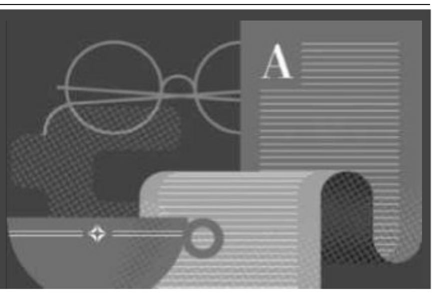
"All top professionals have a defense against people using tells against them," Mr. Brunson wrote. "Sometimes when I'm bluffing I say some particular thing, like 'gee whiz,' so that people will connect that with [a] bluff. But the next time I say 'gee whiz,' I won't be bluffing."

Subscriber Exclusives
The Washington Post

Catchy tune: Free tickets to Yo La Tengo on June 11 at 9:30 Club

The indie rock trio's "17th studio album…is a self-produced, mostly recorded live, raw yet tender record that furthers their reputation as one of the most consistently fruitful bands around" (clashmusic.com). "*Yo La Tengo* feel more alive on *This Stupid World* than they have in years – which isn't to say that their more recent efforts were lacking in any way. The songs here just crackle and spark with an innate energy and unpredictability not heard since 2006's *I Am Not Afraid of You* and *I Will Beat Your Ass*" (beatsperminute.com).

See details at washingtonpost.com/my-post.



OBITUARIES

DAVID MIRANDA, 37

Gay rights activist helped spread Snowden document info

BY FRED A. BERNSTEIN



SERGIO LIMA/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

David Miranda at Brazil's National Congress in 2019, the year he took office. Before that, he served on Rio de Janeiro's city council.



EVARISTO SA/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Mr. Miranda was the husband of journalist Glenn Greenwald, right. He assisted Greenwald in disseminating information from classified U.S. documents that Edward Snowden leaked.

"Obviously, I'm afraid for my life ... but in moments like this you have to be brave."

David Miranda, in a 2019 interview, after being elected to office to fill the seat of another openly gay lawmaker, who left Brazil after death threats

David Miranda, a Brazilian gay rights activist and former lawmaker who assisted his husband, journalist Glenn Greenwald, in disseminating information from classified U.S. documents leaked by whistleblower Edward Snowden, died May 9 at a hospital in Rio de Janeiro. He was 37.

Greenwald announced the death, which occurred a day before Mr. Miranda's 38th birthday. After being hospitalized with a severe gastrointestinal infection in August, Mr. Miranda spent nine months in intensive care, where he battled additional infections but occasionally rallied, according to Greenwald. No immediate cause of death was reported.

The son of a prostitute, Mr. Miranda was raised by a neighbor in a desperately poor Rio neighborhood. He rose to prominence as a groundbreaking gay politician and fierce opponent of the right-wing Jair Bolsonaro, Brazil's president from 2019 to 2022. Mr. Miranda ranked among Time magazine's 100 "next generation leaders" in 2019 because of his outspokenness on behalf of Brazil's poorest and most marginalized communities.

Mr. Miranda, who met Greenwald in 2005 on Rio's Ipanema Beach, entered politics in 2016, when he became, by all accounts, the first openly gay man elected to Rio's city council. Two years later, he ran for the federal legislature with the Socialism and Liberty Party, known by its Portuguese initials PSOL.

Mr. Miranda lost the 2018 election but gained a seat the following year after lawmaker Jean Wyllys, another openly gay member of PSOL, left the country following death threats. Mr. Miranda was elected to fill his seat.

"Obviously, I'm afraid for my life or what can happen to my family," Mr. Miranda said in a radio interview with the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. in 2019, "but in moments like this you have to be brave. People need a voice."

Before entering politics, Mr. Miranda gained international attention while carrying computer files related to documents leaked by Snowden, a computer intelligence consultant whose employer worked with the National Security Agency.

In 2013, Snowden had released a trove of classified material to Greenwald and Laura Poitras, an American documentary filmmaker living in Germany. Among the disclosures were details on surveillance by the NSA and other agencies.

Several months later, Mr. Miranda was enlisted by Greenwald to ferry a thumb drive from Poitras back to Brazil. During a stopover at London's Heathrow Airport, Mr. Miranda was detained under Britain's anti-terrorism law and held for nine hours.

"I was sure I was going away to Guantánamo forever," he later said. But he made it home to Rio and sued the British government, claiming it violated his rights as a journalist. A British tribunal ruled in 2014 that Mr. Miranda's detention was lawful although it was "an indirect interference with press freedom." (Snowden did not return to the United States, fearing arrest, and was granted Russian citizenship in 2022.)

"Journalism is not a crime," Greenwald said after his husband's detention, "and it's not terrorism."

Mr. Miranda and Greenwald met in 2005 when the latter, then a lawyer in Manhattan, traveled to Brazil for a two-month vacation. On the beach, Mr. Miranda was playing volleyball and accidentally knocked over Greenwald's drink. He apologized profusely, in Portuguese.

Mr. Miranda and Greenwald went out to dinner that night and began living together less than a week later. Their mutual attraction, Greenwald later told the New York Times, was like "two asteroids colliding," and they soon married.

"I didn't speak much English," Mr. Miranda told Out magazine in 2011, "and he only knew a few words of Portuguese, but we communicated everything important. When you meet the right person, you know it."

To stay in Brazil with Mr. Miranda, Greenwald had to stop practicing law. He threw himself into blogging, first with Salon and then for the Guardian. He developed a following writing about the U.S.-led wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and their effect on civil liberties back home. Greenwald's pieces attracted the attention of Snowden years before the leaks.

In 2014, The Washington Post and the Guardian were awarded the Pulitzer Prize for public service for a series of stories that exposed the NSA's global surveillance programs. The lead journalists on the project — The Post's Barton Gellman and Greenwald for the Guardian — based their articles on Snowden's disclosures.

"Of everyone who had a hand in the 2013 revelations of global mass surveillance, my dear friend David Miranda was perhaps the most righteous — and pure," Snowden tweeted after hearing of Mr. Miranda's death. Snowden wrote that Mr. Miranda "never faltered" during his questioning by British authorities.

Life on the streets

David Michael dos Santos Miranda was born on May 10, 1985, to a prostitute in Jacarezinho, one of Rio's most impoverished districts. He never knew his father, and his mother died when he was 5.

Mr. Miranda was raised by a neighbor, but he went off on his own at 13. To get by, he shined shoes and cleaned buildings and sometimes scrounged from trash bins for food. Later, with Greenwald's encouragement, Mr. Miranda graduated in 2014 with a marketing degree from a school in Rio.

Mr. Miranda's involvement in the Snowden leaks inspired him to enter politics, first by mounting an unsuccessful appeal to Brazilian authorities to grant Snowden asylum. A year after his election in Rio, he was joined on the city council by Marielle Franco, a Black woman with a female partner and a child.

She became a mentor and "a mother figure," Mr. Miranda said. Their joint initiatives included a law allowing transgender people to use their preferred names on government documents.

"Fighting for the LGBT community," he said, "is the core of my bones and blood."

In 2018, while being driven home after giving a speech, Franco was fatally shot. Mr. Miranda told Out magazine that he believed it was a targeted killing. (Two former police officers were later arrested in the crime and are awaiting trial.)

"They could have pretended it was a mugging," Mr. Miranda said, "but they didn't bother. They wanted to send a message." Mr. Miranda said being a pallbearer at Franco's funeral "might have been the hardest moment of my life."

After Franco's death, Mr. Miranda, Greenwald and their two adopted children traveled in cars with bulletproof glass. Mr. Miranda canceled some engagements for security reasons.

In the federal legislature, Mr. Miranda led efforts for hate crime laws to protect LGBTQ+ communities. He also worked on investigative projects with Greenwald, who left the Guardian and helped found a news site, the Intercept, in 2014. (Greenwald resigned from the Intercept in 2020.)

Mr. Miranda helped Greenwald with a 2019 story that quoted from hacked cellphone conversations between prosecutors and a judge overseeing a corruption case against former leftist president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, whose jailing cleared the way for Bolsonaro's election victory. (Da Silva, widely known as Lula, came back to defeat Bolsonaro in 2022 and regain the presidency.)

The bombshell story made Mr. Miranda and Greenwald targets of Bolsonaro, who had already declared himself "a proud homophobe," and his supporters. In 2020, Greenwald was charged with "cybercrimes" by the Bolsonaro government. The case was later dismissed by a judge who said Greenwald had "instigated" hacking but was protected by press freedoms.

In addition to Greenwald, survivors include their sons, João and Jonathan.

In July 2019, the Times reported that Mr. Miranda was living alone and racked by "loneliness and alienation" in the capital, Brasília. He served out his term, however, and planned to run for reelection in 2022. His candidacy was withdrawn in October during his hospitalization.

"Fighting for justice is necessary, an obligation," wrote Mr. Miranda in 2018, "even if it is always risky."

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ANNOUNCEMENT

PAID DEATH NOTICES

MEMORIAL DAY HOLIDAY HOURS

May 29, 2023
11 a.m. - 3 p.m.

Photo Deadine:
12 noon

NO EXCEPTIONS

To place a notice, call
202-334-4122

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The Washington Post

IN MEMORIAM

RUGGLES

VIOLET NANCY RUGGLES
March 25, 1925 - April 28, 2023
At Peace
Online condolences may be placed at
www.hardestyfuneralhome.com

DEATH NOTICE

APPLER



KARIN MICHELE APPLER

Kari Appler, 55, of Columbia, MD, died on Thursday, May 11, 2023. She was the beloved wife of David Mosca; devoted mother of Benjamin and Jonathon Mosca; cherished daughter of Kathryn Zettler Appler and the deceased William Appler; dear sister of Chris Appler (Marie-Claude) and Kelly Velasquez (Eduardo); and step-sister of Tom Thornton, Liz Bowling, and Matt, Andy, and Dee Wiederrecht. She was a loving daughter-in-law of Gene and Vivian Mosca and sister-law of Peter Mosca (Jeannine). She also is survived by her nieces Erin, Allie, Mia, and Beatrice; nephew Donavan, and a large extended family.

A visitation for Kari will be held Friday, May 26, 2023 from 10 a.m. to 11 a.m. at St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, 12319 New Hampshire Avenue, Silver Spring, Maryland 20904, immediately followed by a Celebration of Life Memorial Mass at 11 a.m. If interested, donations may be made in Kari's name to the Lupus Foundation of America or to a charity of the donor's choice. Fond memories and expressions of sympathy may be shared at a memorial page for Karin Appler at
www.garylkaufmanfuneralhome.com.

ARCIDIACONO

CARMELA ARCIDIACONO
(Age 82)

Carmela Arcidiacono of Silver Spring, MD, born June 16, 1940 (Fiumedinisi, Sicily), passed away on Thursday, May 18, 2023, surrounded by her loved ones. Carmela served as head tailor at Saks Fifth Avenue Chevy Chase for over 40 years and was regarded for her superior talent. Beloved wife of the late Giuseppe Arcidiacono; loving mother of Alfio (Judith) and the late Vincent Fiorello Arcidiacono; grandmother of Anna Griffin (Stephen), Amanda, Ashley, and Blake Arcidiacono; sister of the late Domenic Cicala (Hilda), the late Antonino Cicala (Antonina), the late Nunziata Faudale (Antonino), the late Giuseppina Parisi (Giuseppe), Carlo Cicala (Antonina), Enza Rao (Lorenzo), Clementina Marchegiani (Giuseppe), and Innocenzio Cicala (Maria). Relatives and friends may call at Collins Funeral Home, 500 University Boulevard West, Silver Spring, MD (Valet Parking) Tuesday, May 23, 2023, from 2 to 4 p.m. and at St. Bartholomew Church, 6900 River Road, Bethesda, MD, on Wednesday, May 24, 2023, from 9:30 to 10:30 a.m. The Mass of Christian Burial will follow on Wednesday and be celebrated at 10:30 a.m. Entombment to follow at Gate of Heaven Cemetery.
www.COLLINSFUNERALHOME.com

DEATH NOTICE

BJORLO



PHIL BJORLO (Age 74)

Phil Bjorlo died at home in Leesburg, VA on April 22, 2023. He was born on October 7, 1948 in the U.S. Naval Hospital in Hagatna, Guam. Phil is mourned by his wife of 51 years, Sheila, his sons Paul (Kristin) of Reston, VA and Bennett (Jessica) of Chicago, IL, siblings Robin Castor (Fred), Doug (Pam) and Pete of Fort Collins, CO and his five grandchildren. In addition to his family, Phil will be missed by his many alumni friends from W-L High School in Arlington and Duke University, colleagues in the D.C. metro legal community, musicians in Washington amateur piano circles, and his friends on Delphinium Circle.
A celebration of life will be held later this year. The inurnment will be at Arlington National Cemetery. To view the full obituary, please visit www.adamsgreen.com.

BRAXTON

CARL F. BRAXTON

The members of the DC Firefighters Association, Local #36, regret to announce the death of Active Brother Carl F. Braxton on May 8, 2023. Brother Braxton graduated out of Cadet Class 17 and was appointed to the DC Fire and EMS Department on April 5, 2015. Firefighter Braxton was assigned to Engine Company 22 at the time of his passing. A Celebration of Life will occur on Monday, May 22, 2023 at All Nations Worship Assembly DC, 4703 Marlboro Pike Capitol Heights, MD. A viewing will be held at 10 a.m. and the Celebration of Life will begin at 11 a.m. Interment will proceed at Fort Lincoln Cemetery in Brentwood, MD.

CLARK

LUCILLE C. CLARK (Age 103)

On Tuesday, May 2, 2023. Lucille Clark was a devout follower of Christ, born January 4, 1920 in Sumter, SC. Her husband, Ferdinand, who preceded her, raised two children, Ida Jenkins and Curtis Clark. Lucille is survived by four grandchildren; Shelly Gibson, Bridgette Bridges, Curtis Clark Jr., Kazra White; six great-grandchildren; Laura Lamothe, Melissa Gibson, Andrew Gibson, Cidney Bridges, Morgan Bridges, and Curtis Clark III. The funeral is at 11 a.m. on Wednesday, May 24, 2023 at Bible Way Church, 1100 New Jersey Ave NW, Washington, DC. Burial will follow at Lincoln Memorial Cemetery.

CURRIE

VICTOR C. CURRIE (Age 64)

Doctor VICTOR C. CURRIE passed away on May 15, 2023, at Washington Hospital Center.
He is survived by his loving wife of thirty-plus years, Barbara Currie, one son, three stepsons, five siblings, six grandchildren, and a host of other family, and friends.
The Viewing will be held Friday, May 26, at 10 a.m., followed by the Services starting at 11 a.m. at Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church, 215 Rhode Island Ave. NW, Washington, DC. Interment will be held Saturday, May 27, 12 noon at Lincoln Memorial Cemetery, 4001 Suitland Rd., Suitland, MD.

CUTBIRTH

LAUREL LEE CUTBIRTH
March 2, 1953 - May 2, 2023

The family of Laurel Lee Owens Cutbirth is sad to announce that she passed away at Inova Fairfax Hospital on Tuesday, May 2. She was 70 years old. She suffered from multiple illnesses for many years and is no longer in pain.
Always a kind, caring soul, she is survived by sisters Margaret Verry of Fairfax, VA, Patricia Owens of Portland, OR; brothers Michael Owens of Madison County, VA, and Richard Owens of Fairfax, VA and their spouses. She is also survived by six nieces and nephews; 11 great nieces and nephews; and many cousins.
A celebration of her life and burial of her ashes will be held at a later date to be announced. Should any want to donate in her memory, she loved animals so any animal charity or shelter would be her wish.

DEATH NOTICE

DALY



RONALD LEE DALY (Age 92)

Ronald Lee Daly of Fort Belvoir, formerly of Fairfax, VA passed away on May 11, 2023. Ron was preceded in death by his wife of 54 years, Janet Claire Daly; parents, Thomas and Norma Daly; son, R. Keith Daly; and brothers, Mervin Daly and Kenneth Daly. He is survived by daughters, Noreen Daly of Woodbridge and Gayle Peterman (Joel) of Alexandria; daughter-in-law, Regine Daly of Annandale; six grandchildren; and nine great-grandchildren. Friends and family may gather for visitation at Jefferson Funeral Chapel, 5755 Castlewellan Dr. Alexandria, VA 22315, on June 2, 2023, from 5 to 7 p.m. A funeral service will be held on Saturday, June 3, 2023 at 11 a.m. at Jefferson Funeral Chapel. Inurnment at Arlington National Cemetery will take place at a later date.
JeffersonFuneralChapel.com

Jefferson FUNERAL CHAPEL

DORAN



MARIETTA TANA DORAN

On Thursday, May 18, 2023. The beloved wife of the late Thomas Raymond Doran; mother of Frank J. (Jule) Doran, Thomas L. (Rosemary) Doran, Mary Doran (Mark) Brown and Jean T. Doran (Steve) Levine. Also survived by 16 grandchildren and 16 great-grandchildren. Friends may celebrate Marietta's life from 4 to 7 p.m. on Wednesday, May 24 at the Kalas Funeral Home & Crematory, 2973 Solomons Island Rd., Edgewater, MD. Mass of Christian Burial will be offered on Thursday, May 25 at 10:30 a.m. at Holy Family Catholic Church, 826 W. Central Ave., Davidsonville, MD. The interment will be at a later date. Online guestbook at: KalasFuneralHomes.com

DEATH NOTICE

DUBRULE

ROBERT C. DUBRULE

Robert C. DuBrule of Waldorf Maryland passed away on May 9, 2023 at the age of 84. Robert, a loving and compassionate husband and father, leaves behind wife Emmalyn; sons Michael (Dana), James (Tina); and daughter Lynda (Sean) Kelly; six grandchildren and three great grandchildren. An interment at Arlington National Cemetery will occur at a later date.

FARR

CATHLEEN HISER FARR

Cathleen Hiser Farr died peacefully at her home in Chevy Chase, MD on May 12, 2023. She is survived by her children David Smith, Charlotte Fisher (Gene), Sarah Farr (Steve Cucolo), and Emily Farr; 11 grandchildren; and three great-grandchildren. She is preceded in death by her two husbands, Milton Smith (married from 1963 until his death in 1966) and Gavin Farr (married from 1975 until his death in 2009). A funeral service will be held at All Saints Church, 3 Chevy Chase Circle, Chevy Chase, MD 20815 on Thursday, May 25, at 10 a.m. In lieu of flowers, contributions can be made in her name to All Saints Church or Hammond-Harwood House in Annapolis.

GOLIN

STEVE J. GOLIN

Steven Joseph Golin passed away on May 10, 2023, at age 66. He was above all a loving husband, father, grandfather and brother.

Steve had a passion for his family, the outdoors, his mountain home, and his industry. He was often described as passionate and a "force". He was friendly and outgoing, filling any room with his special brand of energy. His family, friends and co-workers thought the world of him.

Steve is survived by his wife, Karen, his sons, Dan and Sean, his sister, Linda, and his grandchildren, Samantha, Henry, Leah and Emma.

A Celebration of Life will be held at a later date. Donations in his name can be made to the University of Iowa Center for Advancement Neurosurgery research fund. All funds will help to support pediatric research in overlooked and rare craniocervical conditions similar to the one affecting his grandson, Henry. Donation Link: givetoiowa.org/neurosurgeryfund

HANSLEY

KELIN BAXLEY HANSLEY

Kelin Baxley Hansley left us on May 13, 2023. She was a beautiful, vibrant redhead whose passion was helping others. She was born on June 27, 1981 in Alexandria, VA. Kelin graduated from Stone Ridge School of the Sacred Heart. She had a B.A. in Psychology and M.Ed. in Special Education. She spent her professional life working as a therapist with the differently abled, specifically children with autism and special needs.
Kelin was predeceased by her husband, Eric Hansley in 2020. She is survived by her stepdaughter Erica Hansley Methland, (Alex); her mom and dad, Bonnie and Troy Baxley; her sister, Robin Hawkins (David); her brother, Philip Baxley (Katie), her nieces and nephew.
Services will be held in Staunton, VA.

BLAGMAN



CLAIRE BLAGMAN

Claire Pearl (nee Wurmbrand) Blagman passed away peacefully on Thursday, May 4, 2023 at her home in Gainesville, Virginia with her family at her side. Born in the Bronx, New York on December 17, 1927 to George and Rose (nee Isaacs) Wurmbrand.

Claire was predeceased by her husband, Jack Blagman to whom was married for over 62 years; brother Irwin, sister Janet (nee Tankleff) as well as her sisters-in-law Jeanette (nee Blagman) Swetlow and Sally (nee Blagman) Sutter. She is survived by her children Diane Blagman (Michael Botelho), Robert Blagman and his life partner, Lauren Hirsch Williams; her grandchildren Hannah Botelho and Jason Blagman (Mari Provencher) and Erin Blagman. She also leaves many nieces, nephews, cousins, their children as well as many friends and caregivers and her beloved "granddog", Ziggy.

Claire was able to travel the world with her husband and lived in New York, Connecticut, Ohio, California. She lived in Heritage Hunt in Gainesville, Virginia for the last 20 years. She loved a wide variety of activities- bingo, bowling and golf - and even got a hole-in-one. She also loved puzzles, flowers, growing tomatoes, collecting clown figures. Most notably, she was an excellent and prolific knitter and gifted many with sweaters, scarfs and blankets.

She was also known for making the best roast beef ever.

Memorial service will be held on Thursday, May 25, 2023, 11 a.m. at Gan Zikaron - Garden of Remembrance in Clarksburg, Maryland. The service will be available for live-streaming at gardenofremembrance.org. Family will be receiving guests immediately following the memorial at the home of Diane Blagman and Michael Botelho. Shiva will be held from 7 to 8:30 p.m.

For those wishing to make a donation in Claire's memory, contributions may be made to Michael J. Fox Foundation for Parkinson's Research (give.michaeljfox.org) or Vitas Healthcare Northern Virginia (vitascommunityconnection.org). Services entrusted to Sagel Bloomfield Danzansky Goldberg Funeral Care.
www.sagelbloomfield.com

DERRINGTON

JAMES H. DERRINGTON "Jim"

James "Jim" Hoyt Derrington passed away peacefully at home in Alexandria, Virginia on May 14, 2023 after a long illness.

Jim was born in Beaumont, Texas to Hoyt and Lucille Derrington on April 23,1942. He was raised in Monett, Missouri where he attended Monett High School. After graduating from the University of Missouri, he moved to Washington D.C. and soon after settled in Alexandria, Virginia, where he raised his family and made his home.

Jim worked for the United States Patent and Trademark Office as a patent examiner for 37 years. He made life-long friends with his colleagues at the USPTO and enjoyed many spirited debates over the years with them. Jim was also active in civic issues, passionate about city development, and enjoyed tutoring children in mathematics.

Jim had a great love for music, golf, the Washington Commanders, baseball, and a good drink with friends. He travelled extensively and spent many summers in Stonington, Maine, his favorite destination.

Jim is preceded in death by his parents and his wife, Barbara Ross, who died in 2016.

Jim is survived by his two children, James Derrington, Jr. and Lauren McCunney, his daughter-in-law Amy, his son-in-law Courtney, his sister Susan Richardson and her husband Steve, and his three grandchildren, Olivia Derrington, Arlo McCunney, and June McCunney. He took great joy in making his grandchildren laugh and he thought they were perfect. Jim is also survived by his joyful companion, Patty Shaver. Jim and Patty shared several great years together before Jim's illness and she was a constant presence at his side during his battle.

During his long, hard fight with cancer he showed courage in facing great challenges and never complained. He exhibited the integrity and honor in which he lived his whole life. In his final days, Jim was surrounded by family and friends from near and far, who will continue to honor him by living their lives to the fullest.

There will be a burial ceremony at 11 a.m. on Wednesday, May 24, 2023 at Ivy Hill Cemetery, 2823 King Street, Alexandria, VA 22302. A reception will follow at Army Navy Country Club, 1700 Army Navy Drive, Arlington, VA 22202. In lieu of flowers, donations may be made in Jim's name to the Campagna Center or the American Cancer Society.

DOUDOUMOPOULOS

ELIZABETH WYMAN DOUDOUMOPOULOS

Elizabeth Wyman Doudoumopoulos passed peacefully in her sleep on April 7, 2023, at the age of 95. Her husband, Alexander Nicholas Doudoumopoulos pre-deceased her on November 28, 2012. She left behind her daughter, Sarah Wyman Dillinger, and son, Nicholas Alexander Doudoumopoulos, and their respective spouses, Todd Patrick Dillinger and Pamela Jane Burgess, and her grandchildren, Anna Burgess Houle, Stephanie Campbell Beechler and Alexander Nicholas Doudoumopoulos.

In lieu of flowers, a contribution of any size may be made to: Maine Seacoast Mission (seacoastmission.org).

A memorial service will be held at Charleston Church Downeast, Sullivan, ME 04664, on June 3 at 11 am.

ANDREWS



JOHN AUBREY ANDREWS "Jack"

John "Jack" Aubrey Andrews, AKA "Papa Jack," passed away peacefully surrounded by loved ones at his home in Middleburg, VA, on the morning of May 12, 2023.
He was born in Lowell, MA, January 11, 1941, to Albert F. Andrews and Evelyn P. Andrews.
Jack overcame adversity early in life. At the age 0f 17 he fractured three spinal disks in his neck from a swimming accident. He spent seven months in traction and surrounded by sandbags to restrict his movements. He was the first person to fully recover from a neck spinal fusion operation. Jack signed up to serve in the military though while in bootcamp his neck injury caused him to be honorably discharged.
Jack was the first of seven children and was married to his first wife, Helen Monahan Andrews, when he was 19. His first job supporting his young family was working in a dry-cleaning factory. He then worked for Sandvel, a precast concrete company in Worcester, MA as a laborer and moved up to be a manager. His imagination, mechanical skills were noticed by all and soon thereafter, in 1968 he was offered a sales manager job with WR Grace company selling concrete chemical additives. He moved his young family to Reston, VA, and for the remaining years of his life he lived in Reston and then Middleburg.
After leaving WR Grace he worked at a precast company in Herndon for Hans Shultz. He worked on many of the new projects in the early years of growth in Reston.
Jack started his real estate career in the early 1970s rezoning industrial properties in Herndon. Around this same time, he started a ready-mix concrete company in Herndon with his wife Helen and friend Scott Meese. This company, CDC Concrete, grew to become Herndon Concrete with plants in downtown Herndon, Centreville and Newington. In the early 1980s, the main plant relocated to Rt. 606 next to Dulles Airport and became AMAX Concrete. A small five-truck operation had become the largest non-union ready mix concrete company in Northern Virginia and was sold to Titan America in 1989.
In the early 1980s, Jack returned to the real estate business starting the Intergate Company with Jerry O'Connell and Steve Hubert. The Intergate Company influenced the creation of Ashburn Farms, Villages at Round Hill, Beaumeade, Loudoun Gateway, Dulles 28 Auto Mall and other ventures. Jack continued in the real estate business in Loudoun over the next 30 years. As he laid waiting to move on to his last deal, he was still talking about new real estate ideas and instructing his sons on what they should do. Jack was very involved in the business community in Loudoun County over the years in different roles. He was one of the cofounders of the Rt 28 Tax District. One of his biggest contributions in that effort was naming of Atlantic and Pacific Blvd. He was also heavily involved in the Loudoun County citizens committee Comprehensive Plan rewrite Called "Choices and Changes ". Jack also placed over 1,000 acres into open space easements in Loudoun County.
His business philosophy was "#1 - Do something you enjoy #2- Do something that contributes to society and #3 - Make a profit so you can continue doing numbers 1 and 2."
His other advice to overcome adversity: "It's all in how you phrase the question."
Jack's hobby was real estate. A vacation in St. John USVI led to the prestigious community of Peter Bay. His friends and family knew him as a consummate Deal Junky.
In addition to his parents, he was predeceased by his sisters Lyn Bell-Andrews, Kathleen Byrt and his brother Dana Andrews.
He is survived by his brother and life-long friend Albert "Bud" Andrews of Hampton, NH, and sisters Sarah Andrews and Susan Cline of Chelmsford, MA; children with Helen Monahan Andrews: John A. Andrews II of St Augustine, FL, Mark E. Andrews of Middleburg and Christine E. Andrews of Delray Beach, FL; children with Wendy Lind of Middleburg, VA: Alexander Andrews and Sophia Andrews of Middleburg VA; six grandchildren Jessica Andrews Of Phuket Thailand, John A. Andrews III of Pinellas Park FL, Laura Andrews of Sterling, Annamarie Andrews of Reston, Mark Andrews II of Ashburn VA and Amanda Burke of Orem, UT; and three great-grandchildren and many nieces and nephews.
Jack is fondly remembered by all his family for his many stories and generosity.
A visitation will be held at Hall Funeral Home on May 23, 2023 from 6 to 8 p.m. Sharing memories will begin at 7 p.m.. Jack will then return home to be with his family at Saint Patrick's Cemetery in Lowell MA.
Arrangements by Hall Funeral Home, Purcellville, VA.

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The Washington Post

DEATH NOTICE

EDERMA



VELLO EDERMA
August 22, 1934 ~ May 11, 2023

Vello Ederma, 88 of Springfield, Virginia passed away on May 11, 2023 in his home surrounded by family.
Vello was born on August 22, 1934 in Rakvere, Estonia to John and Klara (Vorteil) Ederma. He along with his parents and brother fled Estonia in 1944 to escape the Soviet invasion. The family lived as refugees in Germany until they were able to immigrate to the United States under the Displaced Persons Act in 1949.
Vello landed in Baltimore and graduated from Southern High School where he was the editorialist for the school newspaper, and a member of the Key Club and Student Government.
In 1952 he was accepted to the George Washington University in Washington DC. He would graduate with degrees in Foreign Affairs, International Communication and Journalism in 1957. In 1954 he became a US citizen and was drafted by the US Army in 1958.
Vello spent the next 35 years working for the government for the Voice of America and the United States Information Agency where he worked as a writer, journalist, and political analyst.
After his retirement Vello worked tirelessly as the VP of the Estonian American National Council and Estonian World Council to do his part to assist Estonia strengthen their security and to help Estonia and the Baltics achieve NATO Membership. Vello also served as a three-time chairman of the Joint Baltic American National Committee.
Vello was awarded Estonias White Star Medal, Estonias White Star First Class, and the Estonian Defense Ministrys Gold Medal for his work towards Estonias Independence and NATO Membership.
Most importantly Vello was a loving and dedicated husband, Father, and Grandfather, as well as an animal lover. His family was his greatest joy. His daughter recalls her Dad "always being the Dad to drive us to concerts and to the mall " He spent years as a soccer coach and volunteer for the Springfield Youth Club in the 1980s.
Vello is proceeded in death by father John Ederma, mother Klara Ederma and brother Heino Ederma
Vello is survived by his loving wife of 58 years Marie Ederma, son John Ederma of Springfield, VA and daughter Eva Ols, her husband John and grandchildren Connor and Meghan of Laytonsville, MD.
On Monday, June 5, 2023, visitation from 11:30 a.m. until time of funeral service at 12:30 p.m. at Demaine Funeral Home, 5308 Backlick Road, Springfield, VA 22151, followed by graveside service at 2:30 p.m. at Mount Comfort Cemetery, 6600 South Kings Highway, Alexandria, VA 22306.
Remembrances can be made in the form of donations to one of Vellos favorite charities: Alley Cat Rescue, Humane Society of Fairfax County, Shriners Hospital for Children or Wounded Warrior Project.

ELLSWORTH



NANCY H. ELLSWORTH

On May 1, 2023, Nancy H. Ellsworth, 98, of Shepherdstown, West Virginia died after a brief illness at home surrounded by family and friends. Nancy will be remembered as an important violinist and musical artist in Washington, DC. She had the character, strength, and talent to be a violin soloist, concertmaster, writer, teacher, and mother. Born on September 22, 1924, to Wilhelmina R. Harbert and Dr. Ellis Harbert, Nancy was a prodigy at age four. Her mother, an accomplished musician and performer, inspired her early love of music. Her career as a young violinist attracted the attention of many artists and teachers. She was a student of Hans Blinder, concertmaster of the San Francisco Symphony, through whom she became an outstanding soloist giving concerts throughout California in the 1930's. Her college career was spent at Mills College where she studied composition with Darius Milhaud and chamber music with the famed Budapest quartet. Graduate studies continued with Efrem Zimbalist at the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia until 1946 when she joined the Denver Symphony. In 1950, she won a position with the Pittsburgh Symphony and met her future husband Mark Ellsworth with whom she moved to Washington, DC a few years later. Some of her musical accomplishments include: concertmaster of the Kennedy Center Orchestra, Washington Opera Orchestra, many years with the National Gallery Orchestra, premiers of Shostakovich's Second Violin concerto and first performances of works by Xenakis. These plus numerous concerts for the Kindler Foundation, point to her role as an important violinist and musical artist in America. She was a role model for many and a tireless advocate for equality and blazed more than one trail for women in the arts.

Nancy moved to Shepherdstown from her home in Kensington, Maryland in 1989. She continued to play and teach violin for many years following her retirement from the Kennedy Center. Nancy gave a number of memorable performances at the Train Station in Shepherdstown, accompanied by the late Dr. Scott Beard, Alicia McCormick and her daughter Maggie Terry. During these years, she gained many new friends that were very dear to her. She will be remembered for her generosity of spirit and loving acceptance, not just with family, but with all who crossed her threshold. Where ever she was, "the door was always open."

Nancy was the author of two books, an inventive cook and baker, loving mother, grandmother and great-grandmother survived by: her children, Bill Ellsworth (Kim Bell), Rodger Ellsworth (Eva Nagorka), Brian Ellsworth (Sylvia Nehemias), Maggie Terry (John Terry). She was preceded in death by her stepson Grant Ellsworth and remembered to his widow Susan Marsh Ellsworth. Her grandchildren, Rachel Beach (Ryan Beach), Deanna Weaver (Robert Weaver), Claire Merletti (Michael Merletti), Alexander Ellsworth, Helen Ellsworth, Melissa Ellsworth (Gary DeLuke), Bridget Ellsworth (Jordan Siewek), Mason Ellsworth, Michelle Terry, Nancy Ferrell (Kaitlin Caledonia Ferrell). Her great-grandchildren are Kayla Beach, Nicholas Beach, Erin Beach, Ysabel Weaver, Molly Weaver, Hunter Merletti, Delia DeLuke, and Alfred DeLuke.

A memorial service will be held on Sunday, June 11, 2023, at 11 a.m. at Shepherd University Student Center Ballroom, 210 N. King Street, Shepherdstown, WV.

ERK



FRANK CHRIS ERK (Age 98)

Frank Chris Erk died on May 2, 2023 at his residence in Riderwood Village in Silver Spring, Maryland. He was born on December 17, 1924 in Evansville, Indiana. He made the most of his long life, inspired by three great passions; science, travel and music.
From a young age, Frank was a curious soul, eager to seek out and learn all he could about the world and his place in it. World War II put his college plans on hold, as he served three years in the Army Air Force as flight navigator. After returning home, he enrolled in electrical school in Chicago, in case a career in biology didn't "pan out." In 1948, he graduated from the University of Evansville with a degree in biology. He and his teenage sweetheart, Ruth Hobgood, married that summer and left for Baltimore, MD where Frank attended graduate school. In 1952, Frank received his PhD in genetics from Johns Hopkins University. It was at Hopkins that he met his lifetime friend and mentor, Dr. H Bentley Glass, who influenced much of his academic research and future plans. Frank's first teaching job was at Washington College in Chestertown, MD, where he complimented his academic duties by forming a college choir. After five years at Washington College, he accepted the opportunity to become a founding faculty member of the new university at Stony Brook, New York. In 1957, Professor Erk taught the first class held at the temporary location in Oyster Bay. During the cold war, as the US recognized its need for reform in science education in order to become more competitive, Erk was recruited for a project funded by the NSF to update textbooks and educational materials for secondary school biology. He was one of the many scientists that wrote the Biological Sciences Curriculum Study, today called the BSCS Science Learning. Sixty-five years later, adaptations of these early materials are still used, and have been translated for over fifty countries. From 1969-1971 Erk served as president of the University Faculty Senate for the State University of New York. He led the campaign to certify the Senate as the bargaining agent for the entire university staff. This was later named the United University Professions (UUP) and is the largest higher education union in the nation . In addition to research and teaching responsibilities, Frank was also editor of the international journal, The Quarterly Review of Biology for thirty-four years. He was proud of his part in the development of SUNY Stony Brook and that it is known today as a renowned research center. He retired after thirty-three years in 1990 as emeritus professor of biochemistry and cell biology. He remained at SUNY for another decade working in his lab and advising students until he and Ruth moved to Maryland, where they started a new chapter of travel and musical endeavors.
Frank and Ruth traveled to many distant lands. They lived in Italy, Scotland and England while on sabbatical. They visited Europe, the Caribbean, Baltic and Mediterranean Seas, but also sought out more unusual experiences in the Galapagos Islands, Russia, China, Japan, Korea, Africa, Iceland and Greenland among others. Political unrest or unsafe conditions never stopped them from seeing the world.
Wherever Frank lived, he either formed choirs or auditioned to sing in them. He had a full, bass voice that was an asset to any choral group. In addition to madrigal groups and church choirs, he sang with the Brighton Festival Chorus in England under guest conductors Leonard Bernstein and Andre Previn. He also sang in the Long Island Choral Association for over thirty years. He was an accomplished violist and participated in many orchestras and ensembles. After moving to Riderwood Village in Silver Spring, Frank and Ruth formed The Balladeers, a men's chorus, and The Grace Notes, a women's chorus. Fortunately, having Ruth by his side as his pianist, he never lacked an accompanist. Perhaps it was the magic of playing music together that created a strong bond throughout their marriage.
Frank is survived by three daughters, Susan, Elisabeth, and Stephanie; five grandchildren, Megan, Deanna, Paul, Carlene and Sonia; great-granddaughter, Epona; sister Dorothy Zehner and sister-in-law Julia Wood; and many nieces and nephews. He is predeceased by his parents Matilda and Carl Erk and by his wife, Ruth. Interment will be in Evansville.
Visit www.collinsfuneralhome.com for more information and the online guest book.

FISHER

THOMAS FREDERICK FISHER

Thomas Frederick Fisher, age 79, passed away on May 16, 2023, in Arlington, Virginia. He was a loving husband, father, grandfather, brother, uncle, and cherished friend to many. He is preceded in death by his wife Alicia Rae Fisher, mother Marie Fisher, father Carroll Fisher, and brother Joseph Fisher.
Tom will be fondly remembered by so many for his endearing charm, his undeniable wit and humor, and his devotion to his family - especially his wife Alicia whom he lovingly cared for until her passing in 2008.
He met his wife Alicia, in Rehoboth Beach, Delaware in 1966. They were married for 42 years and resided in Arlington, Virginia where they raised their three children. He enjoyed spending time with his family at their beach home in Bethany Beach, Delaware. He loved socializing with his friends, tailgating at Washington football games and tinkering on his various home and garden projects.
He was born and raised in Bethesda, Maryland. The middle son of Carroll and Marie Fisher, he graduated from Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School before attending American University where he majored in business management.
Tom spent his career with the U.S. Coast Guard. As Deputy Director of Personnel Management, he was responsible for managing the service-wide military and civilian personnel programs. In 1987, he was appointed to the Senior Executive Service and retired in 2005 after 35 years of service. He received the Silver Medal for Meritorious Achievement from the Secretary of Transportation and the Distinguished Career Service Award upon his retirement. He was also Honorary Master Chief Petty Officer and Honorary Chief Warrant Officer in the Coast Guard.
Tom is survived by his three children Meredith Marie Marshall, John Carroll Fisher, and Amanda Rae Fisher; his daughter-in-law Jean Fisher; his three grandchildren, Jake Marshall, Madeline Marshall and John Fisher, Jr, his brother Bob Fisher and four sisters-in-law, Louise Fisher, Elisa Fisher, Marcella Garland, and Sharon Garland.
Visitation will be held at Murphy Funeral Home, 4510 Wilson Blvd., Arlington, Virginia on Wednesday, May 24 from 4 to 7 p.m. Funeral will take place on Thursday, May 25 at 11 a.m. at Our Lady Queen of Peace, 2700 19th St. S, Arlington, Virginia 22204 with interment and reception to immediately follow at Columbia Gardens Cemetery, 3411 Arlington Blvd., Arlington, Virginia 22201.
In lieu of flowers, we ask that you consider donating to the following organizations: The Coast Guard Foundation, 394 Taugwonk Road, Stonington, Connecticut 06378 or Our Lady Queen of Peace, 2700 South 19th Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204.
www.murphyfuneralhomes.com

MURPHY FUNERAL HOMES
ARLINGTON | FALLS CHURCH

DEATH NOTICE

GODDARD



JOANN MAE GODDARD

With heavy hearts, we announce the passing of JoAnn Mae (Phillips) Goddard on May 17, 2023. She lived a full and vibrant life, leaving behind a legacy of love, laughter, and cherished memories. JoAnn's journey began on June 15, 1934, in Spokane, WA, as the daughter of Joseph W. Phillips and Thelma (Courchaine) Fitzgerald. She was a loving sister to Vernon Phillips and Lonnie Limbocker. JoAnn hailed from a family with a rich history, as she was the great-granddaughter of pioneer Daniel Courchaine, who played a significant role in the early development of Spokane Valley, WA. Her family's roots in the region spanned generations, connecting her to the land and its heritage.
In her youth, JoAnn met and married the love of her life, Edmund "Ed" Goddard. Their marriage endured for over 61 years and blessed them with seven children. As an Air Force family, they experienced life in France and Germany, as well as various military bases across the United States. Eventually, they settled in Prince George's County, MD in 1971.
JoAnn was preceded in death by her father, brother Vernon, daughter-in-law Gwynne, and her mother who died in November 2022 at 107 years old. She is survived by her husband, Edmund; three daughters: Monica (Chip) Trotter of Punta Gorda, FL, Mary Obrebski (Andy) of Gambrills, and Catherine "Cathy" (Paul) Martindale of Davidsonville; her four sons: Michael (Polly) Sayres of Collierville, TN, John (Leslie) Sayres of Bradenton, FL, Joseph Sayres of Warrenton, VA, and Thomas Goddard of St. Louis, MO; 19 grandchildren: Yvonne, Rebecca, Justin, Beverly, Kristen, Nick, Alyssa, Chase, Kelsey, Samantha, Casey, Jason, Ethan, David, Frances, Aiden, Joanna, Owen, and John; 17 great-grandchildren; brother, Lonnie; and numerous relatives in Spokane, WA.
Family was at the core of JoAnn's existence, and nothing brought her more joy than spending time with her loved ones. She cherished her role as a wife, mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother, finding fulfillment in nurturing and supporting her family. Whenever you met JoAnn, you couldn't help but notice her love for her children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, as she proudly shared the details of her extended family. Christmas held a special place in JoAnn's heart, and she delighted in the holiday season. She would begin shopping and wrapping gifts months in advance, eagerly preparing for annual family gatherings. JoAnn also cherished her visits to Spokane, where she and Ed would travel west each year to spend quality time with her parents and extended family.
JoAnn had a zest for life and a mischievous sense of humor. She enjoyed playing pranks on people and brought laughter and joy to those around her. She had diverse interests, including needlepoint, interior decorating, ceramics, beach outings, and shopping. JoAnn was an avid sports fan, passionately cheering for the Washington Redskins and Nationals. In her younger days, she was known for her impressive skills as a softball player, particularly her powerful hitting.
Throughout her life, JoAnn balanced her roles as a devoted wife and mother with a successful career at The Hecht Company, where she worked full-time for over 30 years. The friendships she made there added to the richness of her life. She was an active member of St. Mary of the Assumption Catholic Church in Upper Marlboro, MD, nurturing her faith and finding solace in her spiritual community. JoAnn and Ed deeply cherished the invaluable friendship and support they received from their neighbors and friends. Their bond with those around them was a source of great joy and comfort throughout their lives.
JoAnn's passing has left a void in the hearts of her loved ones, who already miss her funny humor and unique personality. Her family will forever cherish the memories they shared with her, holding onto the laughter and joy she brought into their lives. The family will be gathering to receive friends at the Lee Funeral Home in Clinton, MD on May 23, 2023, from 3 to 6 p.m., with prayers at 5 p.m. A Funeral Mass commemorating JoAnn's life will be conducted on May 24, 2023, at St. Mary of the Assumption Catholic Church in Upper Marlboro, MD at 11 a.m. Following the service, her burial will take place at Resurrection Cemetery in Clinton, MD.
To honor the memory of JoAnn, the family kindly asks that, instead of flowers, memorial donations be made to the Cure Alzheimer's Fund. Your contributions will support crucial research efforts in the ongoing fight against Alzheimer's disease.

HILL



LOUISE RUTH GERTSCH HILL
(Age 88)

Louise Ruth Gertsch Hill, nicknamed "Buzzy," beloved wife, mother, sister, aunt, and friend, crossed over on May 9, 2023. She was the daughter of famed arachnologist Willis John Gertsch, author of American Spiders.
Born and raised in Ramsey, NJ, Louise began studying flute at a young age. She completed programs at Julliard School of Music and Eastman School of Music, where she earned her degree. She was a student of Samuel Beren, Joseph Mariano (who she affectionately called "Papa Joe,") and Wallace Mann.
Louise was a flutist with the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra and the Richmond Symphony. She was also a music teacher with the DC public schools for over twenty years. She worked with the city's Region V Chorus and the DC Boys Choir, both founded by Eleanor Stewart in conjunction with the Gifted and Talented program of the DC Public Schools. She performed with Aretha Franklin and Marvin Gaye and was a member of the Washington Performing Arts Society and the Flute Society of Washington (FSW.)
After retirement, she enjoyed playing with numerous orchestras and ensembles in the DC area, including the Victorian Lyric Opera Company in Rockville, MD, the Friday Morning Music Club Chorale Orchestra, under the direction of Webster Rogers, Jr., and the Washington Savoyards. She was also a beloved private music teacher for decades.
Louise was happily married to her husband, Lawrence Henry Hill, for almost 54 years. Together they raised two great children who made Louise incredibly proud!
A long-time parishioner and member of the vocal and bell choirs at Hughes United Methodist Church in Wheaton, MD, Louise dedicated many hours to numerous church ministries. She also volunteered with many charitable organizations, most notably Hadassah.
Louise loved ice cream, cats, jewelry (especially pins and brooches,) oldies music, and trips with her husband to her home state of New Jersey.
Louise was a vivacious, kind, helpful, talented, and loving soul. She will be missed.
Louise was preceded in death by her father, Willis John Gertsch; mother, Jean Elizabeth Moore; and son, Allan Lawrence Hill.
Louise is survived by her loving husband, Lawrence Henry Hill; daughter, Julia Louise Hill; brother, John Willis Gertsch, sister, Mary Alice Smallhouse; and many loving nephews, nieces, cousins, and friends.
A private graveside service was held at Gate of Heaven Cemetery in Silver Spring, MD. A public celebration of life concert will be scheduled at a later time. Condolences and memories can be shared on the tribute wall on the website for
Collins Funeral Home in Silver Spring, MD. In lieu of flowers, donations can be made to The Flute Society of Washington – Scholarship Fund.
WWW.COLLINSFUNERALHOME.com

KNOOP



STUART KNOOP

Stuart Knoop passed away peacefully on Monday April 24, 2023, surrounded by his family. Stuart is survived by his wife Ann (née Kirk) his three children, Leslie Knoop (Mark Cartwright), Laura Knoop Very (Raymond Matthew Very) and Gregory Knoop (Aphrodite née Mountrakis); and four grandchildren, Benjamin and Isabella Very, and Heather and Fiona Cartwright.
Stuart was born in Minneola, NY on October 21,1933 to Elva Letitia (née Rodgers) and William August Knoop. He was the 3rd of 4 brothers; Burtis, Alan and David, all of whom predeceased him. Stuart was always fascinated not just by how things are made, but also by beauty in the manmade. Architecture was his vocation, combining both those interests. He graduated from Carnegie Tech (now Carnegie Mellon University) with a Bachelor of Architecture (BArch) in July 1956 with honors: Tau Sigma Delta and Phi Beta Kappa. He went on to study Urban Planning with a Fulbright Scholarship at the Architectural Association in London from 1956-7. After his return from England, Stuart married his childhood friend and neighbor Ann Elizabeth Kirk on May 2,1959 at St Stephen's Episcopal Church in Millburn, NJ.
Stuart had a successful career in architecture opening Oudens and Knoop with Gerald Oudens in 1970 in Washington, DC. Over the breadth of his career, he worked on over 125 Embassy projects in 85 countries worldwide. He was pivotal contributor in establishing the early standards for embassy design that were the foundation to standards still used today. For his expertise, he sat on multiple committees for the National Academy of Sciences and the National Science Foundation pioneering the security standards of practice used to protect federal buildings. For a decade, Stuart was the leader of award-winning master planning for the National Institutes of Health on their campuses in Maryland, and throughout the country. He dedicated the later years of his career to advocate for better building standards for the visually impaired. In 2000 he was honored for his work in architecture, being made a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects (FAIA).
Stuart had a lifelong appreciation for the arts. When time permitted, he loved to visit art museums, attend concerts and go to the opera.
A service celebrating Stuart's life will be held at Calvary Episcopal Church, 315 Shady Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA 15206 on Saturday May 27, 2023 at 11 a.m., with a reception to follow in the Parish Hall. Please celebrate Stuart's life by donating to Greater Pittsburgh Community Food Bank in his name https://pittsburghfoodbank.org/. Arrangements by John A. Freyvogel Sons, Inc.
freyvogelfuneralhome.com

LABARCA



ADRIANA S. LABARCA

Adriana S. Labarca passed away peacefully of natural causes on May 16, 2023, at her family home in Bethesda, Maryland. She was 97 years old.

She was born in Santiago, Chile on November 22, 1925. Adriana was a loving mother and wonderful woman, always with a smile, fashionable, and so smart, witty and kind. She was very much loved by her dear husband, Hernan Labarca, a prominent architect whom she met at the university where they were both architecture students in Chile.

He preceded her in death on December 8, 2006. She will always be remembered by her family and friends who loved her.

She is survived by her children and their spouses, Monica and Charles Gebbert, Patricia and William Kleysteuber, and Marcelo and Susan Labarca, and by her grandchildren Rudy and Alexa Kleysteuber, Matthew Gebbert, and Willie Labarca, and by her great grandchildren Felix Fansler Kleysteuber, and Lucas and Adela Wildfire.

The family will hold a private service in Chile at a later date.

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The Washington Post

DEATH NOTICE

JOHNSON



GLADYS FARRANTO JOHNSON

Of Potomac Maryland, passed away in her home on May 8, 2023 at the age of 91. She was born on October 17, 1931 in New York City, New York. She earned a Bachelor of Science degree in Business from Montclair State College. She moved with her husband, Edward M Johnson, Jr. from New Jersey to their home in Maryland in 1967, where she resided until her passing. She was widowed from her husband in 1970 after 14 years of marriage. Gladys was devoted to her family and friends. Gladys is survived by her two children, Eddie and John; her four grandchildren, Tyler, Savanna, Koby, and Serena; John's wife, Debbie and Eddie's partner, Alvaro. She was preceded in death by her parents, Salvatrice and John; her brother, Tony and her husband, Edward. The visitation will be held at Pumphrey's Funeral Home located at 300 W Montgomery Ave., Rockville, MD on Friday, May 26, 2023, from 6 to 8 p.m. A burial service will take place on Saturday, May 27, 2023, at 12 p.m. at the Gate of Heaven Cemetery in Aspen Hill, Maryland. For more information, please visit
www.pumphreyfuneralhome.com



DEATH NOTICE

MCCARTHY

MICHAEL GEORGE MCCARTHY

Michael George McCarthy, May 10, 2023, 79, of Fairfax, Virginia passed away peacefully at home with his beloved wife, Carla, at his side. Mike was born in Syracuse to Thomas and Mary (Lutz) McCarthy on May 27, 1943 and graduated from Most Holy Rosary and Mohawk Valley Community College. He later enlisted in the Navy where he served for four years. Following the Navy, he worked as an engineer for Johnson Controls and was involved in the design of the HVAC systems for the Washington, DC Subway.
Mike is survived by his wife of 40 years, Carla; his stepson, Barry (Meaghan) Stoner and grandchildren Shannon and Trevor, who he adored. He is predeceased by his brother, John (MaryJane) of Memphis and survived by his siblings, Francis J. McCarthy of Rochester, Barbara M. McCarthy and Dennis (Sherri) McCarthy of Syracuse as well as many nieces and nephews. There are no services planned. Contributions can be made to St. Jude Children's Hospital in Memphis.

When the need arises, let families find you in the Funeral Services Directory.

To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory, please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.

The Washington Post

DEATH NOTICE

DEATH NOTICE

MORALES



CECILIO J. MORALES JR.

Cecilio J. Morales, Jr., former owner of MII Publications; editor and publisher of the nation's leading workforce development periodical, the Employment and Training Reporter; and a prolific blogger on religion, politics and personal growth, under what he called his "nom d'internet," Cecilieaux, died May 11, 2023, at the age of 70.
First drawn to journalism by the 1931 film The Front Page, Morales spent his entire career in specialized reporting and editing, starting with a stint as an editor and Washington correspondent for the London, England–based Latin American Political Report. He also wrote op-ed pieces for the Washington Post, Los Angeles Times and other newspapers.
His one nonjournalism job was a four-year position as staff to the US Conference of Catholic Bishops, during which he ghostwrote the national pastoral letter "The Hispanic Presence, Challenge, and Commitment: A Pastoral Letter on Hispanic Ministry," approved December 12, 1983.
Cecilio's lifelong quest and passion for understanding ancestry and identity demonstrated his love of family. Years of research, reconnecting with family members and reflection resulted in his publication of a family history titled Hart in the Mulberry Grove. Born in Manhattan to an Argentine family, having lived in various countries and having traced his family roots to the Canary Islands, Galicia, Italy, Mauritius and Brazil, on his last day he joked about being from "Venus."
Cecilio enjoyed understanding everything about software and playing video games; Civilization was his favorite. He also had a deep interest and encyclopedic knowledge of history, theology and political theory. In addition, his commitment to social justice and helping those less fortunate were guiding principles throughout his life.
He blogged at Let Mountains Hear - telling the story of the Christian faith; ¡Cecilieaux! - musings of a contrarian; and Desde Yanquilandia -- entre allá y acá. ("From Yankeeland -- between there and here.")
He is mourned by his devoted partner, Susan; his former wife, Lucy; his sons Luis (Diana Di Rico) and Curtis (Tatiana Brofft); grandsons Oscar and Luca Morales; and sister-in-law Margaret Scott. Services private.

NEWSOM



JEAN FRANCES CRAIG NEWSOM

Jean Frances Craig Newsom, two weeks shy of 101, beloved mother, grandmother, and great grandmother, died peacefully May 3, 2023, in the presence of her daughter, Katie, and granddaughter, Jenna. Jean knew that her role as a mother to five and a grandmother to nine was her life's greatest achievement. Yet, it was her role as the wife of a career foreign service officer that gave Jean an adventurous and storied life, raising her children around the world in far away places including Karachi, Pakistan; Oslo, Norway; Baghdad, Iraq; London, England; Tripoli, Libya; Jakarta, Indonesia; and Manila, The Philippines. Jean is widely recognized as a pioneer of American diplomatic service, managing multiple US Embassy households, hosting too-many-to-count receptions and dinners in support of American diplomacy, and inspiring hundreds of foreign service officers, their spouses, and families during her husband David Dunlop Newsom's 35+ year diplomatic career.

Born in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada, on May 19, 1922, to Clarence Craig and Beatrice Readman Craig, Jean was the middle child, between her sister Kay [Valory] and her brother Keith. The Craigs moved from Saskatoon to the San Francisco Bay Area in 1925 and Jean graduated from Richmond Union High School in 1941. She received a BA in English Literature from the University of California at Berkeley in 1945. On November 17, 1944, Jean married Naval Officer David Dunlop Newsom who joined the foreign service after the war.

During her lifetime, Jean honed her professional skills as an editor with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, the Middle East Journal, as Executive Director of the Foundation for Middle East Peace, and as a member of the Board of Directors of the American Near East Refugee Aid (ANERA) organization.

Jean was an accomplished amateur painter and needle pointer. She harbored a passion for music, which she shared with her children and grandchildren. She also was an avid reader, with a particular interest in the works of Thomas Hardy and Joseph Conrad and could be found immersed in a novel well into her final days. She and David loved traveling by sea and crossed the Atlantic several times, often with their children and grandchildren, on famous liners – the SS Constitution, SS United States, RMS Queen Elizabeth II, RMS Queen Mary II – and not so well known freighters, sailing ships and an occasional zodiac, ferry or barge.

Jean's love of penguins was widely known, and a highlight of her life was a journey aboard Lindblad's National Geographic Explorer to the South Georgia Islands and Antarctica, a surprise gift from David on their 50 th Wedding Anniversary. Jean was able to see the penguins – up close and personal – and to visit the grave of celebrated explorer, Sir Ernest Shackleton.

Jean is survived by three sons – John, Daniel (Dan) and David, and two daughters – Nancy and Catherine (Katie) – nine grandchildren, and two great grandchildren with a third due in July. Contributions in her memory can be made to the Jean C. and David D. Newsom Scholarship Fund at the American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E St. NW, Washington, DC 20037. A memorial service will be planned in the late fall at Westminster Presbyterian Church, Charlottesville, VA.

RUSSELL



VIRGINIA COLUMBINE RUSSELL

Virginia Columbine Russell died at home on April 18, 2023. Virginia was born on January 17, 1930 in Columbus, Georgia, the daughter of Oscar and Giula (Chambers) Robinson. She married Lt. David C. Russell on August 7, 1948 and enjoyed a career as an Army Wife. Throughout her life she was active in various volunteer activities including Girl Scouts, Officers Wives Clubs, Reston Women's Club, and Daughters of the American Revolution. After her husband's retirement the couple traveled widely mostly in Europe, but also in Mexico. the Caribbean and Australia while Virginia was chairman of the DAR Units Overseas Committee and later chairman of the DAR Special Events Committee. She also served as chairman of the DAR Museum Docents' Committee. She was a member of the Vienna Presbyterian Church in Vienna, Virginia and the Army and Navy Club of Washington, DC.

In her last days Virginia was embraced by her family and many friends. She was predeceased by her husband, David Carrick Russell, Col. USA Retired. She is survived by two daughters, two granddaughters and three great-grandchildren, as well as her bridge group and several "pseudo-daughters" whom she loved and mentored.

Donations may be sent to the Vienna Presbyterian Church, 124 Park St. NE, Vienna, VA 22180 or the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution, 1776 D Street NW, Washington, DC 20006.

A Celebration of her life will be held on May 22, 2023 at Vienna Presbyterian Church.

When the need arises, let families find you in the Funeral Services Directory.

To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory, please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.

The Washington Post

DEATH NOTICE

NEAL



JOHN E. NEAL JR.
OCTOBER 9, 1953 - APRIL 27, 2023

John E. Neal, Jr., the oldest son of the late John, Sr. and Evelyn Neal, passed away suddenly in Colombia, South America. His early career in finance opened doors to business ownership. His love for travelling led him to S.A. where he fell in love with its people and formed a strong bond. He became fluent in Spanish and Portuguese. He considered S.A as his second home. He will be sorely missed.
John is predeceased by his sister, Patricia Neal-Williams and is survived by his daughter, Yahveh Neal, grandsons Emanuel Paul and Emori Josiah; sisters, Sharon McPhail, Beverly Cottom and brother-in-law James Cottom, Sr. and brother Mark Neal, as well as a host of nieces, nephews, cousins and friends. Memorial service will be scheduled at a later date.

PAYNE



BERTHA BELL PAYNE

Bertha Bell Payne departed this life on May 12, 2023 in Washington, DC. She was preceded in death by husband Warren M. Payne and son Warren D. Payne. She is survived by three sons and host of other relatives and friends. Wake will be held Friday May 26, 2023 from 6 to 8 p.m. at Universal Mortuary, 411 Kennedy St., NW, Washington, DC 20011. Viewing be held the following day at 10 a.m. and Services at 11 a.m. at Evergreen Baptist Church, 452 Evergreen Church Rd., Palmyra, VA. Interment will be held at Holland Family Cemetery, Palmyra, VA 22973.

SCANLON

LEO J. SCANLON

Leo J. Scanlon, 81, on May 7, 2023, in Boise, Idaho, formerly of Montgomery Village, MD. Beloved husband of Elizabeth. Survived by four siblings, two sons, and two stepsons. A memorial service will be held at St. Michael's Episcopal Cathedral on Saturday June 17 at 2 p.m. in Boise Idaho. Aquamation provided by English Funeral Chapel of Coeur d'Alene, Idaho. See complete obituary at https://www.englishfuneralchapel.com/obituaries/leo-scanlon

SOTO

LESLEY JEAN SOTO

On May 16, 2023, Lesley Jean Soto. Beloved daughter of Jean McDaniels Soto and the late Eugene Soto; devoted sister of Linda Soto Frantz (Eugene); cherished aunt of Christopher A. Frantz (Daniel) and Micaela Frantz Hanney (Patrick); loving great-aunt of Mara Soto Hanney, Sean Patrick Hanney, and Flynn Michael Hanney. The family will receive friends for a Memorial Gathering at Harry H. Witzke's Family Funeral Home, 4112 Old Columbia Pike, Ellicott City on Tuesday, May 23 from 4 to 7 p.m. A Memorial Service is being planned in New England at a later date. In lieu of flowers, donations may be made in her memory to the ASPCA or to St. Jude Children's Research Hospital.
www.HarryWitzkeFuneralHome.com

DEATH NOTICE

STEPHENS



ROBERT PEELER STEPHENS

Robert Peeler Stephens, fondly known as Steve, passed away peacefully, age 99, on April 18, 2023 with his wife Blanche and daughter Blanche Elizabeth by his side. He was preceded in death by his son Robert Peeler Stephens II.

He leaves to mourn his wife and daughter, grandchildren Delonte and Tia, great grandson Juaquin, nieces Marcia and Kathe, nephews Kevin and Rodney, and a host of other family and friends.

The memorial service will be held Saturday, May 27, 2023 at 11 a.m. at St. Paul's Episcopal Church Rock Creek Parish, 201 Allison St. NW, Washington, DC 20011. Repast to follow at the Church Great Hall.

UNTERWEGER

RUTH RODBERG UNTERWEGER

On Friday, May 19, 2023, RUTH RODBERG UNTERWEGER of Silver Spring, MD. Beloved wife of Michael P. Unterweger. Devoted mother of Lee (Eileen), Elliot (Annette) and Paul Rodberg, Susan Rodberg Corp and Paul (Laura) and Michael Unterweger. Loving grandmother of David, Steven, Joseph and Daniel Rodberg, Lucas, Valerie and Veronica Corp, Jonathan Unterweger and Jennifer (Peter) Laanisto and great-grandmother of Ellie and Brody Laanisto. Dear sister of Myron (Paula) and Jerome (Patricia) Bloom. Ruth was a longtime member of Hadassah organizations in the Montgomery County area, serving many years in officer positions including secretary, treasurer and president. Graveside funeral services will be held on Tuesday, May 23, 2023, 11 a.m. at Mt. Lebanon Cemetery, Adelphi, MD. Shiva will be observed at the home of Lee and Eileen Rodberg, Columbia, MD, on Tuesday and Wednesday evenings from 3 p.m. to 9 p.m., with services at 7 p.m. Memorial contributions may be made to Hadassah Greater Washington, 11900 Parklawn Dr., Ste. 350, Rockville, MD 20852, www.Hadassah.org. Arrangements entrusted to TORCHINSKY HEBREW FUNERAL HOME, 202-541-1001.

DEATH NOTICE

BARNES



GWENDOLYN NEWMAN BARNES
(Age 98)

Of Washington, DC. Entered into eternal rest on May 8, 2023 at home. Daughter of the late John Archie and Lena Newman. She was predeceased by her husband, Robert and sons Robert J. Sr. (Tojo) and Kevin, Sr. She is survived by her daughter, Judy Barnes Peters, grandchildren, nieces, nephews and other relatives and friends. Visitation, Tuesday, May 23, 2023 at 10 to 11 a.m., followed by Mass of Christian Burial at St. Martin's Catholic Church, 1908 N. Capitol St., NW, Washington, DC 20002. Interment to follow to Mt. Olivet Cemetery.

DEATH NOTICE

TUPLING

EDWARD WILLIAM BATTLESON TUPLING

In loving memory of Edward William Battleson Tupling (April 11, 1939 - May 12, 2023), affectionately known as "Bill":

Bill was born on April 11, 1939, in Eugene, Oregon. He peacefully passed away in his sleep from complications of laryngeal cancer after an arduous five year battle, at the age of 84, on May 12, 2023.

Born in Eugene, Oregon to William and Gladys Tupling, Bill spent his childhood in Boise, Idaho, and then relocated with his parents and three younger sisters to Washington, DC in 1955. Upon graduating from Woodrow Wilson High School, he matriculated at the George Washington University, where he earned a Bachelor of Arts in English and History (Class of 1963). He further pursued his passion for law at the George Washington University School of Law, earning his Juris Doctorate degree in 1966. While attending law school, Bill served with honor as an officer with the United States Capitol Police. Bill's dedication and commitment to his profession were evident through his lifelong membership in the Washington, DC Bar Association, where he actively served as an attorney until the late 1980s. Afterward, he transitioned into the field of consulting, utilizing his expertise in various projects. Notably, Bill played a crucial role as Vice President in the conceptualization and redevelopment of the landmark Diplomat Resort and Country Club in Hollywood, Florida.

Bill's most enduring legacy resides in his offspring. He is survived by his partner Liliana Peralta of Rockville, Maryland, and by seven children: his daughters Elizabeth Dacia Tupling and Elizabeth Tracey Tupling of Pensacola, Florida; Tetley Lee Mortensen of Greensboro, North Carolina; and sons William Brian Tupling of New York, New York, Scott Tyler Tupling of New York, New York, Andrew Lloyd Tupling of Somerset, New Jersey, Michael Thomas Tupling of Stone Harbor, New Jersey, as well as former spouse and mother of his four sons; Kate Christina Tupling (née McLaughlin) of Stone Harbor, New Jersey. He is also survived by seven grandchildren, seven great-grandchildren, and his sisters Margery Ann Knyper of San Francisco, California, and Mary Lee Tupling of Ft. Lauderdale, Florida. He is preceded in death by his father, William Lloyd Tupling in 2003; mother, Gladys Irene Tupling (née Battleson) in 2002, sister, Timothy Caroline Evans (née Tupling) in 1997; former spouse and mother of Dacia and Tracey Tupling, Elizabeth Jane Tupling (née Britton) in 1995; and former spouse and mother of Tetley Lee Mortensen, Lynda Ann Tupling (née Tetley) in 2002.

Those who knew him will miss his many talents, superb intellect, autodidactic nature, dry wit, and the sound of his voice and laughter. His love of the outdoors, gardening, fine food, amateur poetry, classic cars, Bluegrass, Country and Classic Rock music will be fondly remembered as well. The family invites those who knew Bill to celebrate and honor his life in their own way, and remember him for the person he was. In remembrance of Bill's life, the family asks that any charitable donations be made to the Sierra Club, or a charitable cause of their preference.

The family gives its sincere heartfelt thanks to Liliana, his longtime companion and partner, for her considerable sacrifices and exemplary care during his final years and battle with cancer.

As per Bill's request, no funeral will be held. Instead, a private memorial service was held in his honor with close family. He will be missed, but remembered always.

WYE

JEAN BURLINGAME WYE

Jean Burlingame Wye, age 76, left us on April 11, 2023 after a short and brave battle with ovarian cancer. Jean was born in Zanesville, Ohio and grew up on a farm in Otsego. She was the daughter of Wayne and Elsie Burlingame and sister to older brothers Hal and Jerry Burlingame. While her brothers helped their father tend the farm, Jean helped her mother snapping peas and canning vegetables in a beautiful old farm house sitting on 300 acres.

But Jean set her sights beyond the farm. Jean attended Kent State University, where she met her loving husband Chris, and later taught home economics. Teaching allowed Jean to support her husband while he finished his Ph.D, which would eventually allow them to move to Washington, DC to start a family. Jean and Chris raised two children, Pamela and Jonathon, on Capitol Hill in a home that Jean and Chris renovated together.

Jean bucked a lot of expectations of women to become a self-taught general contractor. Her 45-year career included the renovation of countless kitchens, bathrooms, and English basements on Capitol Hill. She often had to correct people that she was not an interior designer, an assumption folks often made about a woman in her field. With no business cards and one of the first cell phones, Jean built her business by word of mouth. Jean was often seen cruising around Capitol Hill in her mobile office, an old wood-paneled station wagon—"It can hold a 4x8 sheet of drywall!"—and was a fixture at the local hardware store, Frager's. Jean worked tirelessly for her clients, often falling asleep on the couch at night to her favorite PBS murder mysteries after a long day of work.

Jean wanted more time to see her two grandchildren, Mason (9) and Wyatt (6) Wellborn become young men, but she was so happy to see their personalities blossom. Jean was kind, selfless, and extraordinarily hard working. She loved her family, a good brownie, to marvel at the moon, and a good nap.

Jean's husband, Chris, of 53 years and children are in DC where they are ever-present parts of each other's lives. She is dearly missed, and we will carry her in our hearts forever.

A celebration of life will be held at a later date. Expressions of sympathy can be shared with the family at www.rappfuneral.com

DEATH NOTICE

COSGROVE



LAURA COSGROVE
1922-2022: 100 Years of Fun!

Laura Cosgrove passed away on June 23, 2022, at the young age of 100! Born in New York, she lived in Staten Island, NY, New Jersey, Chicago, IL and then in Washington, DC since 1960. She is preceded in death by her husband, Thomas Cosgrove. She is survived by her children: Debbie Castell, Kevin Cosgrove and Greg (Rhin) Cosgrove; seven grandchildren: Kate (Carlos), Amy (TJ), Christopher (Katy), Tom (Rachel), Samantha (Philip), Lucy (Zach), Matthew (Cassandra); and five great-grandchildren: Adriana, Brooke, Rafael, Jack and Tristan.

Laura truly lived "the world is my family!" She was loved and will be missed by many families and friends across the US and in other countries. As she always signed her cards and letters, we wish everyone who cared about her "Peace & Love".

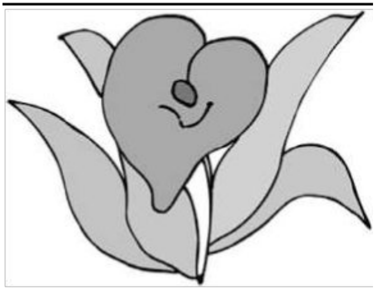
Private services held on July 1, 2022. Burial at Gate of Heaven.

ETCHISON



BARBARA ETCHISON

Barbara Etchison, formally of Arnold, MD, passed away on Friday, April 28, 2023. Beloved wife of the late Luther J. Etchison, Jr., devoted mother of four, grandmother of eight and great-grandmother of 11. A gathering and memorial service will be held at Lasting Tributes Funeral Care in Annapolis, Maryland on Saturday, June 10, 2023 from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. To read Barbara's full obituary and leave online condolences visit
www.LastingTributesFuneralCare.com



DEATH NOTICE

FREEDHEIM



DONALD K. FREEDHEIM
AUGUST 31, 1932 - MAY 15, 2023

Donald K. Freedheim, a devoted husband, brother, father, and grandfather, is survived by his beloved wife Gerda, his three daughters and their spouses, Amy Freedheim (Yvonne Curtis), Julie Bargeski (Mark), and Sara Newman (David); his six adoring grandchildren, Alisa and Rachel Bargeski, Benjamin Freedheim, Sharon, Emily, and Carolyn Newman; his twin David Freedheim, and his brother-in-law Don Collins. He will be remembered for his contributions to psychology but even more for his kindness, wisdom and generosity and the way he touched so many lives during his long and rich life. To see his full obituary and for detail on a Celebration of Life on June 17: https://www.digni- [digni-] tymemorial.com/obituaries/arlington-va/donald-freedheim-11289055

MACVAUGH



CHRISTY JUNE MACVAUGH (Age 72)
October 20, 1950 - October 5, 2022

Joyful and beloved wife of Lee MacVaugh for 39 years. She died peacefully at her home with her dog Rory at her side.
She graduated from Georgetown University in 1972 with a degree in Language Studies. She received her M.A. degree in 2121 in Social Studies. She spoke fluent Portuguese and Spanish. Her jobs at the OAS and IADB were very rewarding. Godmother to Mia Stephens and Katie Davis. She was born and raised in Boca Raton, Florida. The entire Family misses her every moment of the day. You are forever in our prayers and hearts. You are truly missed. Cece enjoyed travel, beach excursions, and Pilates.
A celebration of her life is being planned. Cece had a very great dedication to her family and loved ones.

IN MEMORIAM | IN MEMORIAM

BANZON



DR. AMANDO DELEON BANZON JR.
"Jun"

You passed away quietly surrounded by our loving family. It was right after your 81st birthday.

You accomplished so much in your Life, giving us a chance to grow up with so many amazing opportunities. You survived living in the caves during WWII , and were barely 10 years old.
Your Father passed away while you were young. We would never meet him. You became a Doctor, started a family and took the giant leap and left your 4 older sisters and Mother (our Lola) in the Philippines.

I remember you liked crisp shirts and ties, handkerchiefs, and shiny shoes. You were the image of Robert Young, the Father Knows Best actor and one of my favorite childhood shows. Back then TV shows were all in black and white, along with I Love Lucy. You were just as stylish as Desi Arnaz in your suits. Your Medical Whitecoat was pressed, monogrammed - very dignified.

Your nephew had told me how proud your older sister was to have you visit, holding your medical bag. Surely, your older sisters, parents would be just as impressed when you became an Air Force Reserve Medical Doctor. You described the outdoor physical survival training you mastered, which was so new to you. You surprised yourself at that amazing task.

Your Private Practices started to thrive and you were busy. We were all growing up.

Education and careers were important, but you always knew your health was a priority.

Later your love of travel , and specialty in languages took you many places.

Though a quiet reserved person, you shared thoughts of wanting to make people laugh at parties - by memorizing countless jokes and stories from the Readers Digest !

I also remember your stereo console, Spanish music and salsa would play and you would be on your feet smiling in one fell swoop. You were cheerful and beaming to the cha cha beat. You taught me that dance. It was our Father - daughter impromptu dance at my wedding on May 22.
It meant so much.

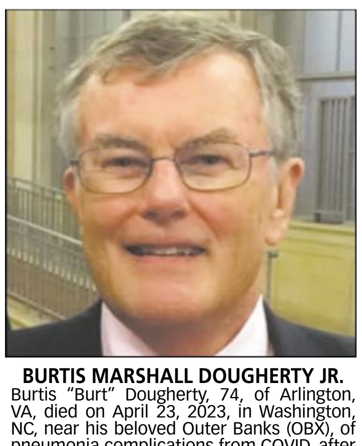
In the following years You had so many happy moments with your seven grandchildren.

I wish you a Happy Birthday Dad and Remember the Day you left us to become a Heavenly Angel, but Still in our hearts forever.

Love, Lisa

DEATH NOTICE | DEATH NOTICE

DOUGHERTY



BURTIS MARSHALL DOUGHERTY JR.

Burtis "Burt" Dougherty, 74, of Arlington, VA, died on April 23, 2023, in Washington, NC, near his beloved Outer Banks (OBX), of pneumonia complications from COVID, after successfully battling Leukemia, Lymphoma and metastatic Squamous Cell cancers for over 10 years.

Born February 16, 1949, in Rochester, NY, Burt was the only child of Rev. Burtis and Elizabeth Dougherty. His father's ministerial career took Burt to Honolulu where he began school at Iolani, and then to Buffalo, NY., where he attended Nichols school, graduating in 1966. He attended Yale University (Pierson College) and graduated in 1970. Following a gap year working on a political campaign and as a substitute teacher, he attended the University of Virginia Law School, graduating as a member of the Order of the Coif in 1974. He then joined the Civil Rights Division of the US Department of Justice (DOJ).

Family was foremost for Burt. On his first day in the Civil Rights Division, he met Salliann Messenger, who became his wife of almost 47 years. He was a devoted father to twin daughters, Meghan and Kelley, and son, Evan. He expressed his love for them in countless ways, including showing unwavering support for their many school and sports activities and their chosen careers. He shared his passion for the Yankees, Jeopardy, and UGA football with Evan, a UGA grad. An adoring grandfather of five, Burt cherished visits, Face Timing, and annual family vacations in OBX with them.

Throughout Burt's 42 years of service, he made enduring contributions to the work of DOJ's Civil Rights Division, protecting the rights of persons facing unlawful discrimination. At his 2016 retirement, Burt reflected: "There is no greater honor than to be able to stand before the Court and say, as a lawyer in this Division, 'I represent the United States of America.'"

In the Division's Education Section, Burt litigated numerous school desegregation cases, helping make the promises of *Brown v. Board of Education* a reality for thousands of public school children. In the Housing and Civil Enforcement Section, he helped develop the protocols for DOJ's fair housing testing program and successfully litigated many of the Division's housing and lending cases. Among those, he led a trial team that attained an over $1 million verdict in a sexual harassment case against a landlord in *US v Veal*, still the largest DOJ fair housing verdict of its type. Most notably, he helped develop and negotiate *US v. Countrywide Financial Corp.* on behalf of Black and Hispanic borrowers, which led to a $335 million consent decree that remains the largest fair lending settlement ever obtained by DOJ. For his exemplary work on that landmark case, Burt received The John Marshall Award from the Attorney General, the DOJ's highest award for outstanding legal achievements for litigation.

Burt was greatly valued by his colleagues. Shina Majeed, Chief, Housing and Civil Enforcement Section, observed ". . . every attorney soon learned they had won the lottery when they were assigned to a case with Burt. Because when you worked with Burt you truly worked with him. He never sought the limelight for himself. His focus was the case and helping less experienced attorneys develop their skills."

Burt is remembered for his kindness, generosity of spirit, great laugh and sense of humor. He treasured his family and his many friends throughout his life.

Burt is survived by his wife, Salliann Messenger Dougherty, his children Meghan Dougherty Pirozzoli (Ken) of Redwood City, CA, Kelley Dougherty Smith (Aaron) of Westlake Village, CA, and Evan Marshall Dougherty (fiancée, Kate Keith) of Palmyra, PA, and five grandchildren, Emory and William Pirozzoli, Reese, Tatum and Brennan Smith.

Burt requested a party to celebrate his life in lieu of a funeral or memorial service. A date has not yet been determined. The family suggests that expressions of sympathy be made to The Skin Cancer Foundation or The Leukemia and Lymphoma Society.

DEATH NOTICE

SAKAI



TOMIKO I. SAKAI

Of Springfield, VA, on May 15, 2023, at the age of 91. Beloved wife of 24 years of the late Thomas Sakai; mother of Henry (Myriam) Sakai and Wayne Sakai; and grandmother of Emily and Lilly. Tomiko loved gardening and time spent with her church family at Prince of Peace Lutheran in Springfield. Services to be planned for a later date. Donations may be made in Tomiko's memory to Prince of Peace Lutheran Church, 8304 Old Keene Mill Road, Springfield, VA 22152.

WATSON



GLORIA DEAN WATSON

On May 11, 2023. Beloved sister of Charlie Watson, Edith Dancy, Willie Watson, Joseph Watson, Zelma Watson, Eunice Peyton, Charles Beale, Sheron Beale and Gail McDonald. She is also survived by a special friend, George Tolson and a host of nieces, nephews relatives and friends. Visitation Saturday May 27 from 10 a.m. until hour of funeral service at 11 a.m. at New Bethany Baptist Church,1300 10th Street NW. Interment Fort Lincoln Cemetery. Services by Bianchi.

WHITE



EDNA WHITE

Peacefully passed away on Sunday, May 14, 2023. Edna was the loving mother of one daughter; and four sons, Mildred, Henry, Leon, Calvin and Max. She is also survived by a host of grandchildren, nieces, nephews, other relatives and friends. On Wednesday, May 24, 2023, friends may visit with the family from 10 a.m. until time of service at 11 a.m. at Canaan Baptist Church, 1607 Monroe St. NW. Interment Ft. Lincoln Cemetery.

Marshall-March Funeral Homes

DEATH NOTICES
MONDAY- FRIDAY 8:30 a.m. - 5 p.m.
SATURDAY-SUNDAY 11 a.m. - 4 p.m.

To place a notice, call:
202-334-4122
800-627-1150 ext 4-4122
EMAIL:
deathnotices@washpost.com

Email and faxes MUST include name, home address & home phone # of the responsible billing party.
Email deadline - 3 p.m. daily
Phone-In deadline
4 p.m. M-F
3 p.m. Sa-Su

CURRENT 2023 RATES:
(PER DAY)

MONDAY-SATURDAY
Black & White
1" - $155 (text only)
2" - $355 (text only)
3" - $505
4" - $555
5" - $700

SUNDAY
Black & White
1"- $185 (text only)
2" - $390 (text only)
3" - $560
4" - $590
5" - $765

6"+ for ALL Black & White notices
$155 each additional inch Mon - Sat
$185 each additional inch Sunday

MONDAY-SATURDAY
Color
3" - $650
4" - $700
5" - $855

SUNDAY
Color
3" - $685
4" - $785
5" - $955

6"+ for ALL color notices
$260 each additional inch Mon - Sat
$290 each additional inch Sunday

Notices with photos begin at 3"
(All photos add 2" to your notice.)

ALL NOTICES MUST BE PREPAID

MEMORIAL PLAQUES:
All notices over 2" include complimentary memorial plaque

Additional plaques start at $26 each and may be ordered.

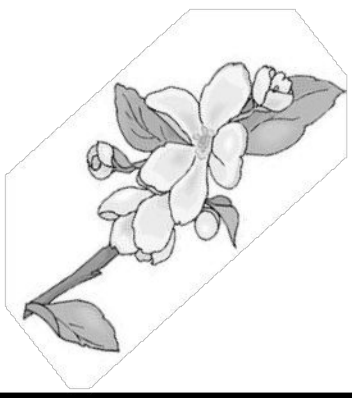
All Paid Death Notices appear on our website through www.legacy.com

LEGACY.COM
Included in all death notices
Optional for In Memoriams

PLEASE NOTE:

Notices must be placed via phone or email. Photos must be emailed. You can no longer place notices, drop off photos and make payment in person. Payment must be made via phone with debit/credit card.

The Washington Post



DEATH NOTICE

QUIGGLE



THOMAS EDMUND QUIGGLE
(Age 64)

Tom Quiggle has joined the angels. He died May 8, 2023, in Washington, DC. Tom was a life-long Washingtonian. He grew up in Spring Valley, graduated from St. Albans School, and then Lake Forest College (Illinois).
Tom was masterful in the fine arts. A career photographer, he recorded Washington architecture, landscapes and people with rare insight. Tom also earned his Masters degree at the exclusive Iowa Writers' Workshop for gifted, emerging writers.
And Tom ranked among the greatest artists of his generation at St. Albans. He won two top awards for oils at the school's highly competitive student art show.
Sailing was perhaps Tom's greatest joy. A sunny day plying the Chesapeake Bay's waves brought him calm and tranquility. Friends also fondly remember Tom for his sensitivity, kindness, irreverent wit and impeccable deftness with written words. And Tom was a devoted cat lover. He gave a nurturing home to equally devoted feral felines. Tom quickly learned they possessed playfully sharp claws when salmon dinner was late.
Tom is survived by his older brother James Williams Quiggle. A memorial service is being planned for early fall, in Washington. Kindly make any donations to the Chesapeake Bay Foundation.

ST. GERMAIN



LINDA J. ST. GERMAIN

On May 8, 2023, Linda Jean St. Germain, age 81, passed away from complications of Alzheimer's at Sierra Vista at Vista Living Care in Santa Fe, New Mexico.
Linda was born in 1942 to Donald B. and Evelyn Rand St. Germain in Manchester, CT. She earned her Bachelor's degree in Art at American University, and a Master's degree in Art Therapy from the George Washington University. As an art therapist, she brought the healing power of art into the lives of countless children experiencing behavioral challenges and trauma, first as Head of Art Therapy at Accotink Academy, and later as an Art Therapist in the Children's Grief Program at Hospice of Northern Virginia (now Capital Caring).
Linda met her husband Alan W. Eckert, also of Santa Fe, in 1969. They married on September 5, 1970, in Vienna, VA and lived in Northern Virginia until 2004, when they both retired and moved to Santa Fe. She was never far from a paint brush, sketch pad or drawing pencils and could be found in her studio creating anything from textiles and fiber art to oil paintings, pastel drawings, and collections of found objects filling her Santa Fe home.
Besides her art, Linda was a classical ballet dancer from the age of 4, and continued dance classes well into her 70s. It was through art and movement that Linda could express herself in ways that words could not.
She also loved her pet rabbits, which she had cherished in succession since the 1970s.
Linda was preceded in death by her parents. She is survived by her husband, Alan; and her brother Joseph B. St. Germain (Carol) of Springfield, VA; niece Cami St. Germain (Bob Steere); grand nephew Evan Ruck, and many loving friends and family.
A private gathering of family and friends will be held this summer. In lieu of flowers, contributions may be made in her memory to Capital Caring, 3180 Fairview Park Drive, Suite 500, Falls Church, VA 22042.

WALTERS



JAMES DALE WALTERS

James Dale Walters of Aldie, VA, died peacefully on May 10, 2023, surrounded by his family. Born January 18, 1938, in Nemacolin, PA, he was predeceased by his parents, Mary and Bill Hanish, and his grandson Ryan Frangione. He is survived by his wife Suzanne Burke Walters; sons, Greg Walters (Sara), Brett Walters (Amy) and daughter Kristine Frangione (Steve); grandchildren, Stephanie Frangione, Evan Walters, Trinity Walters, and Kylie Frangione; great-granddaughter Rylan Cayen and a host of in-laws and friends. Jim was devoted to his family, thoughtful and generous. Jim was a self-made trailblazer. His drive, thirst for knowledge and curiosity took him from the small coal mining town of Nemacolin, PA, to George Washington University on a basketball scholarship. Jim settled in Northern Virginia where he had a celebrated career as an educator. He served as teacher, basketball coach, Director of Student Activities, and Principal throughout Fairfax County Public Schools. He was instrumental in starting the Special Olympics in Northern Virginia and served as its first Virginia State Director. In retirement, Jim and his wife Suzanne set out to see the world and visited over sixty countries together. His family gratefully acknowledges the kindness and comfort the Adler Center for Caring afforded Jim in his final days. Visitation will be hosted at Fairfax Memorial Funeral Home, 9902 Braddock Road, Fairfax, VA on June 2, 2023 from 5 p.m. to 8 p.m., and Jim will be interred at Fairfax Memorial Cemetery on June 3, 2023 in a private ceremony. Memorial gifts may be made to Adler Center for Caring in Aldie,-VA. Full obituary at Fairfax Memorial Funeral Home.
www.fairfaxmemorialfuneralhome.com

THE WEATHER

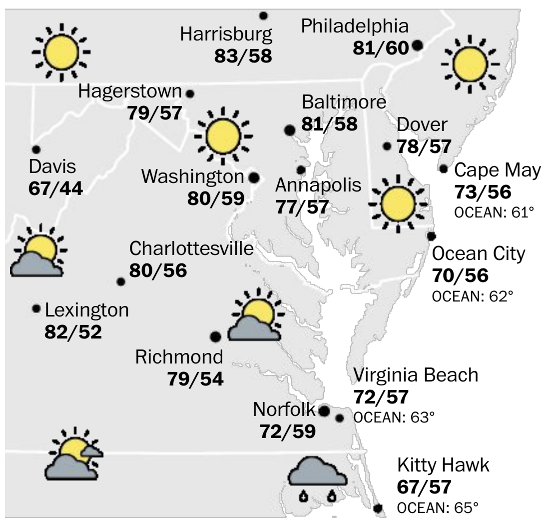
WASHINGTONPOST.COM/WEATHER · TWITTER: @CAPITALWEATHER · FACEBOOK.COM/CAPITALWEATHER

Comfortably warm and sunny

It's a gorgeous day with pretty much nonstop sunshine and comfortable, dry air moving in. High temperatures again aim for the upper 70s to low 80s. Dew points are nice, too, in the 40s. Northwest breezes could occasionally gust around 20 mph. Overnight, clear skies dominate with light northerly breezes continuing to supply dry air. Low temperatures fall into the mid-50s to near 60 degrees.

Today	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
Sunny	Partly sunny	Partly sunny	Sunny	Partly sunny	Mostly cloudy
80° 59°	82° 58°	78° 55°	81° 58°	71° 55°	74° 57°
FEELS*: **81°**	FEELS: **86°**	FEELS: **81°**	FEELS: **86°**	FEELS: **74°**	FEELS: **78°**
CHNCE PRECIP: **0%**	P: **5%**	P: **5%**	P: **10%**	P: **15%**	P: **20%**
WIND: **NW 8–16 mph**	W: **ENE 7–14 mph**	W: **E 7–14 mph**	W: **SE 6–12 mph**	W: **NNE 8–16 mph**	W: **E 4–8 mph**
HUMIDITY: **Low**	H: **Low**	H: **Low**	H: **Low**	H: **Low**	H: **Low**

REGION



Pollen: High

Grass	High
Trees	High
Weeds	Low
Mold	Low

Air Quality: Good
Dominant cause: Particulates

UV: Very High
10 out of 11+

Blue Ridge: Today, sunny; the start of an extended stretch of dry weather. High 61 to 70. Winds north 7–14 mph. Tonight, clear. Low 48 to 52. Winds north–northeast 6–12 mph. Monday, partly sunny in central parts; increasing cloudiness elsewhere.

Atlantic beaches: Today, partly sunny; a couple of morning showers in the south. High 70 to 75. Winds west–northwest 6–12 mph. Tonight, clear. Low 55 to 59. Winds west 4–8 mph. Monday, mostly sunny. High 71 to 77. Winds north–northeast 10–20 mph.

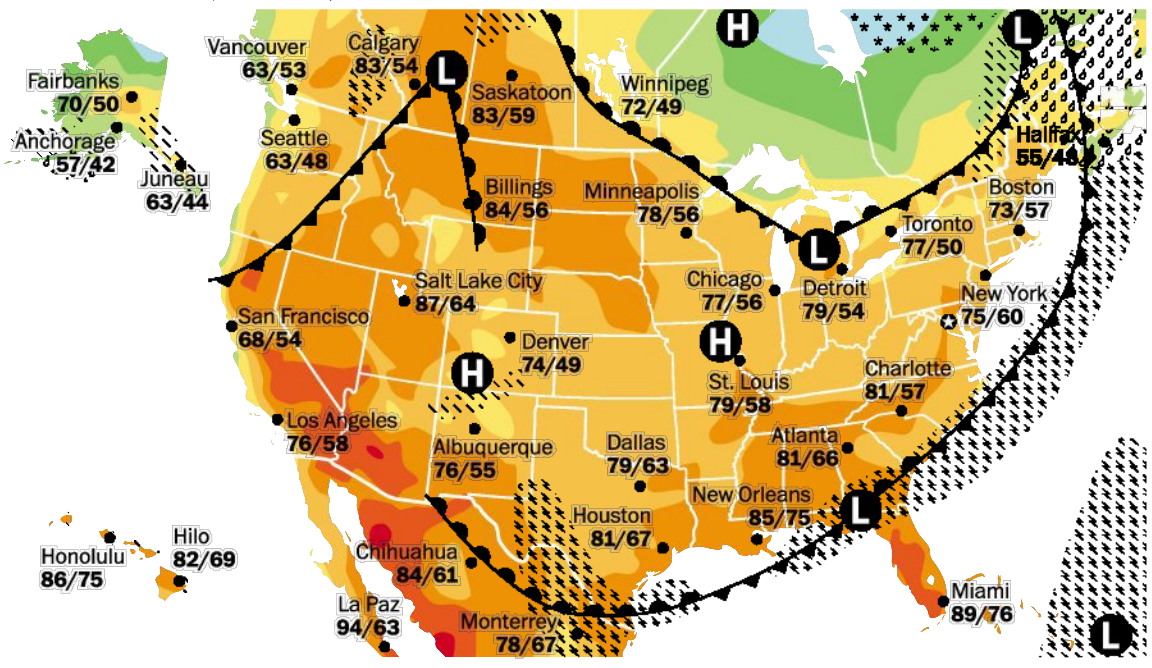
Waterways: *Upper Potomac River*: Today, sunshine. Wind north–northwest 6–12 knots. Waves 1–3 feet. Visibility clear to the horizon. • *Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay*: Today, partly sunny. Wind northwest 7–14 knots. Waves 1–2 feet on the Lower Potomac; 2–4 feet on the Chesapeake Bay.• *River Stages*: The stage at Little Falls will be around 3.60 feet today, falling to 3.50 Monday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

Today's tides (High tides in **Bold**)

Washington	4:24 a.m.	**9:53 a.m.**	5:23 p.m.	**10:35 p.m.**
Annapolis	12:23 a.m.	**7:23 a.m.**	2:04 p.m.	**7:13 p.m.**
Ocean City	3:36 a.m.	**9:23 a.m.**	3:20 p.m.	**9:46 p.m.**
Norfolk	5:39 a.m.	**11:33 a.m.**	5:23 p.m.	**11:48 p.m.**
Point Lookout	**3:13 a.m.**	10:23 a.m.	**3:29 p.m.**	9:05 p.m.

NATION

Weather map features for noon today.



T-storms · Rain · Showers · Snow · Flurries · Ice · Cold Front · Warm Front · Stationary Front

<-10 · -0s · 0s · 10s · 20s · 30s · 40s · 50s · 60s · 70s · 80s · 90s · 100s · 110+

Yesterday's National
High: El Centro, CA **96°**
Low: Daniel, WY **25°**
for the 48 contiguous states

World
High: Jacobabad, Pakistan **118°**
Low: Hall Beach, Canada **4°**
excludes Antarctica

NATIONAL	Today	Tomorrow
Albany, NY	75/51/pc	74/47/s
Albuquerque	76/55/t	80/57/pc
Anchorage	57/42/s	56/44/pc
Atlanta	81/66/pc	77/64/t
Austin	78/60/pc	86/62/pc
Baltimore	81/58/s	82/57/pc
Billings, MT	84/56/s	85/54/t
Birmingham	83/68/pc	79/65/t
Bismarck, ND	83/50/pc	86/58/s
Boise	88/53/t	75/48/s
Boston	73/57/pc	60/50/s
Buffalo	70/48/s	68/50/s
Burlington, VT	72/46/pc	66/42/s
Charleston, SC	80/65/t	79/63/c
Charleston, WV	75/48/s	81/56/s
Charlotte	81/57/c	82/59/pc
Cheyenne, WY	73/45/t	72/47/c
Chicago	77/56/s	77/57/s
Cincinnati	77/55/s	78/55/s
Cleveland	74/52/s	74/54/s
Dallas	79/63/c	84/66/pc
Denver	74/49/pc	76/51/pc
Des Moines	77/56/s	80/56/pc
Detroit	79/54/s	77/54/s
El Paso	88/65/t	94/65/c
Fairbanks, AK	70/50/pc	60/41/r
Fargo, ND	80/53/s	85/60/s
Hartford, CT	73/53/pc	74/49/s
Honolulu	86/75/pc	86/76/pc
Houston	81/67/c	87/65/s
Indianapolis	77/57/s	79/57/pc
Jackson, MS	83/62/pc	83/64/s
Jacksonville, FL	87/70/t	78/66/r
Kansas City, MO	76/55/s	79/58/s
Las Vegas	94/75/s	94/75/c
Little Rock	77/59/pc	81/62/pc
Los Angeles	76/58/pc	74/59/pc
Louisville	79/57/s	82/59/pc
Memphis	80/61/pc	82/64/pc
Miami	89/76/t	90/76/t
Milwaukee	74/55/s	72/54/pc
Minneapolis	78/56/s	79/60/pc
Nashville	79/57/pc	82/60/s
New Orleans	85/75/pc	84/72/pc
New York City	75/60/pc	72/53/s
Norfolk	72/59/sh	76/60/s
Oklahoma City	75/57/pc	78/60/c
Omaha	80/52/s	81/56/s
Orlando	91/74/t	87/70/r
Philadelphia	81/60/s	79/56/s
Phoenix	99/76/s	100/75/s
Pittsburgh	75/48/s	76/54/s
Portland, ME	73/50/c	63/41/s
Portland, OR	71/52/c	68/51/pc
Providence, RI	74/55/pc	69/45/s
Raleigh, NC	79/54/sh	82/57/pc
Reno, NV	82/55/t	85/55/pc
Richmond	79/54/c	83/56/pc
Sacramento	86/55/s	92/54/s
St. Louis	79/58/s	81/60/s
St. Thomas, VI	87/78/sh	85/78/sh
Salt Lake City	87/64/t	85/64/t
San Diego	68/61/pc	69/61/pc
San Francisco	68/54/pc	69/52/pc
San Juan, PR	87/76/t	85/75/sh
Seattle	63/48/c	63/47/pc
Spokane, WA	75/48/t	64/44/pc
Syracuse	73/48/pc	72/45/pc
Tampa	92/77/t	89/72/r
Wichita	74/57/pc	73/62/sh

WORLD	Today	Tomorrow
Addis Ababa	73/55/sh	75/54/sh
Amsterdam	69/55/c	66/51/pc
Athens	71/59/t	70/60/t
Auckland	64/54/s	62/53/sh
Baghdad	93/70/pc	101/76/pc
Bangkok	101/84/pc	102/83/t
Beijing	81/58/pc	84/54/s
Berlin	80/57/t	79/56/pc
Bogota	67/53/t	66/52/sh
Brussels	72/55/t	68/52/pc
Buenos Aires	66/60/c	68/62/c
Cairo	97/77/s	92/68/s
Caracas	78/64/t	75/63/t
Copenhagen	70/54/pc	70/53/pc
Dakar	82/73/c	81/73/c
Dublin	61/49/sh	62/43/c
Edinburgh	59/49/pc	63/44/c
Frankfurt	81/58/pc	82/58/t
Geneva	73/55/t	75/56/t
Ham., Bermuda	78/71/sh	75/71/r
Helsinki	73/46/pc	71/51/sh
Ho Chi Minh City	92/79/t	92/79/t
Hong Kong	90/82/t	90/77/t
Islamabad	104/78/c	106/80/c
Istanbul	67/57/pc	69/57/pc
Jerusalem	79/66/pc	89/61/s
Johannesburg	67/42/s	66/43/s
Kabul	81/57/c	82/56/c
Kingston, Jam.	87/78/t	88/77/sh
Kolkata	97/83/pc	99/82/pc
Kyiv	68/48/pc	71/51/pc
Lagos	86/78/t	88/77/t
Lima	76/68/pc	76/67/c
Lisbon	70/56/pc	71/57/t
London	66/49/pc	69/49/pc
Madrid	71/53/t	74/54/t
Manila	92/81/t	93/81/t
Mexico City	80/59/pc	80/59/sh
Montreal	73/43/pc	63/44/s
Moscow	64/49/pc	68/55/sh
Mumbai	94/83/s	93/83/s
Nairobi	81/61/pc	78/60/t
New Delhi	111/87/pc	107/88/pc
Oslo	77/49/pc	77/52/t
Ottawa	72/39/pc	64/40/s
Paris	72/55/t	70/53/pc
Prague	77/52/t	77/55/t
Rio de Janeiro	78/66/c	78/69/pc
Riyadh	103/77/pc	105/81/c
Rome	74/55/t	74/57/t
San Salvador	92/70/pc	89/70/pc
Santiago	59/47/sh	64/46/sh
Sarajevo	74/49/t	73/50/t
Seoul	73/57/c	82/56/pc
Shanghai	84/66/c	71/59/r
Singapore	88/78/t	89/79/sh
Stockholm	69/47/pc	71/46/pc
Sydney	66/46/pc	67/47/s
Taipei City	91/75/c	96/68/sh
Tehran	83/68/c	87/70/c
Tokyo	74/66/pc	79/60/pc
Toronto	77/50/s	64/48/s
Vienna	77/56/t	77/55/pc
Warsaw	75/48/pc	72/48/pc

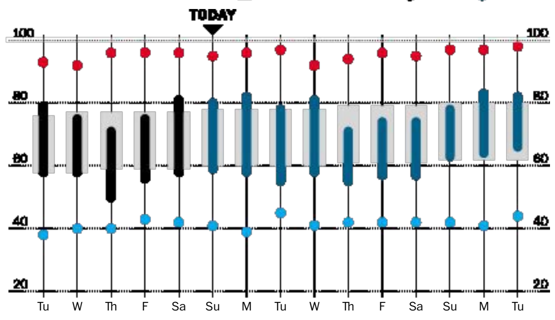
Key: **s**-sunny, **pc**-partly cloudy, **c**-cloudy, **r**-rain, **sh**- showers, **t**-thunderstorms, **sf**-snow flurries, **sn**-snow, **i**-ice

Sources: **AccuWeather.com**; US Army Centralized Allergen Extract Lab (pollen data); airnow.gov (air quality data); National Weather Service

* AccuWeather's **RealFeel Temperature®** combines over a dozen factors for an accurate measure of how the conditions really "feel."

OFFICIAL RECORD

Temperatures

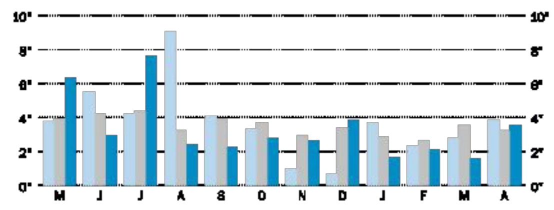


Statistics through 5 p.m. Saturday

	National	Dulles	BWI
High	**81°** 3:59 p.m.	**82°** 3:24 p.m.	**79°** 4:00 p.m.
Low	**58°** 6:00 a.m.	**51°** 4:50 a.m.	**58°** 3:00 a.m.
Normal	77°/59°	76°/54°	76°/55°
Record high	96° 1996	93° 1996	95° 1962
Record low	42° 2002	36° 2002	39° 2002

Difference from 30–yr. avg. (National): this month: **–2.1°** yr. to date: **+3.9°**

Precipitation



	National	Dulles	BWI
Past 24 hours	0.00"	0.00"	0.00"
Total this month	0.26"	0.75"	0.40"
Normal	2.53"	2.99"	2.42"
Total this year	9.14"	9.25"	9.87"
Normal	14.72"	15.51"	15.80"

Moon Phases

May 27	June 3	June 10	June 18
First Quarter	Full	Last Quarter	New

Solar system

	Rise	Set
Sun	5:51 a.m.	8:19 p.m.
Moon	6:58 a.m.	10:49 p.m.
Venus	8:45 a.m.	11:52 p.m.
Mars	10:07 a.m.	12:42 a.m.
Jupiter	4:31 a.m.	5:48 p.m.
Saturn	2:19 a.m.	1:17 p.m.



NBA PLAYOFFS
The Nuggets push aside the Lakers again to take a 3-0 lead in the lopsided Western Conference finals. **D3**

BASEBALL
Lane Thomas is busting out this month, and his hot hitting helps the Nationals snap a four-game skid. **D5**

SOCCER
D.C. United's second-half scoring outburst allows it to cruise past the lowly LA Galaxy at Audi Field. **D7**



ASHLEY LANDIS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Brittney Griner returned to WNBA action amid chants of "Welcome home BG!" and had 18 points, six rebounds and four blocks in the Mercury's loss in Los Angeles.

In defeat, a great triumph

WNBA icon Griner is back on the court after spending most of 2022 in Russian custody

BY GUS GARCIA-ROBERTS

LOS ANGELES — Brittney Griner crouched slightly at the half-court line, leaped and extended a long arm over her lean 6-foot-9 frame to easily bat the ball backward to her teammate. It was one of several movements — the tip-off to start the game — Griner has performed hundreds of times over the past decade as a dominant center for the Phoenix Mercury.

But doing it again, and this soon — in a fired-up arena with the vice president in attendance — would have been nearly impossible to picture less than a year ago, when Griner was shackled in a Russian court, being sentenced to nine years in prison.

By the scoreboard alone, Griner's return Friday to professional basketball, as Phoenix took on the Los Angeles Sparks to open the 2023 WNBA season, was a rout. The Sparks claimed a 94-71 victory, and Griner had 18 points, six rebounds and four blocks in 25 minutes. But her return cemented one of the most unlikely comeback stories in sports history — and one of the most unusual.

Griner, a top star in her league, faced a dark future in a penal colony as a pawn in international relations after customs officials in Russia, where she played for a professional team during the WNBA offseason, found vape cartridges with cannabis oil in her luggage. She ultimately spent 294 days in Russian custody before being returned to the United States in December in a controversial prisoner swap for

SEE GRINER ON D3

At the PGA, Koepka's mettle faces another test

BY CHUCK CULPEPPER

ROCHESTER, N.Y. — A 33-year-old who became one of the best finishers in all of sports but then somehow couldn't finish anymore will get a glowing chance to finish Sunday at the 105th PGA Championship. Major golf will be at it again, subjecting its contestants' guts to its eccentric MRI exam.

Brooks Koepka and his guts, which last decade announced themselves as humongous, will wake Sunday with a one-shot lead, a matter that used to mean you would bet on Koepka except that nobody should bet on something as capricious as golf. He finished a rainy and more rainy Saturday at hallowed Oak Hill with a second straight 66 that took him to 6 under par, with booming Norwegian Viktor Hovland and steady Canadian Corey Conners at 5 under, resilient Bryson DeChambeau at 3 under, Justin Rose and Scottie Scheffler at 2 under, and Rory McIlroy at

SEE PGA ON D6

PGA CHAMPIONSHIP
Through three rounds at Oak Hill

POS.		TO PAR
1	Brooks Koepka	**-6**
T2	Viktor Hovland	**-5**
T2	Corey Conners	**-5**
4	B. DeChambeau	**-3**
T5	Justin Rose	**-2**
T5	Scottie Scheffler	**-2**

Today's TV: 10 a.m., ESPN; 1 p.m., CBS

No. 8 seed? Heat shows that is just a number.



Candace Buckner

BOSTON — From now on, let's forget about the whole No. 8 seed business. Toss it out. Consider it an unfortunate typo discovered in the NBA playoffs bracket or an arbitrary digit there for window dressing.

It now feels like an insult to attach that number to the Miami Heat.

Eighth seeds don't play like this team. They don't invade a notoriously loud and hostile arena, pillaging home-court advantage and leaving the locals in white and green stunned and silenced. They don't overcome a 12-point deficit in the fourth quarter, then hold their opponent — the one with a pair of all-NBA stars — to two field goals in the last six minutes. They certainly don't win the first pair of games in the Eastern Conference finals, performing like the tougher, better-

SEE BUCKNER ON D3

Game 3: Celtics at Heat
Today, 8:30 p.m., TNT

Clashing emotions engulf Preakness

National Treasure's win for Baffert overshadowed by death in earlier race

BY DAVE SHEININ

BALTIMORE — Bob Baffert, Pimlico Race Course and the entire sport of horse racing had a little more than five hours Saturday to travel between the poles of tragedy and triumph. Between Havnameltdown's on-track euthanizing in the afternoon haze and National Treasure's dazzling victory in the Preakness under the long shadows of evening, the music kept blaring from the infield festival stage, six other races went off without a hitch and Baffert's name trended on Twitter — and not for any good reasons.

The quick version of history from Saturday's second leg of horse racing's Triple Crown will first note National Treasure's gutsy victory over runner-up Blazing Sevens and five other rivals in the smallest Preakness field in 37 years. The victory ruined the Triple Crown hopes of Kentucky Derby winner Mage, who finished third, and gave Baffert, the embattled Hall of Fame trainer, his record-breaking eighth Preakness title.

"It's been a very emotional day," Baffert said, choking back tears during NBC's post-race interview.

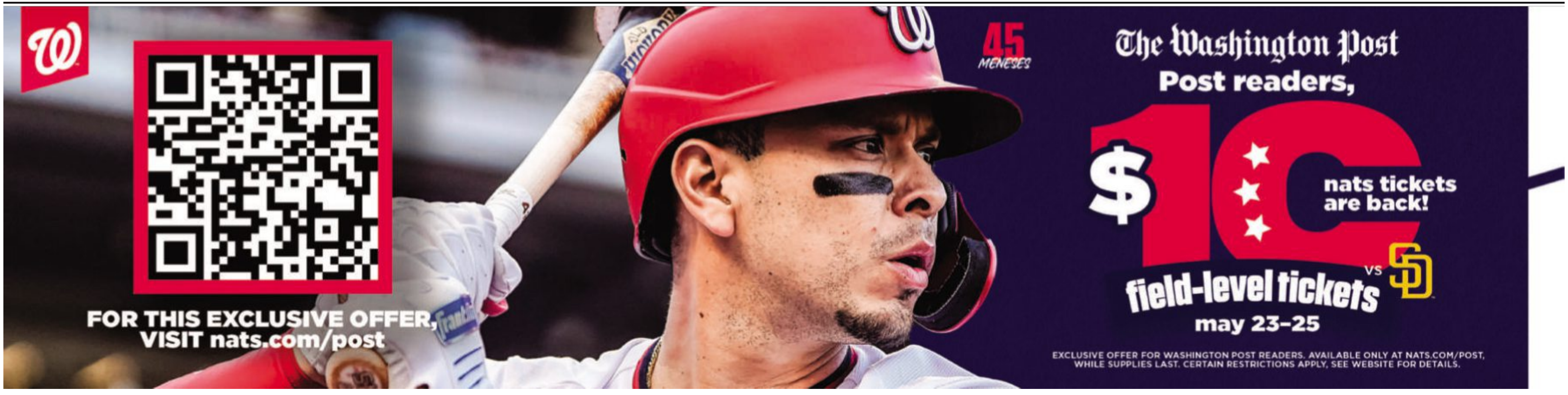
But sometime long from now, if horse racing has been changed permanently for the better or deemed too corrupt and cruel to be allowed to continue, it could be Saturday's sixth race, rather than the more hyped 13th, that carries the weight of history. That is when Havnameltdown, trained and saddled Saturday by Baffert, broke down, threw his jockey and

SEE PREAKNESS ON D10



JONATHAN NEWTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

National Treasure, right, and jockey John Velazquez get physical with Blazing Sevens down the stretch at Pimlico Race Course.



DIGEST

TENNIS

Rybakina is champion at rainy Italian Open

Elena Rybakina of Kazakhstan won the Italian Open when Ukrainian opponent **Anhelina Kalinina** retired injured early in the second set of the rain-delayed final Saturday night in Rome.

Rybakina, the defending Wimbledon champion, was leading, 6-4, 1-0, 15-0, when Kalinina called for a trainer and grasped her left leg. Then she decided that she could not continue.

Because of rain delays throughout the day, the final began at almost 11 p.m. local time and ended just after midnight.

Holger Rune will face **Daniil Medvedev** in the men's final Sunday.

The 20-year-old Rune rallied past fourth-ranked **Casper Ruud**, 6-7 (7-2), 6-4, 6-2, then Medvedev beat **Stefanos Tsitsipas**, 7-5, 7-5, in a semifinal that was suspended twice in the first set for a total of nearly 4½ hours because of rain.

It's been quite a year for Rybakina, who reached the final of the Australian Open, also won an elite title in Indian Wells, Calif., and was the runner-up in Miami. On Monday, she'll move up to a career-high No. 4 in the rankings.

Rune's run at the Italian Open has been extraordinary. After the Danish star recorded his second career victory over **Novak Djokovic** in the quarterfinals, he rallied past Norway's Ruud.

Rune, who had lost all four previous matches against Ruud, is 7-1 in his career against players ranked in the top five.

HOCKEY

Switzerland rallied from a goal behind to top Canada, 3-2, in Riga, Latvia, in a clash of two undefeated teams at the ice hockey world championship.

Tyler Toffoli put Canada ahead midway through the second period on a power play, but the Swiss answered with goals from **Nico Hischier** and **Dario Simon** in the frame.

Andres Ambuhl stretched the advantage to two in the final period, then **Michael Carcone** deflected in a slap shot by **Brad Hunt** for Canada to reduce the lead to one with 3:38 to go.

Canada pulled its goaltender for an extra attacker, but the Swiss held on for the win.

Also, the United States shut out Denmark, 3-0, in Tampere, Finland, to stay perfect in the tournament.

Alex Tuch scored one goal and added two assists to earn the United States a fifth straight victory. Goaltender **Casey DeSmith** stopped 22 shots.

The Americans lead Group A with 15 points and have secured a spot in the quarterfinals. The top four teams from the two eight-team groups advance to the knockout stage.

Switzerland leads Group B with five wins in as many games.

CYCLING

Nico Denz sprinted to his second victory in the Giro d'Italia after almost celebrating too early, while **Bruno Armirail** became the first Frenchman to wear the pink jersey in this century.

Denz lifted his arms in celebration as he crossed the line at the end of the 14th stage, but he appeared not to have spotted **Derek Gee** on his right. However, the German cyclist managed to nip Gee by half a wheel.

Alberto Bettiol finished third, while the general classification riders rolled across the line more than 21 minutes behind Denz at the end of a cold and rainy stage.

There was one top-category climb near the start at Sierre as the race headed from Switzerland back across to Italy and an almost entirely flat rest of the 193-kilometer (120-mile) route to Cassano Magnago.

Armirail has an advantage of 1 minute 41 seconds over **Geraint Thomas**, with **Primoz Rogli** two seconds further back.

AUTO RACING

Daniel Suarez and **Chris Buescher** will start on the front row for Sunday night's NASCAR All-Star Race at North Wilkesboro Speedway after winning their respective 60-lap heats.

Suarez beat out **Joey Logano** in the first heat at the 0.625-mile, renovated North Carolina track. Buescher won the second heat after leading all 60 laps.

Logano and **Austin Dillon** will start on the second row. . . .

In the first day of Indianapolis 500 qualifying, **Felix Rosenqvist** led the Arrow McLaren Racing charge by posting the fastest four-lap average at Indianapolis Motor Speedway. His late-afternoon run of 233.947 mph was the third-fastest four-lap qualifying effort in race history.

BOXING

Chantelle Cameron won a showdown of undisputed and undefeated champions by majority decision over **Katie Taylor** in Dublin.

Taylor, 36, the 2012 Olympic gold medalist whose lightweight belts were not on the line, fell to 22-1 after the judges scored the fight 96-94, 96-94 and 95-95 in front of a capacity crowd at 3Arena.

Cameron, 32, is 18-0 and remained the undisputed super-lightweight champion.

— From news services

TELEVISION AND RADIO

MLB

1:30 p.m.	**Detroit at Washington** » MASN2, WJFK (106.7 FM)
1:30 p.m.	**Baltimore at Toronto** » MASN, WIYY (97.9 FM), WSBN (630 AM)
1:30 p.m.	**Chicago Cubs at Philadelphia** » MLB Network
4:30 p.m.	**Minnesota at Los Angeles Angels** » MLB Network (joined in progress)
7 p.m.	**Cleveland at New York Mets, second game** » ESPN

NBA PLAYOFFS

8:30 p.m.	**Eastern Conference finals, Game 3: Boston at Miami** » TNT

STANLEY CUP PLAYOFFS

3 p.m.	**Western Conference finals, Game 2: Dallas at Vegas** » WJLA (Ch. 7), WMAR (Ch. 2)

WNBA

1 p.m.	**Commissioner's Cup: Washington at Connecticut** » NBC Sports Washington
4 p.m.	**Chicago at Phoenix** » ESPN

AUTO RACING

4 p.m.	**IndyCar: Indianapolis 500, qualifying** » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
5 p.m.	**NASCAR Cup Series: All-Star Open** » Fox Sports 1
8 p.m.	**NASCAR Cup Series: All-Star Race** » Fox Sports 1

GOLF

10 a.m.	**PGA Championship, final round** » ESPN
1 p.m.	**PGA Championship, final round** » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13)
1 p.m.	**Ladies European Tour: Aramco team series, final round** » Golf Channel

SOCCER

7 a.m.	**French Ligue 1: Rennes at Ajaccio** » beIN Sports
8:30 a.m.	**English Premier League: Leeds United at West Ham United** » USA Network
9 a.m.	**French Ligue 1: Strasbourg at Troyes** » beIN Sports
11 a.m.	**French Ligue 1: Lens at Lorient** » beIN Sports
11 a.m.	**English Premier League: Chelsea at Manchester City** » USA Network
Noon	**Italian Serie A: Inter Milan at Napoli** » CBS Sports Network
2:45 p.m.	**French Ligue 1: Paris Saint-Germain at Auxerre** » beIN Sports
5 p.m.	**Under-20 Men's World Cup, Group D: Italy vs. Brazil** » Fox Sports 1

TENNIS

6 a.m.	**ATP: Geneva Open, early rounds; Lyon Open, early rounds; WTA: Strasbourg International, early rounds; Morocco Open, early rounds** » Tennis Channel
10 a.m.	**ATP: Italian Open, final** » Tennis Channel

USFL

Noon	**New Orleans vs. Philadelphia** » Fox Sports 1
4 p.m.	**New Jersey at Houston** » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)

HOCKEY

9 a.m.	**Men's world championship, Group A: Slovakia vs. Slovenia** » NHL Network
1 p.m.	**Men's world championship, Group A: France vs. United States** » NHL Network

TRACK AND FIELD

2 p.m.	**Bermuda Grand Prix** » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)

NCAA MEN'S LACROSSE TOURNAMENT QUARTERFINALS

Noon	**Army vs. Penn State** » ESPNU
2:30 p.m.	**Johns Hopkins vs. Notre Dame** » ESPNU

NCAA SOFTBALL TOURNAMENT

Noon	**Regionals, Game 3** » ACC Network, ESPN2
2 p.m.	**Regionals, Game 3** » ACC Network, ESPN2, SEC Network
4 p.m.	**Regionals, Game 3** » ACC Network, ESPN2, SEC Network
5 p.m.	**Regionals, Game 3** » ESPNU
6 p.m.	**Regionals, Game 3** » ESPN2, SEC Network
7 p.m.	**Regionals, Game 3** » ESPNU
8:30 p.m.	**Regionals, Game 3** » ESPN2
9 p.m.	**Regionals, Game 3** » ESPNU

Harris group is in 'constructive' talks with the NFL

Prospective new owner of Commanders working with league on approval

BY NICKI JHABVALA AND MARK MASKE



MATT ROURKE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Josh Harris, leading the group trying to purchase the Commanders, can't have any role in team operations until owners ratify the deal.

Representatives of Josh Harris's group are in conversations with the NFL about the approval process for Harris's $6.05 billion deal to purchase the Washington Commanders from Daniel Snyder, according to three people familiar with the discussions, but Harris cannot have any role in team operations until the deal is ratified by the league's team owners.

Harris's group is "actively working with the league on the approval process" and the discussions are "constructive," one of the people with knowledge of the deliberations said. Another called the conversations typical of those that occur during any NFL franchise sale.

Harris and Snyder have announced a signed, exclusive agreement for Harris and his investors to buy the franchise for what would be an NFL-record price, surpassing the $4.65 billion that a group led by Walmart heir Rob Walton paid last year for the Denver Broncos.

The details of the discussions between Harris's group and the NFL are not known. The NFL finance committee has raised issues related to Harris's deal, according to several people familiar with the committee's deliberations. According to one of those people, the committee believes that Harris's deal, in its current structure, is well above the league's $1.1 billion debt limit for franchise acquisitions.

Harris's group believes the deal complies with the debt limit and all other NFL ownership rules, people connected to the sales process have said.

The deal is being vetted by the eight-owner finance committee and ultimately must be approved by at least 24 of the 32 owners. The owners generally follow whatever recommendation is made by the finance committee. The NFL confirmed Thursday that a ratification vote will not be taken during the league meeting scheduled for Monday and Tuesday in Minneapolis.

Kansas City Chiefs owner Clark Hunt, chairman of the finance committee, has vowed to keep working with the Harris deal to structure it in a way that is acceptable to the committee, a person familiar with the deliberations has said. The owners are eager to see Snyder leave the NFL and would like to make the deal with Harris work if at all possible, several people with direct knowledge of the league's inner workings and the owners' views have said.

A person familiar with the committee's deliberations has described the Harris deal as unusually complex by NFL standards and containing a large number of limited partners. Harris identified a dozen investors, including two families, when he announced the completion of the deal with Snyder, and he said there are others. The deal contains an "earn out" that would provide Snyder with a deferred payment in which the amount would be contingent upon the franchise's ability to reach specified benchmarks in its business performance, according to five people with knowledge of the terms of the deal. One of them said that payment could be for as much as $200 million of the $6.05 billion sale price.

The Harris group and the Commanders seem eager for the deal to be approved so they can get to work. But they may have to wait for months, if the approval process extends that long. In the meantime, the Commanders must run the franchise without input from the group they hope will be the team's new owners. The prohibition on Harris having a say in team operations before being approved was confirmed Saturday by a person familiar with the NFL's inner workings, who said that restriction applies to any franchise sale, and by Commanders President Jason Wright.

"I think if there are major line items that come above a certain level, some major things that need to be done, we'll talk to Dan and Tanya [Snyder] about it," Wright said during a flag football clinic at the team's Ashburn headquarters. "They can broker a conversation [with Harris] potentially on our behalf. But in the meantime, we're going to keep on operating and hopefully it doesn't take long at all."

But while daily operations of the team can proceed as the league and finance committee vet the sale agreement, the Commanders' search for a new stadium site has paused.

For years, Snyder has unsuccessfully attempted to create a competition among Maryland, Virginia and D.C. and drum up support for a multibillion-dollar stadium and accompanying commercial complex.

He owns the team's headquarters in Virginia as well as FedEx Field in Landover, where the Commanders are obligated to stay until Sept. 13, 2027. That year was touted as the team's target for moving into a new stadium during the early part of Wright's tenure as president. But support from the jurisdictions waned and ultimately sputtered as the team and Snyder became increasingly embroiled in controversy.

Maryland offered a $400 million package to improve the area around FedEx Field but not a new stadium. Virginia tried unsuccessfully to create a stadium authority to oversee the financing and construction of a new facility, but the state's proposed contribution was whittled to $300 million before the plan was scrapped. The District has so far failed to gain control of the 190-acre site on which RFK Stadium sits from the federal government, and the prospect of a new stadium there has staunch critics on the D.C. Council.

The pending sale of the Commanders has renewed outside interest in the team's stadium plans. In recent months, the team has ramped up lobbying efforts for the RFK site.

Carter Elliott IV, press secretary for Maryland Gov. Wes Moore (D), wrote on Twitter this month that Moore "is committed to continuing this long-standing partnership" with the team and "looks forward to continuing conversations with the Commanders about our vision for the future of the team in Maryland" when the sale is approved.

"For us who have been talking to folks in the community behind the scenes, we've known that there's positive engagement and enthusiasm for the potential, again, across all areas — Maryland, the District and Virginia," Wright said. "And so because of that, it's not as surprising to us, but it's just more of a public discussion now. What I like about it is leaders are articulating a vision that we can get behind because that's been what we've said all along. The best thing that we can do is get behind a vision of local leaders who know how to best develop this community economically and socially. That's their expertise."

Wright declined to provide a timetable on the search for a new stadium site and the start of development. Instead, he emphasized that the decision-making over the location and scope of the project will reside with new ownership, which could restart immediately when a sale is finalized.

"I think the fact that Josh has owned pro sports teams and is in the midst of later-stage development discussions around a new venue within Philadelphia, they're pretty well educated on this, and I think they have strong perspectives," Wright said. "They know the ecosystem; they know the architects; they know all of that stuff. . . . It's more about their strategic vision and what they want to accomplish."

WNBA ROUNDUP

Minus suspended coach, Las Vegas routs Seattle

ACES 105, STORM 64

ASSOCIATED PRESS



LINDSEY WASSON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Kelsey Plum, left, and Jackie Young scored 23 points each to lead six Aces players in double figures.

Jackie Young and Kelsey Plum both scored 23 points, and the Las Vegas Aces opened the defense of their WNBA championship with a 105-64 road win over the Seattle Storm on Saturday.

The rematch of last year's WNBA semifinal series won by the Aces in four games on their way to the title featured several changes and absences from that playoff series.

Most notable, Las Vegas was without Coach Becky Hammon following her two-game suspension by the league last week following an investigation into former Aces player Dearica Hamby saying she had been bullied and manipulated for being pregnant.

Hammon denied that Hamby was bullied for being pregnant, saying any ill feelings between the two came from Hamby being traded.

But the Aces didn't miss a beat without their head coach on the sideline. Acting coach Tyler Marsh just had to decide which combinations from the Aces' star-studded roster to call upon, all under the watchful and approving eye of owner Mark Davis looking on from his baseline seat.

Six Aces players finished in double figures. A'ja Wilson had 13 points and 13 rebounds, Chelsea Gray scored 14 points, and Alysha Clark added 10 off the bench.

Then there was two-time MVP Candace Parker. In her debut with the Aces, Parker added 12 points, five rebounds and three blocks. It was the trade of Hamby to the Los Angeles Sparks that cleared salary cap room for the Aces to add Parker and create a roster that makes Las Vegas, along with New York, one of the overwhelming favorites to win the league title, according to FanDuel Sportsbook.

Jewell Loyd led Seattle with 22 points as the Storm began what's expected to be a rebuild season in the next chapter for the franchise. For the first time since 2002, Sue Bird was no longer part of Seattle's roster to start the season following her retirement at the end of last season, although she was sitting courtside for Saturday's game.

• **WINGS 85, DREAM 78:** Arike Ogunbowale scored 20 of her 27 points as Dallas built a 17-point halftime lead, and the Wings beat Atlanta at home in the season opener for both teams.

Satou Sabally added 25 points and Natasha Howard had 20 points, 10 rebounds, three steals and two blocks for Dallas. Howard, a three-time WNBA champion and the league's 2019 defensive player of the year, was acquired in a trade in January.

Ogunbowale scored 12 points, including the final 10, in a 19-0 run that made it 33-18 when she hit a three-pointer to cap the spurt with about six minutes left in the first half.

Allisha Gray converted a three-point play that trimmed Atlanta's deficit to 81-78 with 1:04 to play — the closest the Dream had been since the first quarter — but Veronica Burton and Sabally each made two free throws from there to cap the scoring.

Rhyne Howard had 20 points and 10 rebounds for the Dream but made just 8 of 24 from the field. Cheyenne Parker added 18 points and 11 rebounds, and Gray, acquired from the Wings via trade in January, had 10 points, seven rebounds and seven assists.

Latricia Trammell won her first game as a WNBA head coach. Trammell, who spent the last four seasons as an assistant with the Sparks, replaced Vickie Johnson in November.

PROFESSIONAL BASKETBALL

NBA PLAYOFFS

Murray-led Denver puts Los Angeles in a 3-0 series hole

NUGGETS 119, LAKERS 108

BY GREG BEACHAM

LOS ANGELES — Jamal Murray scored 37 points, Nikola Jokic added 24 points and eight assists, and the Denver Nuggets rolled to a 3-0 lead in the Western Conference finals with a 119-108 victory over the Los Angeles Lakers on Saturday night.

Kentavious Caldwell-Pope scored 12 of his 17 points in the second half against his former team for the top-seeded Nuggets, who have never been this close to the NBA Finals in 47 years in the league.

Denver blew a big early lead in Game 3 but made a decisive 13-0 run in the fourth quarter to snap the Lakers' nine-game home winning streak since March 26, including seven straight victories since the regular season ended.

No NBA team has rallied from a 3-0 series deficit. Game 4 is Monday night in Los Angeles.

Anthony Davis had 28 points and 18 rebounds for the seventh-seeded Lakers, who hadn't lost three straight games since early February. Los Angeles's prolonged, desperate surge ever since the trade deadline has finally run out of steam against the powerhouse Nuggets, who have won five consecutive playoff games.

LeBron James had 23 points, 12 assists and seven rebounds for Los Angeles, hitting three three-pointers after starting the series 0 for 13 from distance. Austin Reaves added 23 points and seven rebounds, but Rui Hachimura was the only other Lakers scorer to crack double figures with 13 points.

Jokic's streak of four consecutive triple-doubles ended in a fairly quiet game for the two-time MVP. But Murray scored 17 points in a dynamic first quarter following his 23-point fourth quarter two nights ago, and he had 30 points by halftime of Game 3.

Bruce Brown scored 15 points and hit a key three-pointer down the stretch for the Nuggets before Jokic all but iced it on a three-pointer with 3:17 to play.

The Lakers' passionate fans turned out in force for the 17-time champion franchise's first conference finals games at home since 2010, the year of their last title. Los Angeles tried desperately to get back in the series, with James playing 43 minutes after spraining his left ankle in Game 2 on top of his already sore right foot.

But the Nuggets' flight to the coast didn't cool off Murray in the slightest: After lighting up the Lakers to close Game 2, the Canadian guard made his first five shots in Game 3.

Murray's fourth three-pointer of the night made him 11 of 13 from the field for 26 points midway through the second quarter, more than half of Denver's points at an unbelievable pace. Reaves and Davis kept the Lakers in it, with Reaves racking up 15 points, three assists and three rebounds in the second quarter alone.

D'Angelo Russell had another rough game for the Lakers, scoring three points on 1-for-8 shooting in 20 minutes. Russell was the team's biggest addition at the trade deadline, but the point guard has just 21 points in this three-game series.

— Associated Press

Game 4: Nuggets at Lakers
Tomorrow, 8:30 p.m., ESPN



HARRY HOW/GETTY IMAGES

Jamal Murray (37 points) and the Nuggets are a win away from the franchise's first NBA Finals berth.

CANDACE BUCKNER

Heat is no ordinary No. 8 seed, and the Celtics are finding that out the hard way

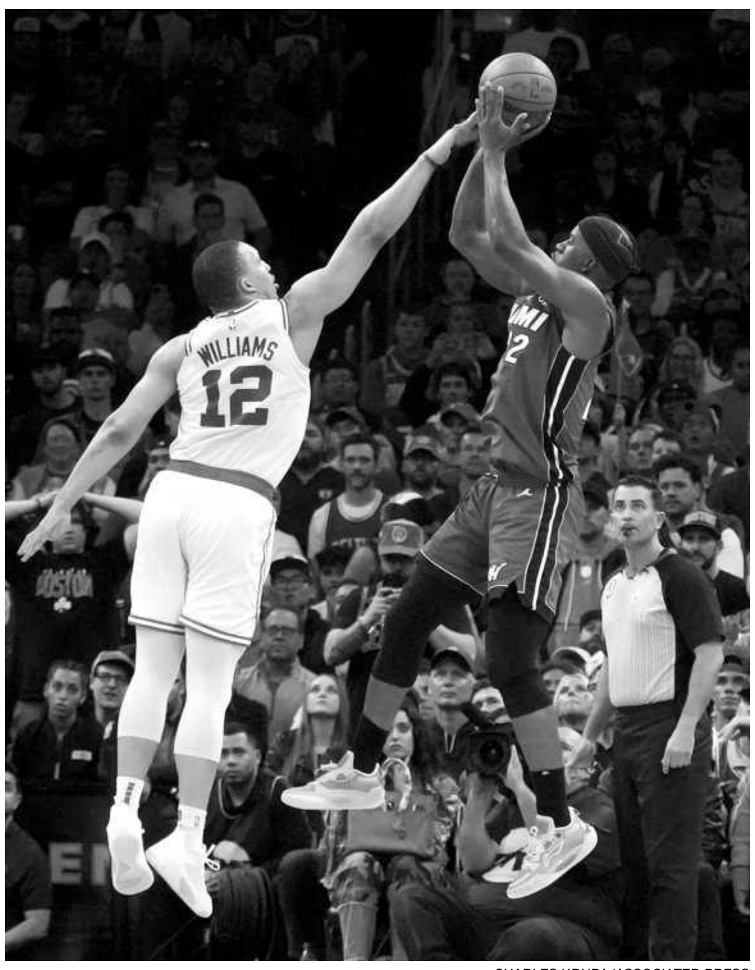
BUCKNER FROM **D1**

organized and more poised outfit that the higher seed only wishes it could be.

On Friday night, Miami made another mockery of the East bracket, picking apart the second-seeded Boston Celtics for a 111-105 win. An eighth seed is approaching the doorstep of the NBA Finals as it reminds everyone that, yes, numbers do lie. That number assigned to the Heat does not reflect the way this team should be viewed.

"I don't think we've ever considered ourselves an eight seed," said Heat forward Caleb Martin, who poured in 25 points off the bench. "Obviously we put ourselves in that position through the regular season, but we always knew what we were capable of as a team. We have always had confidence in each other and great chemistry throughout the team. So we just knew we had to get here and, once we got here, things would play out in our favor."

As for the favorites, the Celtics folded when it mattered. Resembling their worst selves from last year's run to the championship round, the Celtics are still prone to costly, late turnovers, and they still operate in panicked sets — if they try to run anything at all. Jayson Tatum missed his three field goal attempts in the fourth quarter. Jaylen Brown misfired on four of five shots, and as Boston tried to protect its vanishing lead, he committed a traveling turnover.



CHARLES KRUPA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

"We know what we're capable of," said Miami's Jimmy Butler, here shooting over Boston's Grant Williams in his 27-point game Friday.

Despite the experience the Celtics gained from going six games with the Golden State Warriors in the 2022 Finals, this is their second consecutive series in which they've fallen into a serious hole.

"Just effort," center Robert Williams III said. "Playing the right way the whole game, honestly, in my opinion. And trusting each other. We got to gain that trust and keep that trust throughout the whole game."

The Heat has not shown those same limitations in this series. Miami's players have a grown-up vibe about them — even in the morning, when someone chooses the Isley Brothers and then Teddy Pendergrass as background music while they get shots up. "Close the Door" might not be the typical pregame, get-hype tune for most NBA teams. For the Heat, however, it's a slow jam that soothes, then provides subliminal instruction to put the Celtics to bed. Between the two teams, Miami looks like the veteran side ready to play in June.

"We know what we're capable of. We're going to be in this thing until the end together — good, bad, indifferent," said Jimmy Butler, who played all but seven minutes of Game 2 and scored 27 points. "We are who we are . . . and we are going to continue to fight together."

And so moving forward, those numbers in front of the team names — eight and two — should be reimagined.

Eight could very well represent Miami's aggression level. Boston's registers at a measly two. Or eight could stand for the number of points Heat center Bam Adebayo scored in the fourth quarter Friday — as well as the number of rebounds he grabbed in the final frame.

As Miami made its comeback, Adebayo showed little respect for Al Horford's ability to defend him one-on-one, taking him into the paint and drawing two foul shots that trimmed Boston's lead to 100-98 with 3:33 remaining. Then, inside the final minute, Adebayo cleaned up a missed shot by Butler with a putback dunk. A skilled yet powerful big man, Adebayo finished one assist shy of a triple-double with 22 points, 17 rebounds and nine assists.

Also eight: the number of memes "Mad Jimmy" created any time Boston backup Grant Williams attempted to challenge him.

Martin bestowed that latest nickname on his teammate, inspired by a testy fourth-quarter exchange between Butler and Williams. Though postgame Butler expressed admiration for Williams, who logged a surprising 26 minutes after collecting a DNP in Game 1, he showed nothing but disdain after scoring over him, which led to a confrontation in which the two shouted at each other, forehead to forehead.

"That's just competition at its finest. He hit a big shot, started talking to me. I like that. I'm all for that. It makes me key in a lot more," Butler said. "It makes me smile. It does. When people talk to me, I'm like, 'Okay, I know I'm a decent player — if you want to talk to me, out of everybody that you can talk to.' But it's just competition. I do respect him, though. He's a big part of what they try to do. He switches. He can shoot the ball. I just don't know if I'm the best person to talk to."

When their foreheads touched, Boston led 96-87 with 6:22 to play. The Heat closed the game on a 24-9 run. Never talk to "Mad Jimmy."

"I knew that you could kind of see it in his eyes that he was ready to go after that," Martin said. "He leads; we follow. He makes it easy on all of us."

Now, strictly for the record, this sentence has to be written: The *eighth-seeded Heat* took a 2-0 lead in the conference finals. Beginning Sunday, when the series moves to Miami for Games 3 and 4, the Heat will have a chance to do the improbable and sweep the second-seeded Celtics. It's improbable because this Miami roster needed to survive the play-in tournament just to secure the final spot in the postseason. That experience, as well as a rocky regular season, must have created this eighth-seeded monster.

"Feels like this has just been our existence all year long. I guess nobody is really paying attention," Coach Erik Spoelstra said. "Every single game, it felt like for weeks on end, every game was ending on the last-second shot, whether we're shooting it or the other team is shooting it. So you develop some grit from that. Whether that turns into confidence or not, sometimes you don't have the confidence.

"But at least you have that experience of going through stuff and you understand how tough it is."

Griner's improbable return to the WNBA is accompanied by a sense of triumph

GRINER FROM **D1**

convicted arms trafficker Viktor Bout. Friday's season opener was her first WNBA game since Game 4 of the WNBA Finals on Oct. 17, 2021.

Following the game, Griner, 32, said her incarceration caused her to "appreciate everything a little bit more" — which included a warm welcome in an opposing team's arena and a surprise visit to the locker room by Vice President Harris. The sentimentality had its limits.

"Not good enough," Griner said to sum up the game. "We didn't get the dub."

The night at times felt like a celebration accompanied by a basketball game. Before tip-off, Griner's every movement was followed by a gaggle of video and still photographers. Fans waved cutout photos of her face, and the public address announcer led the arena in a chant of, "Welcome home BG!" Griner motioned to her heart as she received a standing ovation. Harris walked on the court and waved, and several celebrities, including former Los Angeles Lakers all-star Pau Gasol, Hall of Famer Magic Johnson and tennis champion Billie Jean King, sat courtside.

Griner stood with her teammates during the national anthem, a departure from her stance pre-incarceration, when she refused to take the court during the anthem. Her protest, which started amid national uproar over police brutality and racism in 2020, attracted conservative ire when she then required rescue from the American government. Griner explained after the game that the anthem "just means a little bit more to me now," saying of her incarceration, "I was literally in a cage and could not stand the way I wanted to."

Griner said she still supports her teammates who choose not to stand for the anthem, adding that making such decisions for yourself "actually makes you more American."

Mercury Coach Vanessa Nygaard echoed that sentiment before the game, calling Friday a "day of joy" that made her proud of her country. "We brought home this woman — this Black, gay woman — from a Russian jail," Nygaard said. "And America did that because they valued her. . . . It makes me very proud to be an American. And even though there are people for who that doesn't make them proud, for me, I see [Griner], and I see hope."

Griner was stopped at a Moscow-area airport Feb. 17, 2022 — a week before Russia's invasion of Ukraine — but her detention was not reported in the press for weeks afterward. For most of 2022, the American public — and Griner's family and teammates — received only sporadic glimpses of her plight via images of her in chains or behind jail cell bars. An eight-time all-star who helped lead the Mercury to a championship in 2014, Griner sometimes seemed forgotten — which Nygaard tried to combat last year by starting every news conference with a new tally of how many days she had been incarcerated in Russia.



ASHLEY LANDIS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Brittney Griner played 25 minutes Friday and wasn't pleased with her conditioning or the game's result, though those seemed trivial.

Nygaard said Griner's freedom was a result of the persistence of those in the league. "When one of their sisters was in this predicament, this terrible situation, they used their voice and they amplified it," Nygaard said. "I think it was the voices of the WNBA and the fans of the WNBA that finally got the Biden administration until they said: 'You know what? Let's make this happen.' "

In December, President Biden authorized the swap of Griner for Bout, a Russian national serving a 25-year sentence in American prison for arms trafficking. In remarks announcing Griner's return, Biden said that Griner "didn't ask for special treatment" and that her only request was that his administration would not "forget about me and the other American detainees." Griner has since attempted to put a focus on those detainees still in Russia by posting messages on social media encouraging "everyone that played a part in bringing me home to continue their efforts to bring all Americans home."

Griner's saga has shed light on the compensation of the world's best female basketball players, whose relatively paltry pay — WNBA salaries top out at just more than $200,000 — has compelled even the greatest of them to moonlight overseas, as Griner was doing when she was detained. Even with all of the pomp for Friday's game, which was broadcast on ESPN and attracted national sports reporters, the empty upper decks of Crypto.com Arena did not escape the attention of players and the Mercury coach. "Honestly, c'mon L.A. — we didn't sell out the arena for B.G.?" Nygaard said. "It was great, it was loud, but how was it not a sellout?"

Griner expressed hope that the media focus on her will bring new fans to the WNBA. "Hopefully everybody tuning in to see me now will see somebody else," she said.

Griner scored 11 of her points in the first half but appeared to tire in the second, and after the game she discussed improving her stamina to the point where she could play 40 minutes if necessary. These are the sorts of problems — basketball problems — Griner sometimes thought she would never experience again.

"Me personally, I look at it as the worst-case scenario so I don't get hopes up," Griner said of her perspective while incarcerated. She then added with a wink: "I'll elaborate on that a little bit more; just make sure you get a copy of the book."

BASEBALL

National League

EAST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Atlanta	28	17	.622	—	4-6	L-1
Miami	24	22	.522	4½	7-3	W-1
New York	23	23	.500	5½	6-4	W-3
Philadelphia	21	24	.467	7	5-5	W-1
Washington	19	27	.413	9½	4-6	W-1

CENTRAL	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Milwaukee	24	21	.533	—	4-6	L-3
Pittsburgh	24	21	.533	—	4-6	L-1
Chicago	20	25	.444	4	3-7	L-1
St. Louis	20	27	.426	5	7-3	W-1
Cincinnati	19	26	.422	5	4-6	L-3

WEST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Los Angeles	29	18	.617	—	7-3	L-1
Arizona	26	20	.565	2½	6-4	W-1
San Francisco	21	24	.467	7	5-5	L-1
x-San Diego	20	25	.444	8	2-8	L-3
Colorado	19	27	.413	9½	5-5	L-2

x-Late game

American League

EAST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Tampa Bay	34	13	.723	—	5-5	W-2
Baltimore	30	16	.652	3½	7-3	W-2
New York	28	20	.583	6½	7-3	W-3
x-Boston	25	20	.556	8	4-6	W-3
Toronto	25	21	.543	8½	4-6	L-3

CENTRAL	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
x-Minnesota	24	21	.533	—	5-5	L-2
Detroit	20	23	.465	3	5-5	L-1
Cleveland	20	24	.455	3½	4-6	L-1
Chicago	18	29	.383	7	5-5	W-2
Kansas City	14	33	.298	11	4-6	L-2

WEST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Texas	28	17	.622	—	7-3	W-2
Houston	26	19	.578	2	9-1	W-6
x-Los Angeles	24	22	.522	4½	4-6	W-2
Seattle	22	23	.489	6	5-5	W-1
Oakland	10	37	.213	19	2-8	L-3

x-Late game

Nationals 5, Tigers 2

TIGERS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Vierling rf	4	1	1	0	0	0	.231
Báez ss	4	0	0	0	0	1	.234
Greene cf	4	0	0	0	0	2	.289
Torkelson 1b	4	1	2	2	0	0	.239
Ibáñez 2b	4	0	0	0	0	0	.217
Schoop 3b	3	0	2	0	0	1	.227
Maton ph	1	0	0	0	0	1	.154
Cabrera dh	2	0	0	0	1	0	.177
Baddoo pr-dh	1	0	0	0	0	0	.250
Haase lf-c	3	0	1	0	0	1	.259
Rogers c	2	0	0	0	0	0	.179
McKinstry ph-lf	1	0	0	0	0	0	.271
TOTALS	33	2	6	2	1	6	—

NATIONALS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Thomas rf	4	1	3	2	0	1	.292
Smith 1b	4	0	0	0	0	1	.268
Meneses dh	4	0	0	0	0	2	.287
Candelario 3b	4	1	2	2	0	0	.253
Dickerson lf	3	1	1	0	0	1	.267
Garrett lf	1	0	0	0	0	0	.243
Ruiz c	3	0	1	1	0	0	.235
Vargas 2b	3	1	1	0	0	0	.313
Abrams ss	3	1	1	0	0	0	.240
Call cf	3	0	0	0	0	0	.224
TOTALS	32	5	9	5	0	5	—

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E: Dickerson (1). **LOB:** Detroit 5, Washington 3. **2B:** Abrams (7), Dickerson (1), Thomas (7), Candelario (13). **HR:** Torkelson (4), off Corbin; Candelario (6), off Faedo. **RBI:** Torkelson 2 (20), Candelario 2 (19), Thomas 2 (23), Ruiz (16).

TIGERS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	NP	ERA
Faedo	5	5	3	3	0	4	72	4.60
Holton	2	2	1	1	0	1	14	2.53
Vest	1	2	1	1	0	0	16	1.98

NATIONALS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	NP	ERA
Corbin	6	6	2	2	0	3	74	4.47
Edwards Jr.	1	0	0	0	1	1	21	2.41
Harvey	1	0	0	0	0	1	14	3.15
Finnegan	1	0	0	0	0	1	10	5.51

WP: Corbin (3-5); **LP:** Faedo (0-2); **S:** Finnegan (9). **PB:** Ruiz (4). **T:** 2:03. **A:** 31,721 (41,376).

HOW THEY SCORED

TIGERS FIRST
Matt Vierling singles. Javier Baez flies out. Riley Greene strikes out swinging. **Spencer Torkelson homers, Matt Vierling scores.** Andy Ibanez grounds out.
Tigers 2, Nationals 0
NATIONALS FOURTH
Dominic Smith pops out. Joey Meneses strikes out swinging. **Jeimer Candelario homers.** Corey Dickerson flies out.
Tigers 2, Nationals 1
NATIONALS FIFTH
Keibert Ruiz grounds out. Ildemaro Vargas singles. CJ Abrams doubles. Ildemaro Vargas to third. Alex Call grounds out. **Lane Thomas singles, CJ Abrams scores, Ildemaro Vargas scores.** Dominic Smith flies out.
Nationals 3, Tigers 2
NATIONALS SIXTH
Joey Meneses strikes out on a foul tip. Jeimer Candelario lines out. Corey Dickerson doubles. **Keibert Ruiz singles, Corey Dickerson scores, Ruiz tagged out at second.**
Nationals 4, Tigers 2
NATIONALS EIGHTH
Lane Thomas doubles. Dominic Smith flies out. Joey Meneses lines out. Lane Thomas to third. **Jeimer Candelario doubles, Lane Thomas scores.** Stone Garrett lines out .
Nationals 5, Tigers 2

Phillies 12, Cubs 3

Aaron Nola struck out 10 in seven sharp innings, Kyle Schwarber hit a grand slam, and Philadelphia snapped a five-game losing streak with a rout of Chicago.

CUBS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Hoerner 2b	3	0	0	0	0	1	.304
Mastrobuoni ss	1	0	0	0	0	1	.194
Swanson ss	3	1	1	2	0	1	.264
Tauchman cf	1	0	1	0	0	0	.500
Happ lf	3	0	0	0	0	2	.296
Madrigal 2b	1	0	0	0	0	0	.250
Suzuki rf	3	0	0	0	0	2	.286
Ríos 3b	1	0	0	0	0	1	.095
Mancini dh	3	0	0	0	1	0	.259
Wisdom 3b-lf	4	0	0	0	0	3	.228
Mervis 1b	3	0	1	0	0	0	.217
Gomes c	3	0	1	0	0	1	.293
Morel cf-rf	3	2	2	1	0	1	.381
TOTALS	32	3	6	3	1	13	—

PHILLIES	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Stott 2b	4	1	2	2	0	0	.284
Castellanos rf	4	1	1	0	0	1	.299
Harrison ph-lf	0	0	0	1	0	0	.200
Harper dh	3	1	2	1	2	0	.328
Realmuto c	4	0	0	0	0	0	.290
Stubbs ph-c	1	1	1	0	0	0	.214
Schwarber lf	2	2	1	4	2	1	.176
Guthrie rf	0	0	0	0	1	0	.000
Bohm 3b	5	2	1	0	0	2	.263
Marsh cf	4	0	0	0	1	2	.266
Clemens 1b	4	2	2	2	1	2	.229
Sosa ss	4	2	3	1	0	0	.282
TOTALS	35	12	13	11	7	8	—

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E: Wisdom (6). **LOB:** Chicago 3, Philadelphia 8. **2B:** Morel (3), Harper (5), Sosa (6). **3B:** Stubbs (1). **HR:** Swanson (4), off Nola; Morel (7), off Brogdon; Schwarber (11), off Taillon; Clemens (4), off Taillon.

CUBS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Taillon	2⅓	6	8	6	3	1	8.10
Rucker	2⅓	4	2	2	2	2	3.93
Estrada	1⅓	0	0	0	1	3	0.00
Fulmer	1	2	1	1	0	0	7.58
Burdi	1	1	1	1	1	2	9.00

PHILLIES	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Nola	7	4	2	2	1	10	4.31
Brogdon	1	2	1	1	0	1	2.70
Marte	1	0	0	0	0	2	15.0

WP: Nola (4-3); **LP:** Taillon (0-3). **Inherited runners-scored:** Rucker 3-2, Estrada 1-0. **WP:** Burdi. **T:** 2:47. **A:** 42,508 (42,901).



MATT ROURKE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Hook 'em homer

Former University of Texas Longhorn and current Phillies first baseman Kody Clemens flashes a salute to his alma mater after belting a two-run homer during Philadelphia's 12-3 blowout of the visiting Cubs.

White Sox 5, Royals 1

Jake Burger hit a three-run double in the sixth inning, helping Lucas Giolito and Chicago beat Kansas City.

Yoán Moncada had two RBI as the White Sox won for the fourth time in five games.

Giolito permitted one run and six hits in six innings.

ROYALS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Witt Jr. ss	4	0	1	0	0	1	.230
Pasquantino 1b	4	0	0	0	0	1	.257
Perez dh	4	1	3	1	0	0	.288
Melendez rf	4	0	1	0	0	1	.221
Garcia 3b	4	0	0	0	0	3	.246
Pratto lf	3	0	2	0	1	1	.329
Fermin c	3	0	0	0	1	1	.281
Massey 2b	3	0	0	0	0	0	.211
Eaton cf	2	0	0	0	0	0	.059
Olivares ph-cf	1	0	0	0	0	0	.226
TOTALS	32	1	7	1	2	8	—

WHITE SOX	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Anderson ss	4	0	0	0	0	1	.246
Benintendi lf	3	2	1	0	1	0	.279
Robert Jr. cf	3	2	1	0	0	1	.267
Moncada 3b	3	1	1	2	1	1	.318
Vaughn 1b	4	0	0	0	0	2	.234
Burger dh	3	0	2	3	0	1	.292
Alberto 2b	3	0	0	0	0	1	.222
Haseley rf	3	0	0	0	0	2	.235
Zavala c	2	0	1	0	1	0	.164
TOTALS	28	5	6	5	3	9	—

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E: Fermin (3). **LOB:** Kansas City 6, Chicago 3. **2B:** Pratto (6), Perez (11), Robert Jr. (13), Burger (6). **HR:** Perez (10), off Giolito.

ROYALS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Lyles	5	4	5	4	3	5	7.15
Cuas	1	1	0	0	0	2	4.58
Taylor	1	1	0	0	0	0	6.46
Staumont	1	0	0	0	0	2	3.21

WHITE SOX	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Giolito	6	6	1	1	1	4	3.62
Crochet	⅓	1	0	0	1	0	0.00
López	⅔	0	0	0	0	1	6.98
Kelly	1	0	0	0	0	1	2.92
Graveman	1	0	0	0	0	2	3.26

WP: Giolito (3-3); **LP:** Lyles (0-8). **Inherited runners-scored:** Cuas 3-3, López 2-0. **PB:** Zavala (3). **T:** 2:21. **A:** 23,984 (40,241).

NOTES

METS-GUARDIANS TILT POSTPONED BY RAIN

The New York-Cleveland contest at Citi Field was shelved by inclement weather and will be made up as part of a split-admission doubleheader Sunday.

PERSONNEL DEPT.

Padres: Placed slugger Manny Machado on the 10-day injured list with a hairline fracture in his left hand.

Phillies: Claimed RHP Dylan Covey off waivers from the Dodgers.

Twins: Placed 2B Jorge Polanco on the 10-day IL with a strained left hamstring.

Yankees: Released struggling OF Aaron Hicks before playing the Reds. Hicks is owed about $27.6 million for the more than 2½ seasons left on his seven-year contract.

TODAY

Interleague games

TIGERS AT NATIONALS, 1:35	W-L	ERA	TEAM
Wentz (L)	1-3	6.38	4-4
Gray (R)	3-5	2.73	3-6
YANKEES AT REDS, 11:35			
Severino (R)	0-0	0.00	0-0
Greene (R)	0-3	4.60	2-7
MARINERS AT BRAVES, 1:35			
Kirby (R)	5-2	2.46	5-3
Shuster (L)	0-2	7.24	0-3
GAME 1: GUARDIANS AT METS, 1:40			
Bibee (R)	1-1	3.22	2-2
TBD	----	----	----
BREWERS AT RAYS, 1:40			
Peralta (R)	4-3	4.11	4-4
TBD	----	----	----
ROCKIES AT RANGERS, 2:35			
Seabold (R)	1-0	5.14	3-0
Heaney (L)	2-3	4.71	4-4
RED SOX AT PADRES, 4:10			
Kluber (R)	2-5	6.41	3-5
Wacha (R)	4-1	4.06	6-2
GAME 2: GUARDIANS AT METS, 7:10			
Bieber (R)	3-2	3.20	3-6
TBD	----	----	----

Interleague scores

FRIDAY'S RESULTS
Detroit 8, at Washington 6
at Tampa Bay 1, Milwaukee 0
N.Y. Yankees 6, at Cincinnati 2
at Atlanta 6, Seattle 2
at N.Y. Mets 10, Cleveland 9 (10)
at Texas 7, Colorado 2
Boston 6, at San Diego 1

SATURDAY'S RESULTS
at Washington 5, Detroit 2
at Tampa Bay 8, Milwaukee 4
at Texas 11, Colorado 5
N.Y. Yankees 7, at Cincinnati 4
Seattle 7, at Atlanta 3
Boston at San Diego, late
Cleveland at N.Y. Mets, ppd.

AL games

ORIOLES AT BLUE JAYS, 1:37	W-L	ERA	TEAM
Kremer (R)	5-1	4.94	6-3
Gausman (R)	2-3	3.27	4-5
ROYALS AT WHITE SOX, 2:10			
TBD	----	----	----
Lynn (R)	2-5	6.66	2-7
ATHLETICS AT ASTROS, 2:10			
Kaprielian (R)	0-3	10.17	0-4
Valdez (L)	3-4	2.84	4-5
TWINS AT ANGELS, 4:07			
López (R)	2-2	4.00	5-4
Ohtani (R)	5-1	3.23	7-2

AL scores

FRIDAY'S RESULTS
Baltimore 6, at Toronto 2
at Chicago White Sox 2, Kansas City 0
at Houston 5, Oakland 1
at L.A. Angels 5, Minnesota 4

SATURDAY'S RESULTS
Baltimore 6, at Toronto 5 (10)
at Chicago White Sox 5, Kansas City 1
at Houston 3, Oakland 2
Minnesota at L.A. Angels, late

NL games

DIAMONDBACKS AT PIRATES, 1:35	W-L	ERA	TEAM
Kelly (R)	4-3	2.92	5-4
Contreras (R)	3-4	4.40	4-4
CUBS AT PHILLIES, 1:35			
Steele (L)	6-1	2.44	6-3
Walker (R)	3-2	6.53	5-4
DODGERS AT CARDINALS, 2:15			
Kershaw (L)	6-3	2.52	6-3
Flaherty (R)	3-4	5.24	5-4
MARLINS AT GIANTS, 4:05			
Luzardo (L)	3-2	3.16	7-2
Wood (L)	0-0	2.87	3-1

NL scores

FRIDAY'S RESULTS
at Pittsburgh 13, Arizona 3
Chicago Cubs 10, at Philadelphia 1
L.A. Dodgers 5, at St. Louis 0
at San Francisco 4, Miami 3

SATURDAY'S RESULTS
at San Francisco 1, Miami 0
Arizona 4, at Pittsburgh 3
at Philadelphia 12, Chicago Cubs 3
at St. Louis 6, L.A. Dodgers 5

NL leaders

Entering Saturday's games.

BATTING
Arraez, Mia .388
Acuña Jr., Atl .343
Díaz, Col .336
Freeman, LA .317
Estrada, SF .312
Hoerner, Chi .310

HOME RUNS
Alonso, NY 17
Muncy, LA 15
Wisdom, Chi 12
Gorman, StL 12
Olson, Atl 12
Walker, Ari 11
Soler, Mia 11
Acuña Jr., Atl 11

RBI
Alonso, NY 41
Gorman, StL 36
Murphy, Atl 34
Arenado, StL 34
Muncy, LA 33
Bohm, Phi 32
Olson, Atl 32
Lindor, NY 32

ERA
Cobb, SF 1.94
Elder, Atl 2.06
Keller, Pit 2.38
Steele, Chi 2.44
Kershaw, LA 2.52
May, LA 2.63

SAVES
Doval, SF 11
Hader, SD 11
Díaz, Cin 10
Bednar, Pit 9
Finnegan, Was 8
Johnson, Col 8
Robertson, NY 8

STRIKEOUTS
Strider, Atl 86
Gallen, Ari 72
Keller, Pit 69
Kershaw, LA 63
Wheeler, Phi 61
Greene, Cin 59
Gore, Was 58
Webb, SF 58

AL leaders

Entering Saturday's games.

BATTING
Díaz, TB .321
Bichette, Tor .321
Arozarena, TB .313
Guerrero Jr., Tor .311
Dubón, Hou .309
Verdugo, Bos .304
Hays, Bal .303
Chapman, Tor .303

HOME RUNS
García, Tex 14
Judge, NY 13
Devers, Bos 13
Robert Jr., Chi 12
Rooker, Oak 11
10 tied 10

RBI
García, Tex 48
Devers, Bos 44
Alvarez, Hou 39
Arozarena, TB 36
Semien, Tex 35
Mullins, Bal 34
Mountcastle, Bal 34

ERA
Gray, Min 1.64
Cole, NY 2.01
McClanahan, TB 2.05
Rodriguez, Det 2.07
Ryan, Min 2.25
Kirby, Sea 2.46
Eovaldi, Tex 2.83

SAVES
Clase, Cle 15
Bautista, Bal 11
Estévez, LA 11
Romano, Tor 10
Jansen, Bos 9
Sewald, Sea 9
Lange, Det 8
Smith, Tex 8

STRIKEOUTS
Gausman, Tor 77
Ohtani, LA 71
Cole, NY 68
McClanahan, TB 68
López, Min 66
Ryan, Min 66

Marlins 1, Giants 0

Braxton Garrett and three relievers combined on a three-hitter, and Miami scored an unearned run in the eighth inning to beat San Francisco.

The Marlins improved to 15-2 in one-run games but have been outscored 211-159 this season. They won for the fifth time in six games and stopped the Giants' four-game winning streak.

MARLINS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Berti 3b	4	0	1	1	0	2	.268
Soler dh	4	0	1	0	0	2	.230
Arraez 2b	3	0	1	0	1	0	.387
Cooper 1b	4	0	0	0	0	1	.254
De La Cruz lf	4	0	1	0	0	1	.291
Wendle ss	3	0	0	0	1	2	.122
Fortes c	4	0	1	0	0	1	.209
Hampson rf-cf	3	1	0	0	1	2	.235
Edwards cf	2	0	0	0	0	0	.273
Burdick rf	0	0	0	0	0	0	.194
TOTALS	31	1	5	1	3	11	—

GIANTS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Estrada 2b	4	0	1	0	0	1	.310
Flores dh	4	0	0	0	0	1	.248
Conforto rf	4	0	0	0	0	4	.210
Davis 3b	3	0	0	0	0	2	.279
Haniger lf	3	0	0	0	0	1	.194
Wade Jr. 1b	2	0	0	0	1	0	.260
Schmitt ss	3	0	0	0	0	0	.372
Bailey c	3	0	1	0	0	0	.333
Johnson cf	3	0	1	0	0	1	.167
TOTALS	29	0	3	0	1	10	—

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SAN FRAN. 000 000 000 — 0 3 2

E: Fortes (6), Davis (3), Wade Jr. (3). **LOB:** Miami 7, San Francisco 4.

MARLINS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Garrett	6⅓	1	0	0	1	8	4.60
Chargois	⅔	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
Scott	⅔	2	0	0	0	0	4.29
Floro	1⅓	0	0	0	0	2	2.49

GIANTS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Webb	6	4	0	0	2	7	2.91
Junis	1	0	0	0	0	2	4.88
Ty.Rogers	1	1	1	0	1	0	2.22
Doval	1	0	0	0	0	2	2.18

WP: Chargois (1-0); **LP:** Ty.Rogers (0-4); **S:** Floro (5). **Inherited runners-scored:** Floro 2-0. **IBB:** off Ty.Rogers (Arraez). **T:** 2:16. **A:** 31,993 (41,915).

Diamondbacks 4, Pirates 3

Pavin Smith hit a two-run homer in the seventh as Arizona overcame a 3-2 deficit.

Pittsburgh's Mitch Keller retired 16 batters in a row but was pulled after 84 pitches.

D'BACKS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Rojas 3b	2	1	0	0	0	2	.258
Rivera ph-3b	1	0	0	0	0	0	.333
Marte 2b	4	1	2	1	0	1	.280
Carroll lf	4	0	2	1	0	1	.281
Walker 1b	4	0	0	0	0	2	.256
Gurriel Jr. dh	4	1	1	0	0	0	.307
Smith rf	4	1	1	2	0	2	.244
Fletcher cf	4	0	1	0	0	1	.349
Moreno c	4	0	1	0	0	1	.311
Perdomo ss	4	0	0	0	0	2	.313
TOTALS	35	4	8	4	0	12	—

PIRATES	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
McCutchen dh	4	0	1	0	0	0	.267
Reynolds lf	3	1	0	0	1	0	.289
Suwinski cf	4	0	1	0	0	1	.237
Santana 1b	3	1	1	0	1	0	.242
Hayes 3b	4	0	1	3	0	0	.240
Marcano ss	3	0	0	0	0	1	.246
R.Castro ph	0	0	0	0	1	0	.257
Bae 2b	4	0	1	0	0	1	.254
Palacios rf	2	0	1	0	0	1	.267
Joe ph-rf	2	0	0	0	0	1	.260
Hedges c	3	1	1	0	0	1	.167
Delay ph	1	0	0	0	0	1	.333
TOTALS	33	3	7	3	3	7	—

ARIZONA 100 001 200 — 4 8 0
PITTSBURGH 003 000 000 — 3 7 0

LOB: Arizona 5, Pittsburgh 6. **2B:** Suwinski (7). **3B:** Hayes (3). **HR:** Marte (6), off Keller; Smith (3), off Stephenson.

D'BACKS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Pfaadt	5⅓	6	3	3	2	3	7.65
K.Nelson	1	0	0	0	0	1	1.50
Adams	⅔	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
Chafin	1	1	0	0	0	0	3.57
M.Castro	1	0	0	0	1	3	2.61

PIRATES	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Keller	6	3	2	2	0	8	2.44
Stephenson	⅔	3	2	2	0	1	3.09
Hernandez	⅔	1	0	0	0	1	3.00
Moreta	⅔	0	0	0	0	1	2.18
Bednar	1	1	0	0	0	1	0.53

WP: K.Nelson (4-1); **LP:** Stephenson (0-2); **S:** M.Castro (4). **Inherited runners-scored:** Hernandez 1-0, Moreta 1-0. **HBP:** Keller (Rojas). **T:** 2:35. **A:** 22,876 (38,753).

Astros 3, Athletics 2

Yordan Alvarez hit a tie-breaking home run in the eighth inning to propel Houston past Oakland for its sixth consecutive win.

The Athletics have allowed at least one home run in a franchise-record 23 straight games and have given up an MLB-leading 81 homers this year.

Hector Neris allowed one hit in a scoreless eighth for the win.

ATHLETICS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Ruiz cf	4	1	2	0	0	2	.286
Noda 1b	3	1	1	1	0	2	.221
Rooker dh	4	0	2	1	0	0	.292
Langeliers c	4	0	0	0	0	2	.221
Peterson 3b	4	0	1	0	0	2	.216
Laureano rf	4	0	0	0	0	0	.211
Bleday lf	3	0	0	0	1	2	.240
Kemp 2b	3	0	1	0	0	1	.172
Allen ss	3	0	0	0	0	0	.200
TOTALS	32	2	7	2	1	11	—

ASTROS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Altuve 2b	3	1	1	0	1	2	.143
Bregman 3b	4	1	1	0	0	0	.224
Alvarez lf	3	1	1	2	0	0	.292
J.Abreu 1b	4	0	0	0	0	2	.218
Tucker rf	4	0	1	1	0	1	.281
Peña ss	4	0	1	0	0	0	.253
McCormick cf	2	0	1	0	1	0	.258
Julks dh	3	0	0	0	0	1	.254
Maldonado c	3	0	1	0	0	2	.186
TOTALS	30	3	7	3	2	8	—

OAKLAND 000 101 000 — 2 7 0
HOUSTON 200 000 01X — 3 7 2

E: Maldonado 2 (4). **LOB:** Oakland 5, Houston 6. **2B:** Noda (9), Altuve (1), McCormick (6). **HR:** Alvarez (10), off Lovelady.

ATHLETICS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Sears	6	5	2	2	1	7	4.99
Martínez	1	1	0	0	1	0	5.57
Lovelady	1	1	1	1	0	1	2.13

ASTROS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Brown	6	5	2	2	0	9	3.38
Stanek	1	0	0	0	1	0	4.11
Neris	1	1	0	0	0	1	1.33
Pressly	1	1	0	0	0	1	3.26

WP: Neris (3-1); **LP:** Lovelady (0-2); **S:** Pressly (8). **T:** 2:35. **A:** 35,475 (41,000).

Orioles 6, Blue Jays 5 (10)

ORIOLES	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Mullins cf	4	1	1	1	1	1	.263
Rutschman c	4	0	1	0	1	0	.279
Santander rf	4	0	1	0	1	1	.265
McKenna rf	0	0	0	0	0	0	.306
Mountcastle 1b	4	2	0	0	0	1	.243
Frazier 2b	4	2	3	0	0	1	.244
Henderson 3b	2	0	0	0	0	1	.192
Ortiz ph-3b	1	0	0	0	0	0	.227
Hays ph-lf	2	0	0	1	0	1	.299
O'Hearn dh	5	1	3	4	0	1	.300
Vavra lf-3b	5	0	2	0	0	0	.263
Mateo ss	4	0	0	0	0	2	.244
TOTALS	39	6	11	6	3	9	—

BLUE JAYS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Springer rf	4	2	2	3	1	1	.234
Bichette ss	5	0	0	0	0	3	.313
Guerrero Jr. 1b	4	0	0	0	1	1	.303
Belt dh	2	0	0	0	1	2	.250
Kirk ph-dh	2	0	1	1	0	1	.225
Chapman 3b	5	0	1	0	0	2	.300
Jansen c	5	1	1	1	0	1	.202
Varsho lf	5	0	0	0	0	2	.206
Espinal 2b	3	1	3	0	0	0	.205
Merrifield pr-2b	1	1	1	0	0	0	.270
Kiermaier cf	4	0	1	0	0	1	.322
TOTALS	40	5	10	5	3	14	—

BALTIMORE 011 000 030 1 — 6 11 1
TORONTO 000 021 200 0 — 5 10 0

E: Frazier (2). **LOB:** Baltimore 9, Toronto 9. **2B:** Mullins (10), Espinal (2), Chapman (19). **3B:** Frazier (1). **HR:** Mullins (7), off Manoah; O'Hearn (2), off Romano; Springer (6), off Rodriguez; Jansen (5), off Baker. **RBI:** O'Hearn 4 (11), Mullins (35), Hays (15), Springer 3 (19), Jansen (23), Kirk (12). **SB:** Espinal (2), Merrifield (13), Springer (7), Kiermaier (5). **S:** Frazier.

ORIOLES	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Rodriguez	5	4	2	2	1	6	6.21
Baker	1	1	1	1	0	1	2.86
Baumann	⅔	2	2	2	1	2	4.24
Irvin	⅓	1	0	0	0	0	10.3
Cano	1	1	0	0	0	0	0.38
Bautista	2	1	0	0	1	5	1.17

BLUE JAYS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Manoah	5⅔	6	2	2	1	5	5.15
Mayza	⅓	0	0	0	0	0	1.12
Richards	⅔	1	0	0	1	0	4.50
Swanson	1	1	2	2	1	1	3.52
Romano	1	3	1	1	0	1	3.32
García	1⅓	0	1	0	0	2	4.29

WP: Bautista (3-1); **LP:** García (1-1). **Inherited runners-scored:** Irvin 2-1, Mayza 2-0, Swanson 2-0, Romano 2-2, García 1-0. **HBP:** Manoah (Mountcastle). **T:** 3:32. **A:** 41,611 (49,282).

Hays delivers winner for the O's in the 10th

ORIOLES 6, BLUE JAYS 5 (10)

BY JACOB CALVIN MEYER

TORONTO — The Baltimore Orioles led 2-0 on Saturday, but their bats went cold in the middle innings as the Toronto Blue Jays rallied. Toronto took a 5-2 lead into the eighth and was four outs from a victory.

But Orioles designated hitter Ryan O'Hearn golfed a Jordan Romano slider 406 feet to right-center field for a three-run homer to tie the score in the eighth, and the game went to extra innings.

In the 10th, Austin Hays's RBI groundout scored Ryan Mountcastle for the winning run, then Félix Bautista was lights-out to strand the automatic runner and deliver the Orioles a 6-5 victory.

The series win for Baltimore (30-16) is its 10th out of the past 12.

O'Hearn singled on a groundball to right field — his first of three hits — to give Baltimore a 1-0 lead in the second inning, and Cedric Mullins made it 2-0 an inning later with a solo homer to right.

The Blue Jays were held scoreless by Grayson Rodriguez through the first four innings, but George Springer's two-run homer in the fifth tied the score. Danny Jansen hit a solo shot off reliever Bryan Baker in the sixth to give Toronto a 3-2 lead.

The Blue Jays scored twice in the seventh to take a 5-2 lead, getting an RBI single from Springer off Mike Baumann and a run-scoring single from pinch hitter Alejandro Kirk off Cole Irvin.

Coming off his worst start of the season, Rodriguez allowed two runs in five innings. Five days after surrendering nine hits and eight runs to the Los Angeles Angels, the hard-throwing right-hander struck out six while scattering four hits and one walk.

— Baltimore Sun

Rays 8, Brewers 4

Harold Ramírez, Yandy Díaz and Christian Bethancourt went deep for Tampa Bay, which leads the majors with 90 homers and 286 runs.

The Rays improved to 21-3 at home, the best mark through 24 games since Boston also went 21-3 in 1978. Milwaukee has lost four of five.

BREWERS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Yelich lf	4	0	1	1	0	0	.252
Winker dh	4	0	0	0	0	2	.236
Adames ss	4	1	1	0	0	0	.212
Tellez 1b	3	0	0	0	1	1	.242
Anderson rf	3	1	1	2	1	0	.236
Caratini c	4	0	0	0	0	3	.250
Miller 3b	4	1	1	1	0	2	.341
Turang 2b	3	1	2	0	0	0	.254
Taylor cf	3	0	0	0	0	2	.170
TOTALS	32	4	6	4	2	10	—

RAYS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Díaz 1b	4	1	3	3	0	0	.333
Raley pr-1b	1	1	0	0	0	0	.245
Franco ss	5	1	1	0	0	0	.283
Ramírez dh	4	1	1	1	0	1	.317
Arozarena lf	2	0	0	0	2	1	.309
Paredes 3b	3	0	0	1	1	0	.275
Bethancourt c	4	1	2	1	0	1	.232
Walls 2b	2	2	1	1	2	0	.274
Margot rf	4	1	2	1	0	1	.245
Siri cf	4	0	0	0	0	2	.228
TOTALS	33	8	10	8	5	6	—

MILWAUKEE 001 200 010 — 4 6 0
TAMPA BAY 130 200 20X — 8 10 0

LOB: Milwaukee 3, Tampa Bay 6. **2B:** Turang (4), Walls (5). **HR:** Miller (2), off Eflin; Anderson (7), off Eflin; Ramírez (7), off Lauer; Díaz (11), off Lauer; Bethancourt (7), off Lauer.

BREWERS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Lauer	3	6	6	6	2	2	5.48
Wilson	3	2	0	0	0	1	2.92
Cousins	⅔	2	2	2	3	2	4.26
Megill	1⅓	0	0	0	0	1	0.00

RAYS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Eflin	7	4	3	3	0	8	3.45
Thompson	1	2	1	1	0	1	6.60
Kelly	⅓	0	0	0	2	0	4.76
Adam	⅔	0	0	0	0	1	2.75

WP: Eflin (6-1); **LP:** Lauer (4-5); **S:** Adam (6). **Inherited runners-scored:** Wilson 1-0, Megill 3-0, Adam 2-0. **WP:** Thompson. **T:** 2:39. **A:** 19,954 (25,025).

Rangers 11, Rockies 5

Corey Seager had a two-run home run among his three hits and Jon Gray won in his first start against his former club as Texas handled Colorado.

The AL West leaders are 11 games over .500 for the first time this season.

ROCKIES	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Blackmon dh	5	1	2	0	0	1	.276
Profar lf	5	1	3	0	0	1	.243
Bryant rf	1	0	0	0	2	0	.288
Toglia 1b	2	1	1	0	0	1	.231
Díaz c	4	1	0	0	1	1	.326
McMahon 3b	3	1	1	0	0	1	.231
Doyle cf	2	0	1	1	0	0	.246
Grichuk cf-rf	4	0	0	1	0	0	.328
Moustakas 1b-3b	4	0	2	1	0	0	.235
Castro 2b	4	0	2	2	0	2	.289
Tovar ss	4	0	1	0	0	1	.212
TOTALS	38	5	13	5	3	8	—

RANGERS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Semien 2b	5	3	3	0	0	0	.299
Seager ss	4	2	3	2	0	0	.360
J.Smith ss	0	0	0	0	1	0	.211
Lowe 1b	5	2	3	2	0	0	.270
García rf	4	2	1	1	0	0	.259
Thompson rf	1	0	0	0	0	0	.163
Jung 3b	4	1	1	0	1	1	.257
Grossman lf	4	0	1	3	0	0	.254
Duran dh	3	1	2	2	0	0	.315
Miller ph-dh	0	0	0	0	1	0	.196
Taveras cf	3	0	1	0	1	0	.288
León c	4	0	0	0	0	2	.138
TOTALS	37	11	15	10	4	3	—

COLORADO 000 100 031 — 5 13 1
TEXAS 440 012 00X — 11 15 0

E: McMahon (4). **LOB:** Colorado 10, Texas 7. **2B:** Blackmon (11), Toglia (1), Castro (6), Semien 2 (11), Seager (6). **HR:** Duran (7), off Abad; Seager (2), off Abad.

ROCKIES	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Freeland	2	9	8	5	0	0	3.88
Bird	2	1	0	0	0	1	2.61
Abad	1	5	3	3	1	0	10.1
Bard	1⅔	0	0	0	2	1	0.82
Hand	⅓	0	0	0	1	0	3.24
Johnson	1	0	0	0	0	1	5.00

RANGERS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Gray	5	5	1	1	2	6	3.02
Ragans	2	1	0	0	0	1	5.59
Hernández	⅔	2	3	3	1	0	7.02
King	1⅓	5	1	1	0	1	2.70

WP: Gray (4-1); **LP:** Freeland (4-5). **Inherited runners-scored:** Bard 1-0, Hand 2-0, King 2-2. **WP:** Hand. **PB:** Díaz (2). **T:** 2:57. **A:** 34,443 (40,000).

Yankees 7, Reds 4 (10)

Aaron Judge had a go-ahead single in the 10th inning for his fourth hit of the game, and New York beat Cincinnati after cutting outfielder Aaron Hicks.

The Yankees have won five of six and 10 of 13.

YANKEES	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Torres 2b	5	1	2	0	0	1	.253
Judge dh	4	1	4	3	1	0	.299
Rizzo 1b	5	1	2	3	0	1	.303
LeMahieu 3b	5	0	1	0	0	2	.258
Bader cf	5	0	1	0	0	1	.279
Bauers rf	2	0	0	0	0	0	.184
Cabrera ph-rf	3	0	0	0	0	0	.203
Higashioka c	0	0	0	0	0	0	.200
Volpe ss	4	0	0	0	0	1	.211
Kiner-Falefa lf	4	1	1	1	0	1	.202
Rortvedt c	4	2	2	0	0	2	.500
Allen rf	0	1	0	0	0	0	---
TOTALS	41	7	13	7	1	9	—

REDS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
India 2b	4	1	1	0	1	2	.289
Casali c	0	0	0	0	0	0	.150
McLain ss	3	1	0	0	2	3	.267
Fraley lf	4	0	1	1	1	0	.276
Steer 1b	5	0	1	1	0	1	.253
Stephenson dh	3	0	0	0	1	3	.245
Senzel 3b	4	0	0	0	0	2	.254
Myers rf	4	0	0	0	0	1	.198
Barrero cf	3	1	1	0	0	2	.233
Fairchild cf	1	0	0	0	0	0	.212
Maile c	3	1	1	2	1	0	.282
TOTALS	34	4	5	4	6	14	—

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CINCINNATI 101 200 000 0 — 4 5 0

LOB: New York 6, Cincinnati 7. **2B:** Rortvedt (1), Judge (8), India (13). **HR:** Kiner-Falefa (2), off Weaver; Rizzo (11), off Gibaut; Maile (3), off Brito.

YANKEES	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Brito	4	4	4	4	4	6	5.58
Marinaccio	2	0	0	0	1	3	4.09
King	2	1	0	0	0	3	2.10
Holmes	1	0	0	0	1	1	3.44
Weber	1	0	0	0	0	1	3.68

REDS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Weaver	4⅓	8	4	4	0	4	6.54
Young	⅔	2	0	0	0	0	2.70
Farmer	1⅔	0	0	0	0	2	3.22
Sims	1⅓	0	0	0	1	2	3.55
Díaz	1	0	0	0	0	1	2.12
Gibaut	1	3	3	2	0	0	3.80

WP: Holmes (2-2); **LP:** Gibaut (3-1); **S:** Weber (1). **Inherited runners-scored:** Young 2-1. **T:** 2:59. **A:** 41,374 (43,891).

Cardinals 6, Dodgers 5

Nolan Gorman clubbed a go-ahead three-run homer in the eighth inning and Giovany Gallegos escaped a jam in the ninth to lift St. Louis over Los Angeles and out of the NL Central cellar for the first time in nearly a month.

DODGERS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Betts rf	5	1	1	0	0	1	.250
Freeman 1b	3	1	2	0	0	0	.323
Martinez dh	4	1	1	3	0	1	.240
Muncy 3b	4	0	0	0	0	1	.213
Vargas 2b	4	1	1	0	0	0	.240
Peralta lf	4	1	2	0	0	1	.216
Heyward cf	4	0	2	1	0	0	.207
Taylor ss	3	0	0	0	0	1	.185
Outman ph	1	0	0	0	0	0	.261
Barnes c	3	0	0	0	0	0	.094
Smith ph	0	0	0	1	0	0	.314
TOTALS	35	5	9	5	0	5	—

CARDINALS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Nootbaar cf	3	0	0	1	0	1	.267
Goldschmidt 1b	3	2	1	0	1	1	.301
Gorman dh	3	1	2	3	1	0	.302
Arenado 3b	4	0	2	0	0	1	.268
Contreras c	4	0	1	1	0	0	.250
Donovan rf-lf	4	0	0	0	0	2	.241
DeJong ss	2	1	0	0	0	2	.267
Burleson lf	2	1	1	1	0	0	.231
Yepez ph	1	0	0	0	0	0	.241
Mercado rf	0	0	0	0	0	0	.429
Edman 2b	3	1	1	0	0	0	.273
TOTALS	29	6	8	6	2	7	—

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LOB: Los Angeles 5, St. Louis 3. **2B:** Freeman (17), Peralta (5), Vargas (12), Heyward (6), Burleson (6), Edman (7). **HR:** Martinez (6), off Mikolas; Gorman (13), off González.

DODGERS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Syndergaard	5	4	3	3	1	4	5.88
Almonte	1	1	0	0	0	0	8.53
Bruihl	1	0	0	0	0	1	2.31
González	⅓	2	3	3	1	1	2.31
Cyr	⅔	1	0	0	0	1	0.00

CARDINALS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Mikolas	7	6	3	3	0	2	4.77
Helsley	1	3	2	2	0	2	3.38
Gallegos	1	0	0	0	0	1	2.08

WP: Helsley (2-2); **LP:** González (1-1); **S:** Gallegos (4). **Inherited runners-scored:** Gallegos 2-1. **IBB:** off González (Goldschmidt). **HBP:** Syndergaard (DeJong), Helsley (Freeman). **T:** 2:30. **A:** 45,177 (44,494).

Mariners 7, Braves 3

Seattle right-hander Logan Gilbert gave up three consecutive hits, including Matt Olson's two-run homer, to open the game but retired 15 consecutive batters and didn't give up another hit until Austin Riley singled with two outs in the sixth.

Atlanta committed three errors, two of them by Ronald Acuña Jr.

MARINERS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Crawford ss	4	0	2	1	1	1	.252
France 1b	5	0	0	0	0	3	.259
Rodríguez cf	2	2	0	0	3	1	.209
Kelenic rf	5	2	2	0	0	1	.287
Suárez 3b	4	2	2	3	0	1	.231
Hernández dh	4	1	1	1	1	1	.244
Trammell lf	3	0	1	1	0	1	.147
T.Murphy c	4	0	1	0	0	2	.235
Caballero 2b	3	0	0	1	0	3	.264
TOTALS	34	7	9	7	5	14	—

BRAVES	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Acuña Jr. rf	4	2	2	0	0	1	.347
Olson 1b	4	1	2	2	0	1	.243
S.Murphy c	4	0	1	0	0	2	.274
Riley 3b	3	0	1	1	0	0	.253
Rosario lf	4	0	0	0	0	2	.238
Albies 2b	3	0	0	0	1	2	.261
Ozuna dh	4	0	2	0	0	2	.200
Arcia ss	4	0	0	0	0	2	.321
Harris II cf	3	0	0	0	0	1	.177
TOTALS	33	3	8	3	1	13	—

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E: Arcia (1), Acuña Jr. 2 (3). **LOB:** Seattle 8, Atlanta 5. **2B:** Olson (9). **HR:** Suárez (5), off Yates; Olson (13), off Gilbert.

MARINERS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Gilbert	6	4	2	2	1	9	3.81
Brash	1	1	0	0	0	3	4.50
Topa	1	2	1	1	0	0	2.95
Sewald	1	1	0	0	0	1	3.48

BRAVES	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Chavez	2⅓	1	0	0	1	3	2.21
Tonkin	2	6	5	2	2	2	2.59
Jiménez	1⅔	0	0	0	0	3	4.02
Yates	1	2	2	2	2	2	4.02
Luetge	1	0	0	0	0	2	7.04
Minter	1	0	0	0	0	2	7.40

WP: Gilbert (2-2); **LP:** Tonkin (3-2). **Inherited runners-scored:** Jiménez 1-0. **HBP:** Chavez (Trammell). **WP:** Brash. **T:** 2:46. **A:** 40,250 (41,149).

Giants 4, Marlins 3

Late Friday

San Francisco scored three runs in the sixth following a throwing error by Miami pitcher Sandy Alcantara — offsetting another big night by the majors' leading hitter, Luis Arraez — and beat the Marlins.

MARLINS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Segura 3b	4	0	0	0	0	1	.204
Soler dh	3	1	0	0	1	2	.229
Arraez 2b	4	1	3	0	0	0	.388
Cooper 1b	3	0	0	0	1	1	.264
De La Cruz lf	4	1	2	3	0	1	.293
Wendle ss	2	0	0	0	1	0	.132
Berti ph-ss	1	0	0	0	0	0	.268
Burdick rf	4	0	0	0	0	2	.194
Stallings c	3	0	0	0	0	1	.118
Fortes c	1	0	0	0	0	1	.207
Hampson cf	4	0	1	0	0	1	.244
TOTALS	33	3	6	3	3	10	—

GIANTS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Wade Jr. 1b	3	1	0	0	1	1	.264
Estrada 2b	4	1	1	0	0	1	.312
Davis dh	2	0	0	1	1	0	.286
Conforto rf	3	1	1	1	0	0	.216
Johnson cf	0	0	0	0	0	0	.148
Haniger lf	4	1	2	1	0	1	.203
Yastrzemski cf-rf	2	0	0	0	2	0	.264
Schmitt 3b	4	0	1	1	0	1	.400
Sabol c	1	0	0	0	1	1	.277
Flores ph	1	0	0	0	0	1	.257
Bailey c	0	0	0	0	0	0	---
Crawford ss	3	0	0	0	0	2	.167
TOTALS	27	4	5	4	5	8	—

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SAN FRAN. 000 103 00X — 4 5 0

E: Alcantara (2). **LOB:** Miami 6, San Francisco 6. **2B:** Arraez (10), De La Cruz (10), Haniger (3). **HR:** De La Cruz (5), off Ta.Rogers.

MARLINS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Alcantara	5⅔	5	4	4	3	5	5.05
Nardi	1	0	0	0	0	2	3.54
Hoeing	1⅓	0	0	0	2	1	4.02

GIANTS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
DeSclafani	5⅓	5	2	2	2	6	3.09
Alexander	⅔	0	0	0	1	0	4.96
Brebbia	1	0	0	0	0	1	4.42
Ta.Rogers	⅔	1	1	1	0	1	5.14
Ty.Rogers	1⅓	0	0	0	0	2	2.31

WP: Alexander (4-0); **LP:** Alcantara (1-5); **S:** Ty.Rogers (2). **Inherited runners-scored:** Nardi 2-0, Alexander 1-0. **IBB:** off Hoeing (Yastrzemski). **T:** 2:24. **A:** 30,673 (41,915).

BASEBALL

Thomas keeps revving Nats, who snap a four-game skid

NATIONALS 5, TIGERS 2

BY JESSE DOUGHERTY

If there are any certainties in the Washington Nationals' clubhouse — if there are any certainties in the wide world at all — one is Lane Thomas spending more time in the batting cage than not, hitting and hitting and hitting. Dave Martinez, Thomas's manager since August 2021, has often wished Thomas would take more breaks. Teammates have wondered how the outfielder's arms haven't fallen off. But Thomas's logic follows a pretty simple pattern.

Struggling? Swing your way back into a rhythm.

Thriving? Keep swinging so the rhythm doesn't stop.

"I love having a bat in my hand," Thomas said toward the end of last season. "That's really all there is to it."

So there he was Saturday afternoon, hacking against a pitching machine in Nationals Park. And a few hours later, he was at the center of a 5-2 win over the Detroit Tigers, slapping the go-ahead hit with a two-run single in the fifth inning. He finished 3 for 4 in the leadoff spot, hitting a double in the eighth before he scored on Jeimer Candelario's double down the left field line.

To snap a four-game skid, Candelario kick-started the offense for the Nationals (19-27) with a solo homer in the fourth; Patrick Corbin held the Tigers (20-23) to two runs in six innings while logging his 1,500th strikeout; and relievers Carl Edwards Jr., Hunter Harvey and Kyle Finnegan protected a lead that grew on RBI hits by Keibert Ruiz and Candelario.

A lot of players chipped in. But Thomas, 27, stood out because of the month he's putting together. After ending April with four doubles, no triples, no homers and 25 total hits in 107 plate appearances, Thomas already has three doubles, a triple, six homers and 25 hits through 80 in May. With those numbers, he has added more than 150 points to his OPS.

The underlying metrics, mostly hard-hit and barrel rates, don't suggest the offensive outburst will continue. But he's limiting his chases and whiffs, giving himself a shot to do damage. Lately, it has shown.



ALEX BRANDON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Lane Thomas went 3 for 4 on Saturday to continue a hot May during which he has batted .313 with three doubles, a triple and six homers.

"When he gets ready to hit the fastball, he's really good," Martinez said of Thomas, who punched his hits on two four-seam fastballs and a slider Saturday. "He'll stay consistent, but he's got to get ready to hit the fastball."

"Just being consistent with an approach," Thomas said of what's causing his success. "Just taking good swings in good counts. I think that's the big thing: being confident and taking your 'A swing' in that count instead of being a little in between on pitches."

Unlike many of the Nationals — looking at you, Ruiz and CJ Abrams — Thomas is fairly passive in the batter's box. Entering Saturday's game, he had swung at 58.6 percent of the pitches he had seen in the strike zone. That ranked as the 10th-lowest rate in MLB. The major league average is 69.1 percent. And because he is not always aggressive early in counts, pitchers have a tendency to get ahead with fastballs in the zone.

Thomas has explained his thought process, recognizing it might be flawed: He is comfortable with two strikes — or at least as comfortable as he can be in counts that are statistically terrible for him. In turn, he doesn't often feel rushed to swing, preferring to see a pitch or two to mitigate the risk of swinging at the wrong one. That can be a tough strategy, banking on a second or third solid pitch to hit. Ahead of Saturday's game, Martinez raised an eyebrow when Thomas's thoughts were loosely relayed to him.

"He told you that?" Martinez said, laughing, at Thomas trusting himself in two-strike counts. Thomas's numbers deflate with two strikes in the way most hitters' numbers deflate with two strikes. In 2022, though, he did smack nine of his 17 homers with two strikes, showing he can get his "A swing" off when the odds are stacked against him.

Against Tigers starter Alex Faedo on Saturday, Thomas fell into a 1-2 count in the first and still lined a high fastball for a single. And in the fifth, after Faedo struck him out looking in their previous matchup, Thomas dug in with a chance to tilt the score.

"The at-bat before, he punched me out on a fastball. I think I was just sitting slider early in that count," Thomas said. "And then I kind of check-swung, and I thought I went on that [first-pitch slider called a ball]. So I figured they would repeat that pitch [in the 1-0 count]. I was just trying to get it a little up in the zone and put a good swing on it."

Faedo did try the slider again, jamming Thomas a bit. But he was able to muscle a single through the middle that brought Ildemaro Vargas and Abrams around to score. The Nationals didn't look back.

Despite his speed and arm strength, advanced metrics consider Thomas a well-below-average right fielder, partly because he struggles going back to the wall. To stick around, then, perhaps as a fourth outfielder if the Nationals turn the corner in the coming years, he will have to maintain steady offensive production (and ideally improve on defense, too).

Thomas has two more years of arbitration eligibility. Behind him, Washington is developing a small stable of outfielders, including top prospects James Wood (20 years old), Robert Hassell III (21) and Elijah Green (19). Since the Nationals acquired him from St. Louis for Jon Lester at the 2021 trade deadline, Thomas has been a regular on rebuilding clubs that have finished in last place. To his credit, his adjusted OPS was three points above average last season. He's solid, if nothing much more, and is hoping to iron out the long slumps that have dotted his five-year career.

Building on this stretch is his latest chance.

NATIONALS ON DECK

vs. Detroit Tigers		
Today	1:35	MASN2
vs. San Diego Padres		
Tuesday	7:05	MASN2
Wednesday	7:05	MASN2
Thursday	4:05	MASN2
at Kansas City Royals		
Friday	8:10	MASN
Saturday	4:10	MASN
May 28	2:10	MASN

Radio: WJFK (106.7 FM)

Backlash continues against Dodgers after they exclude group from Pride Night

BY CHELSEA JANES

Several prominent LGBTQ+ groups will not participate in the Los Angeles Dodgers' annual Pride Night after the organization announced Wednesday that it would no longer honor an advocacy group with a community service award.

The decision, which came after outcry from the Catholic League and Sen. Marco Rubio (R-Fla.), inspired a more widespread backlash in defense of the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence, whose members often dress in brightly colored habits and call themselves "a leading edge Order of queer and trans nuns."

The Dodgers declined to comment beyond their initial statement, which cited "the strong feelings of those who have been offended by the sisters' inclusion" as potentially distracting from "the great benefits" of Pride Night, set for June 16. But their decision and the ensuing reaction threatened to eclipse any other intentions.

"The disappointment is that they caved, not under immense pressure but at the first sign of pressure from a minority group of loud extremists from way far away and well outside our city and the state," said Sister Unity, a member of the Los Angeles chapter of the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence. "That disappointed us greatly."

The Los Angeles LGBT Center, the ACLU of Southern California and LA Pride withdrew from Pride Night in the wake of the Dodgers' decision.

The Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence were founded in San Francisco in 1979 as an LGBTQ+ advocacy and fundraising group. It has since opened chapters across the country and includes straight, gay and nonbinary members who dress in brightly colored habits and cloaks, paint their faces and, as the Los Angeles chapter's website puts it, "make people happy, stamp out guilt brought on by a judgmental society and help various organizations and charities."

Catholic League President Bill Donohue wrote a public letter to MLB Commissioner Rob Manfred claiming the Dodgers were "rewarding hate speech" by including the group in Pride Night.



RICHARD VOGEL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence, pictured at a gay pride parade in 2016, were founded as an LGBTQ+ advocacy and fundraising group.

"By rewarding anti-Catholicism, the Dodgers have broken bread with the most despicable elements in American society today," he wrote.

Sister Unity said the group strongly denies that it is anti-Catholic and is not trying to mock Catholic traditions but rather is stepping into a long-standing tradition of religious satire.

"It is true that we borrow from the look of medieval Catholic nuns and that we use religious language as part of our shtick," she said. "We employ it both because comedy is based on surprise and you don't expect hairy-chested, bearded men to appear as nuns. We banked on that humor. Gay humor is often iconoclastic. But we've never said we're against the Catholic Church. We are not."



J. SCOTT APPLEWHITE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Sen. Marco Rubio (R-Fla.) was among the first to decry the Dodgers' plans for Pride Night.

Sister Unity did note that the group harbors criticisms of the Catholic Church but does not advocate against it. Instead, she said, it advocates for LGBTQ+ rights and fundraises for less visible queer causes that need help. And until this past week, she added, it had done so in almost surprising anonymity.

Despite their fondness for eye-catching garb, the sisters do not normally garner the same attention as bigger LGBTQ+ advocacy groups in the Los Angeles area. So when the Dodgers informed them that they would be honored with a Community Hero Award on Pride Night, they were pleasantly surprised. And while the sisters were accustomed to pushback, they also were surprised to see Rubio, a politician who represents a state across the country, mentioning them at all.

Rubio, a former presidential hopeful, wrote a public letter to Manfred in which he argued that the Dodgers' inclusion of the sisters in their Pride Night celebration meant MLB was not being as inclusive to Christians as it was trying to be to other groups.

"I write to ask whether your League wants to be 'inclusive and welcoming' to Christians, and if so, why you are allowing an MLB team to honor a group that mocks Christians through diabolical parodies of our faith?" he wrote. Last year, Rubio sent a letter to Air Force Secretary Frank Kendall asking him to cancel a "Drag Queen Story Time" event for children of service members, one of several attacks on drag events in recent months staged by Rubio and his Republican colleagues.

Soon after the letters became public, a Dodgers official called Sister Bearoncé — a lifelong Dodgers fan and Los Angeles resident — to inform the group of the decision to exclude it from Pride Night, according to Sister Unity. She spread the word to the rest of the group.

Asked for comment, MLB again made clear that such calls are left to its teams. Although Manfred moved the 2021 All-Star Game out of Atlanta because of Georgia's restrictive voting laws, MLB allows teams to make their own decisions regarding LGBTQ+ community outreach.

Los Angeles has long been considered a hub of LGBTQ+ activism. And the Dodgers have a history of being active and welcoming to gay fans, something the sisters and Los Angeles LBGT Center noted in statements about the team's decision.

"We are deeply disappointed that the Dodgers, an organizational partner that has made significant strides towards dismantling anti-LGBTQ+ bias in sports and long-standing supporter of our mission, has decided to revoke their invitation to honor the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence at their upcoming Pride Night," the LGBT Center of Los Angeles wrote in a statement as it announced it was removing itself from the Dodgers' Pride Night festivities.

Sister Unity said the organization had been "well allied" with the city's LGBTQ+ community for at least a decade but that the team's statement seemed written to cast them as villains.

"If the publicity is too hot, we can understand that you need to protect your organization," she said. "It may be that our activities carry a political patina that is inappropriate for you. But to use that language casting us in a negative light and have that negativity come from places intentionally generating negative PR using inaccurate critiques, that is disappointing."

ANALYSIS

For the AL East, the differential appears to be huge in 2023

BY NEIL GREENBERG

The Tampa Bay Rays have dominated this baseball season from the opening weeks, when they became the fourth team in MLB history to start 13-0, joining the 1884 St. Louis Maroons, 1982 Atlanta Braves and 1987 Milwaukee Brewers. The Rays have won a lot more since then, and they're on pace for 116 victories, a total that would tie the record shared by the 2001 Seattle Mariners and 1906 Chicago Cubs.

Not only are the Rays winning, they're dominating their opponents. As of Saturday morning, Tampa Bay had scored 122 more runs than it had allowed, the highest run differential in baseball and 30 runs better than the second-place Texas Rangers. After finishing 25th out of 30 teams in home runs last season, the Rays have hit an MLB-leading 87 homers. Only the 2000 St. Louis Cardinals and 1999 Mariners had more during their first 46 games of the season. The Rays are nearly on pace to break the single-season record of 307, set by the 2019 Minnesota Twins.

In almost any other year, that kind of performance would be enough to run away with a division title, but this year's American League East is far too strong for that. In fact, it seems poised to be one of the strongest divisions in recent years.

The four other teams in the division — the Baltimore Orioles, Toronto Blue Jays, New York Yankees and Boston Red Sox — have winning records, the only division able to pull off that feat this season. (As of Saturday morning, the AL West was the only other division with even *three* teams above .500.) The Orioles, who trailed the Rays by 3½ games as of Saturday morning, would be leading every other division. But the raw win-loss records, impressive as they are, actually don't do the division justice. It is even stronger than it looks on paper.



JULIO AGUILAR/GETTY IMAGES

After finishing 25th out of 30 teams in home runs last season, the Rays have hit an MLB-leading 87 homers and could break the record.

Since MLB realigned in 2013, moving the Houston Astros to the AL and giving each league 15 teams, the combined win rate for the 2023 AL East is the highest of any division at this approximate point of the season (a combined .620 after each team played 40 games). The division had a plus-207 run differential at the 40-game mark, almost *double* that of the 2020 NL West (plus-118), the next best division since 2013.

By comparison, the NL Central had the second-highest run differential (plus-18) at the 40-game mark this season. This year's AL Central had a minus-165 run differential. The largest run differential by a division since the latest realignment was established by the 2021 NL West, whose teams outscored opponents by 443 runs. This year's AL East is on pace for a run differential of plus-838, which would obliterate that mark.

Run differential helps identify baseball's best teams, but an even better way is baseruns, a measure of how many runs a team should have scored or allowed given its offensive and defensive performance. The math behind baseruns can be daunting, yet because it removes the effects of sequencing — the order in which outcomes occur — from performance, it gives us a better valuation at the team level.

Here's a simple illustration of how and why it works. A team draws four walks in a nine-inning game. If those four walks were issued consecutively in an inning, it will create a run. But if those walks were spread out over four innings, they might have no impact on the scoreboard.

We can take it a step further and use the expected statistics for each team to derive baseruns. These expected stats use metrics such as exit velocity and launch angle to determine the likelihood of a hit, further stripping away good or bad luck a team might be experiencing from the inputs into the baseruns formula. For example, the Kansas City Royals are batting .230, but we would have expected an average of .245 based on balls in play, per data from the website TruMedia. So instead of 354 base hits, we can give Kansas City credit for 376 in the formula.

Next, we can adjust each team's performance via baseruns for strength of schedule, also known as a simple ranking system, showing us how many runs per game above or below average each team *should* be scoring this season. Then it is a simple exercise to rank the teams to get the best and worst MLB has to offer in 2023. (All ratings are as of Monday morning.)

The top team in this expected baseruns formula adjusted for opponent, the Rays, should not surprise anyone. Their performance fuels an estimate of 1.5 runs per game better than an average team. The Los Angeles Dodgers (+1.3) are second, followed by another AL East team, the Blue Jays (+1.0). The Red Sox (+0.7, seventh) and Yankees (+0.5, ninth) also rank in the top 10. (The Orioles are considered an average team by this metric and rank 16th.) Still, no other division has more than two squads in the top 10, making the AL East clearly the strongest division in baseball.

But because of baseball's playoff format, at least one of these teams will miss the postseason, and head-to-head attrition could take a further toll. Oddsmakers aren't convinced the eventual World Series winner will emerge from the game's strongest division. The odds for the World Series winner to come from the AL East are between +250 (wager $100 to win $250) and +300, depending on the sportsbook. The NL East is typically the second choice at around +290 odds, while one oddsmaker, Caesars, has the NL East as a slight favorite. Two teams, the Atlanta Braves (+500 at FanDuel) and Los Angeles Dodgers (+500 at FanDuel), are also given shorter odds to win the World Series than the Rays (+650 at FanDuel).

Looked at another way, those odds imply the Braves have a 17 percent chance to win the World Series, while the Dodgers have a 14 percent chance. The Rays, with a 13 percent chance, are tied with the Astros.

A 46-year-old club pro is in top 10 at Oak Hill, and what a time he's having

BY CHUCK CULPEPPER

ROCHESTER, N.Y. — He slapped hands or bumped fists with spectator after spectator as he walked from hole to hole. He acknowledged the crowd after a birdie with a gesture that seemed to say, *You mean that cheering is for me?* He delighted interviewers for another day with paragraphs of lively, detailed answers. He relished ovations and roars he had never heard in his 46-year life, the kind his rivals on the leader board have heard all through adulthood.

In other words, Michael Block lived this PGA Championship Saturday the way we would all hope we would live this PGA Championship Saturday if what has happened for Block this week had happened for us.

The bearded, sunburned club professional at Arroyo Trabuco in Mission Viejo, Calif., the 10-time Southern California PGA player of the year, the 2022 national PGA professional of the year, this very good player who got here by finishing in a tie for second at the PGA Professional Championship . . . has found a fresh realm.

He has amplified the tenor of this major. He has gone 70-70-70 to sit at even par, tied for eighth, six shots behind leader Brooks Koepka, his first time making the cut in his seventh time trying out a major championship across 16 years through the anonymous routes of qualification. He has gone around Oak Hill as a man of the people because he is a man of the people.

"It's built-in [for a] club professional," he said Saturday evening. "You deal with 600 different personalities, right? You've got a lawyer telling you how to grow grass, and you've got an accountant telling you that the burger wasn't cooked right. So you've got to deal with it, and you know how to deal with everybody under the sun. That's a natural thing for me."

The wonder of it prompted this news conference question from Daniel Rapaport, golf writer and podcaster: "What's the biggest check you've received for playing in a golf tournament?"

"Seventy-five thousand," went Block. "[In] 2014, Club Professional National Championship at the Dunes Club in Myrtle Beach. There was the 2001 California State Open for $4,500 for a long, long time, and when I got 75K in one tournament, I was very happy."

"If you finish in the top 10 this week," went Rapaport, "you're going to make at least . . ."

And Block covered his ears, and the room laughed, and what a time he's having.

"I doubt if anybody on this entire property loves golf as much as I love golf. Period," he said. "I grew up my whole life waking up to the Golf Channel at 6:30 in the morning to watch the European Tour because that's all that was on, but I was like, 'I'm watching the European Tour.'

"Colin Montgomerie was the man, and I was lucky enough to get paired with him at the 2014 PGA Championship in Valhalla, which was the coolest experience ever. But I'm a PGA member that loves the game more than anything, and I'm sitting here right now absolutely blown away by this experience, but at the same time I'm blown away by how my game has actually shown up."

His game has shown up beside Justin Rose, 2013 U.S. Open champion and chronic major contender, on a Saturday of a major, and the two of them had one rollicking day together. Block has admired Rose so and for so long that he had to refrain from looking at Rose's face "for the first three holes" because "I knew it could get a little too intimidating, the fact that 'Holy crap, I'm sitting here playing with Justin Rose, and that might get too big for me.' So I literally just kind of looked down, looked at his shoes the first couple holes and got off to a decent start and went on from there."

Said Rose: "He was like a buddy, just walking down the street." And: "I felt like he was rooting for me and I was rooting for him." And: "It was a really great energy out there to play with today, and he plays in a sort of a carefree way, just his mannerisms and routine and the way he kind of one-look hits, especially with his putter."

When the noise did swell, Rose said, "I actually called in my caddie for a couple of reads on four-, five-footers — not because I wanted him to really read the putt but it slowed me down and the crowd settled."

Block can play, he knows he can play, he has graced a long sprinkling of PGA Tour events — 24 in 16 years — and he shot a first-round 65 at the American Express in the California desert in January before the third-day cut got him. He plays routinely in Southern California with tour pros Patrick Cantlay and Beau Hossler, who are three and five shots behind him here. He just never got to feel anything like he's getting to feel now, and he's not going to shortchange joy.

So he got to No. 18 on Saturday with a 20-footer for birdie, and he told caddie John Jackson: "I go, 'If I make this putt on 18, this is going to be the closest thing I'm ever going to get to hitting like a Game 7 home run.' " He barely missed, leaving four inches for par, but he reveled anyway, greeting fans and tossing a golf ball toward a kid behind the ropes.

He has stamped those golf balls with two words: "Why Not."

What a message for a kid.

Koepka will get another chance to prove himself in the final round of the PGA

PGA FROM D1

1 under.

That would be four major champions, one onrushing force (Hovland) and a lot of Canadian voices (following Conners), all of it bubbling beneath Koepka. And that means it's time to see whether a person who perfected the art of finishing and then lost it can rediscover it — or whether protracted recovery from knee surgery might deny rediscovery.

All this will come a mere six Sundays after Koepka sat up all night on a Sunday into a Monday because of the bafflement of that Sunday at the Masters and his 75 groaning from the leader board.

He led by two entering that final round, so by Saturday he vowed "to just never think the way I thought going into the final round. I think that was a big thing for me, but other than that I think even having — learning what I learned at Augusta kind of helped today. Like I said, I won't do it again the rest of my career. But that doesn't mean that you can't go play bad — you can play good, you'll play bad, but I'll never have that mind-set or that won't ever be the reason."

Coy as ever, he won't reveal the pre-Augusta Sunday thought.

"Not really, no," he had said here Wednesday. "I'll be honest. Yeah, I'll keep that to myself."



ABBIE PARR/ASSOCIATED PRESS

After blowing a lead at the Masters, Brooks Koepka said he vowed "to just never think the way I thought going into the final round."

It must have been some crummy thought.

Here's how one of the best finishers in sports got to be one of the best finishers in sports: He won every which pressurized way. He won the 2017 U.S. Open at Erin Hills in Wisconsin by four after starting Sunday one shot back, won the 2018 U.S. Open at diabolical Shinnecock on Long Island by one after starting Sunday in a four-way tie for the lead, won the 2018 PGA at Bellerive in suburban St. Louis by two with a 66 that repelled the ferocious charge of a 64 from (gosh) Tiger Woods, and won the 2019 PGA at Bethpage near the inner end of Long Island by two after leading by seven and watching Dustin Johnson climb within one as the New York booms and ovations tilted toward Johnson.

None of that was anything akin to easy.

"I love New York," Koepka said of the noise Saturday, so there's that.

With Koepka established as great and super on Sunday as the decade turned, he began to look great but shaky on Sunday, which just looked plain weird.

At the 2020 PGA at Harding Park in San Francisco, he began the final round two shots off the lead, talked some welcome trash about leader Johnson and then tied for the second-worst round in the entire mix, a closing 74 on a generous course. At the 2021 PGA at Kiawah Island in South Carolina, he began Sunday in second, one shot behind Phil Mickelson, then shot a 74 that made him unmemorable in a day that gushed memories of Mickelson. And at the 2023 Masters, yeah.

Now he's up there at two straight majors, fantastic enough for the chance to flex a learning curve right away, a chance that doesn't come to those who aren't fantastic. "I thought all I had to do was be healthy," he said Saturday. "That was just the only question mark. But, you know, having an offseason to kind of just bust my butt and be in the gym every day, to work on things, doing different — doing different recovery, it's been really good." The long road from knee surgery in March 2021 might have found its way to something more like the late 2010s.

Here in the early 2020s, Hovland has reached 25 as a routine threat — tied for seventh and tied for fourth at the previous two majors. "Yeah, another boring answer," he said of his mind-set for Sunday, soon adding, "I don't think this is a course where you can kind of get too crazy." He did say, "My iron game has been very, very good this week," but more in the area of curbing stress by getting to 15 or 20 feet rather than causing wows with wondrous shots.

Conners, who has spent a heap of moments leading here in his 17th try at a major, followed his 67 of Thursday and his 68 of Friday with a 70. He then said, "Yeah, it was a really solid day," solid enough that he overcame a wacky situation on No. 16 where his ball became so embedded at the edge of a bunker that it became hard even to find. His double bogey dropped him from 7 under to 5 under but "didn't really affect the last few holes," he said.

Scheffler, the 2022 Masters champion so good that his front nine felt as if it didn't belong — bogeys on Nos. 1, 2, 6 and 7 — wound up "proud of how I fought." Rose, with 19 major top-10s, 10 top-fives and one major win (2013 U.S. Open), contends yet again.

And there's McIlroy, even though McIlroy hasn't always felt as if he's there. "I think I still don't feel like my game is in great shape," he said after a second straight 69 built off five birdies and four bogeys. "I've held it together well. . . . But I think this tournament and especially in these conditions and on this golf course, the nonphysical parts of the game I think are way more important this week than the physical parts of the game — and I think I've done those well, and that's the reason that I'm in a decent position."

That nonphysical part is about to get another close-up Sunday — for that man five shots ahead of McIlroy more than for anyone else.

D.C. United gets late burst to push past lowly Los Angeles

D.C. UNITED 3, GALAXY 0

BY STEVEN GOFF

D.C. United is at the point in Wayne Rooney's coaching project at which home dates against lesser opponents demand three points. The days of taking positives from a draw or a defeat at Audi Field are no longer acceptable.

Even without a full roster, Rooney expects nothing less than a victory in matches such as Saturday's rumble with the Los Angeles Galaxy, which arrived 29th in a 29-team league.

Rooney's patience was tested, but with a three-goal uprising over 10 minutes of the second half, helped by the Galaxy's shoddy goalkeeping, United roared to a 3-0 victory before a rain-battered crowd of 19,215.

Christian Benteke scored in the 71st minute and assisted on Cristian Dájome's goal two minutes later, then Mateusz Klich cleaned up a rebound in the 80th as United (5-5-4) improved to 4-1-2 in its past seven outings.

"There wasn't much in the game, so the first goal was always going to be vital," Rooney said.

He saluted his team's perseverance: "That's a huge difference from last season. We know we can win games toward the end. And the important thing, which I stressed to the players, is if you're not winning the game, stay in the game. And you're always going to get a chance to go on and try to win the game."

The Galaxy (2-8-3) caused minor problems before United busted the match open.

Under pressure by Lewis O'Brien in the penalty area, Galaxy goalkeeper Jonathan Bond misplayed the ball with his feet and left it for Benteke, who scored into an open net for his sixth goal of the year.

"Absolutely brilliant from Lewis O'Brien," Rooney said. "And then from there, I thought we controlled the game quite well."



JOHN MCDONNELL/THE WASHINGTON POST

Christian Benteke, center, opened the scoring in the 71st minute, and then United added two goals in the next nine minutes to pull away.

The lead swelled two minutes later. United goalkeeper Tyler Miller launched a long ball. Dájome and Benteke pressured the Galaxy back line. Benteke used his strength and touch to set up Dájome, who rushed through a channel and scored his first goal since he was acquired from the Vancouver Whitecaps last month.

Seven minutes later, Bond fumbled Dájome's cross, leaving the ball for Klich to score for the first time since the Feb. 25 opener against Toronto FC, next weekend's opponent at BMO Field.

Over a busy eight days, United went unbeaten (1-0-2) and conceded one goal.

Rooney started the same lineup that earned a 0-0 draw at Philadelphia on Wednesday. The decision stemmed from both the absence of eight regulars and the desire for continuity after a quality performance against the Union.

Ominous skies during warmups opened up as the game began, belting the venue with heavy rain. The Galaxy created several dangerous sequences but didn't test Miller.

The half was marked by United's incomplete possession and the Galaxy's harmless counterattacks. The conditions didn't help.

The amount of commotion and haphazard touches in the first half, though, seemed to portend a breakthrough by one team or the other.

For a moment, United thought it had gone ahead in the 67th minute, when Benteke tucked in Chris Durkin's cross to cap a terrific buildup from its own end. However, an offside violation nullified it.

United did not have to wait long to get one that counted — then another and another.

"You can see the way we're playing is miles better [than early in the season], and it was just a matter of time until we did get the goals," O'Brien said.

Supported by center backs Victor Palsson, Derrick Williams and Donovan Pines, Miller recorded his second consecutive shutout and his fifth in nine matches.

"We showed against Philadelphia we can compete against one of the best teams," Benteke said. "And we confirmed today we can get the points at home. We are in a good mood and have some good momentum going for us."

Here's what else to know about United's victory:

On the mend

Rooney said he is hopeful center back Steven Birnbaum (hip), wing backs Pedro Santos (hamstring) and Andy Najar (calf) and forward Taxi Fountas (hamstring) will be available next Saturday in Toronto.

"The lads who have been playing make it very difficult for me to take any of them out," Rooney said, "and so that's great competition."

Forward Nigel Robertha (ankle) and wing back Ruan (hamstring) are on a longer timetable.

Jeahze returns stateside

Left back Mohanad Jeahze returned to Washington on Wednesday after being cleared of assault allegations in Stockholm, club officials said. Swedish authorities have not commented.

Jeahze has spoken to MLS officials about lifting his suspension, which is preventing him from participating in team activities. Even if he's reinstated, he wouldn't return to action for a few weeks because of a quadriceps injury suffered last month before visiting his native Sweden.

Hopkins loaned to Loudoun

Jackson Hopkins, an 18-year-old homegrown midfielder from Fredericksburg, was loaned to second-division Loudoun United for the rest of the year, though he could be recalled at any time.

After making 21 league appearances and 11 starts last year, he has struggled to earn playing time since mid-March: three regular season minutes and two U.S. Open Cup starts. Defender Hayden Sargis and homegrown midfielder Jeremy Garay are also on loan to Loudoun.

D.C. United at Toronto FC
Saturday, 7:30 p.m., Apple TV Plus

SOCCER ROUNDUP

Arsenal completes stunning collapse, and Manchester City clinches EPL title

N. FOREST 1, ARSENAL 0

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Arsenal's end-of-season collapse is complete. Manchester City is the English Premier League champion again.

A 1-0 loss at Nottingham Forest capped a stunning implosion by Arsenal in a title race that came to an end Saturday, with City moving into an unassailable four-point lead without playing.

It is City's seventh league crown in a 12-year period during which the Abu Dhabi-owned club has changed the face of the English game with its wealth and dominance under Pep Guardiola.

City's latest title is the fifth in Guardiola's seven years at the club and owes as much to its end-of-season streak of 11 straight victories as it does to a meltdown by Arsenal, just when a first league title since 2004 was in sight.

Arsenal led by eight points at the start of April but has won only two of eight games since, and it won't win the league despite being in first place for 248 days.

"It is a very sad day," Arsenal Manager Mikel Arteta said. "We have been working for 11 months with that aim and have been on top for so many days. We have competed, but we didn't have enough."

A win at the City Ground probably would have delayed the inevitable, but Taiwo Awoniyi's 19th-minute goal brought an end to the title race with City still having three games to play.



VINCE MIGNOTT/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

Manager Mikel Arteta's Arsenal team spent 248 days leading the Premier League this season but missed its first title since 2004.

The result also ensured Forest was safe from relegation in its first season back in the top flight since 1999. Home fans danced and swirled scarfs after the full-time whistle as the players did a lap of appreciation.

The race for the final two Champions League qualification places behind Man City and Arsenal is nearly over after Manchester United beat Bournemouth, 1-0, on the road and Liverpool could only draw, 1-1, at home to Aston Villa.

Fifth-place Liverpool is three points behind both Newcastle in third and United in fourth.

• **SPAIN:** Alexander Sorloth set up the fifth-minute opener and scored in the 71st to lead Real Sociedad to a 2-1 win at Barcelona.

The loss did little to dampen the festive atmosphere at Camp Nou. With the La Liga title already clinched, Barcelona's fans quickly moved on to what they want next: the return of their all-time favorite player. Chants of "Messi!" rang out in the 10th minute for Lionel Messi's old No. 10 shirt.

Meanwhile, Sociedad's triumph — its first at Barcelona since 1991 — kept the club in fourth place and on pace to earn the final Champions League berth. . . .

Nicolas Jackson continued his great form by setting up goals by Yéremy Pino and Gerard Moreno for fifth-place Villarreal, which won at Girona, 2-1, to stay within five points of Sociedad. . . .

Athletic Bilbao took advantage of Girona's first loss in five rounds to move ahead of the Catalan side after being Celta Vigo, 2-1.

• **GERMANY:** Bayern Munich squandered its Bundesliga lead when Leipzig came from behind to win 3-1, giving Dortmund the chance to move to the top ahead of the final round.

Bayern just needed to win its last two games to be sure of claiming its record-extending 11th consecutive title, but Leipzig's shocking win in Munich handed Dortmund the initiative.

It started so well for the Bavarian powerhouse. Thomas Müller, making his second consecutive start, set up Serge Gnabry for the opener in the 25th minute.

But Konrad Laimer scored a deserved equalizer in the 64th, then Christopher Nkunku scored from the penalty spot in the 76th after he was fouled in the area by Benjamin Pavard.

Dominik Szoboszlai sealed it on another penalty in the 85th. . . .

Fourth-place Union Berlin missed the chance to consolidate its Champions League qualification spot after losing at Hoffenheim, 4-2.

• **FRANCE:** Marseille fell behind Lens in the race for an automatic Champions League place from Ligue 1 with a 2-1 loss at Lille.

Lille closed the gap on Monaco in the chase for fourth and a Europa League place. Third-place Marseille was two points behind Lens.

Marseille was without suspended playmaker Dimitri Payet but took the lead in the 29th minute when Jonathan Clauss clipped the ball over the goalkeeper.

After Canada striker Jonathan David equalized from the spot in the 50th, Jonathan Bamba headed in Rémy Cabella's cross for Lille's winner in the 72nd.

• **ITALY:** AC Milan rebounded from Champions League disappointment by beating already-relegated Sampdoria, 5-1, at home in Serie A to boost its bid to qualify for next season's competition.

Olivier Giroud netted his first Serie A hat trick, Rafael Leão also scored, and Brahim Díaz set up two goals before capping a fine performance with one of his own in the second half. Leão also set up Giroud's third and won a penalty.

Milan moved to within one point of fourth-place Lazio and two behind Inter Milan. . . .

Atalanta kept alive its hopes of qualifying for Europe by rallying to beat relegation-threatened Hellas Verona, 3-1.

• **MLS:** Júnior Moreno scored the go-ahead goal in the 67th minute, and host FC Cincinnati held on to defeat the rival Columbus Crew, 3-2.

Luciano Acosta recorded a pair of first-half goals for Cincinnati, which has won eight straight matches at home. The team sits atop the Eastern Conference. . . .

Andrés Reyes and Cory Burke found the net in the first half to power the New York Red Bulls to a 2-1 win over CF Montreal in Harrison, N.J. . . .

Ercan Kara and Martín Ojeda each had a goal and an assist to power Orlando City to a 3-1 victory over Inter Miami in Fort Lauderdale, Fla. . . .

Dániel Gazdag scored two goals in the second half to spark the Philadelphia Union to a 3-0 victory over the New England Revolution in Chester, Pa.

• **NWSL:** Kylie Strom's goal in the 77th minute lifted the host Orlando Pride to a 2-1 win over the Washington Spirit.

Sam Staab scored in the first half for the Spirit, which dropped to 4-1-3 after its first loss in league play. . . .

Alex Morgan scored from outside the box in the second minute to lead the San Diego Wave to a 3-0 win over the host Houston Dash.

Sierra Enge and Madison Pogarch scored in the second half for the Wave, which moved into first place on goal differential. . . .

Savannah DeMelo and Kirsten Davis scored in the first half of Racing Louisville's 2-0 win at the Kansas City Current. . . .

The North Carolina Courage and Angel City played to a scoreless draw in Cary, N.C.

Ancelotti commits to Madrid

Carlo Ancelotti said he will finish his contract with Real Madrid despite its loss in the Champions League semifinals and with rumors swirling that Brazil would love to hire him as coach.

"I have a contract until June 2024, and the club has already guaranteed I will see out my contract. Everyone knows that's exactly what I want to do," Ancelotti said in his first news conference since he spoke immediately after Manchester City routed his team, 4-0, on Wednesday.

STANLEY CUP PLAYOFFS

Tkachuk is OT hero again for Florida

PANTHERS 2, HURRICANES 1 (OT)

BY AARON BEARD

RALEIGH, N.C. — Matthew Tkachuk finished a feed from Sam Reinhart at the 1:51 mark of overtime to help the Florida Panthers beat the Carolina Hurricanes, 2-1, on Saturday night for a 2-0 series lead in the Eastern Conference finals.

Less than two days after he scored the winner in a four-overtime thriller, Tkachuk came through again, this time on the power play after a faceoff win by the Panthers. Sam Bennett found Reinhart on the left side, who zipped the puck across to Tkachuk for the easy finish against a sprawled-out Antti Raanta.

Tkachuk immediately skated toward the door on the boards leading to the Florida locker room, motioning to his teammates that it was time to roll out and celebrate.

Just like that, Florida won on the road for the eighth straight time in the playoffs and improved to 6-0 in overtime in the postseason.

The Panthers are now two wins away from reaching the Stanley Cup finals for the first time since 1996, which also marks their last appearance in the East final.

Aleksander Barkov had a highlight-reel goal for Florida in the second period, while Sergei Bobrovsky again befuddled Carolina with 37 stops.

Jalen Chatfield scored Carolina's lone goal in the opening minutes, while Raanta finished with 24 saves.

Florida has home-ice advantage for the next two games, starting Monday with Game 3.

Each team also had a goal overturned on a video-review challenge for offsides.

— Associated Press



GRANT HALVERSON/GETTY IMAGES

Florida's Sam Reinhart fed Matthew Tkachuk, top, for the game-winning goal and a 2-0 series lead.

Shellenberger's virtuoso effort vaults Cavs to Final Four

VIRGINIA 17, GEORGETOWN 14

BY GENE WANG

ALBANY, N.Y. — Just seven seconds into Saturday's NCAA men's lacrosse tournament quarterfinal, Virginia's Connor Shellenberger unleashed a blistering shot past Georgetown goalie Danny Hincks.

Nine seconds later, an almost identical scenario unfolded for the Cavaliers, but Shellenberger was far from done after scoring his second goal. The redshirt junior secured a hat trick within the first five minutes, and the Hoyas were all but powerless as they tried to blunt the assault by the Tewaaraton Award finalist.

By the time the final horn sounded, Shellenberger had scored or assisted on 10 Virginia goals during a 17-14 win that sent the second-seeded Cavaliers (13-3) to their third Final Four since 2019 and ended seventh-seeded Georgetown's program record winning streak at 13. In the semifinals, Virginia will face third-seeded Notre Dame or sixth-seeded Johns Hopkins next Saturday at Philadelphia's Lincoln Financial Field.

Shellenberger's 10 points, which included six goals, matched the program record for an NCAA tournament game and lifted Virginia to its sixth victory in six meetings with Georgetown. His previous six-goal outburst came in May 2021 — also against the Hoyas, also in the NCAA quarterfinals and also in a Cavaliers win.

"I think it helps to get in that zone pretty quickly," Shellenberger said. "A lot of credit to Petey LaSalla winning those two face-offs. . . . I think it kind of just helped us settle into the game a little bit and try to set the tone."

Voted most outstanding player of the 2021 NCAA tournament when Virginia won a second straight national championship, Shellenberger assisted on Payton Cormier's goal with 8:54 left in the third quarter Saturday to put the Cavaliers ahead to stay at 12-11.



BRIAN FOLEY/VIRGINIA ATHLETICS

Connor Shellenberger, right, had six goals and four assists Saturday as second-seeded Virginia (13-3) ended No. 7 seed Georgetown's program record 13-game winning streak.

That began a decisive stretch of four consecutive goals in a game Virginia never trailed. Shellenberger scored or assisted on three of the Cavaliers' five goals in the third quarter. His goal to open the fourth followed by an assist on Xander Dickson's tally grew the Cavaliers' edge to 17-12 with 8:34 to play.

"We just couldn't stop them," Georgetown Coach Kevin Warne said. "[Shellenberger] is a great player. He's fantastic, and at some point he will graduate."

Shellenberger turned in a virtuoso performance despite having to contend with close defenseman Will Bowen of Georgetown (13-4). The graduate transfer from North Carolina was recently named Big East defensive player of the year.

Dickson had two goals to add to his record-setting redshirt senior season. He has 60 goals, the most in program history, and leads the Cavaliers with 81 points. He is eight shy of matching Virginia's single-season record set by Matt Moore on the way to the national title in 2019.

Georgetown got four goals from Brian Minicus, who found consistent success in tight windows during one-on-one situations, beating Cavaliers defensemen Cade Saustad, an all-American, and Cole Kastner, the 2022 ACC defensive player of the year.

"They're two very good defenders, and we sort of have to play to our strengths to find an advantage," Minicus said. "I know they don't really give advantages that easily, so we tried to break them down with the two-man game, and that seemed to have a little bit of success — but not as much success as we wanted."

Making their fifth consecutive appearance in the NCAA tournament, the Hoyas rallied from a 7-4 deficit at the end of the first quarter to tie it at 10 on Minicus's final goal. Nicky Solomon's strike several minutes later forged an 11-11 tie before the Cavaliers pulled away.

Virginia held Hoyas attackman Tucker Dordevic to two goals. The graduate transfer from rival Syracuse set the Georgetown single-season record for goals with 65 and tallied six in last weekend's 19-17 first-round win over Yale at Cooper Field.

In the second half, Virginia Coach Lars Tiffany had his team pack the interior, which forced Georgetown to take more shots from the perimeter. Goalie Matthew Nunes was up to the challenge with 13 saves, four of which came in the fourth quarter to quell any glimmer of a Georgetown comeback.

"What a formidable opponent," Tiffany said. "The advantage of that is we really feel like as a team . . . that we earned our way to the Final Four. To overcome a team that has just as much athleticism as we do and more men drafted in the [Premier Lacrosse League] draft, it really is a sense of accomplishment."

MARYLAND 4A LACROSSE SEMIFINALS

For Bruins, same result, different paths: Boys survive in OT, and girls roll

BROADNECK 9, URBANA 8 (OT)

BY SHANE CONNUCK

On Broadneck's first possession of overtime in Saturday's Maryland 4A semifinal, senior attackman Ryan Della ended the suspense.

Upon receiving a feed from senior midfielder Ryan Salazar, Della, knowing the opposing goalie was left-handed, fired a shot toward the upper left section of the cage.

It was a bit of relief after Broadneck controlled most of its 9-8 victory over Urbana but could never truly pull away at Crofton High in Gambrills.

"I can't even believe it right now," said Della, who led Broadneck with four goals. "You always dream of that as a kid, scoring the game-winning goal. It just happened."

It was a rare tight game for the Bruins (19-0), whose only loss of the past two seasons came against Churchill in last year's 4A title game. Broadneck advances to face Sherwood, which it beat, 20-5, on April 4, in next week's 4A championship at Stevenson University.

After the Bruins held a 7-6 advantage for much of the fourth quarter, the Hawks scored several crucial goals and forced overtime knotted at 8.

In the end, the Bruins were just a step ahead. At one point during the third quarter, senior attackman Jackson Shaw missed a shot, and while Urbana attempted to corral the ball, Shaw dove forward to recover it and nail a second-chance effort.

"Jackson just stuck with that ball," Coach Jeff McGuire said. "It's goals like those. That goal on the doorstep equals the same as the one that Ryan Della scored at the end."

Girls return to title game

On Wednesday, the Broadneck girls' lacrosse team's bus broke down when it was about a half-hour from Urbana, where the Bruins were facing the Hawks in a state quarterfinal. Parents rushed to Interstate 70 and shuttled players to the game.

For sixth-seeded Broadneck, seeking its third straight 4A title and sixth in program history, these unexpected moments calmed some nerves ahead of its elimination game. The Bruins rolled past Urbana and advanced to Saturday's semifinal, in which they went wire-to-wire in a 17-4 walloping of North County.

"It was funny to us," said senior midfielder Lexi Dupcak, a Maryland commit. "We all just got to talk and get the jitters out. The long bus ride away was tiring. It gave us a pump-up, something to laugh about."

After their bus arrived at Crofton High on time Saturday morning, Broadneck (14-5) jumped out to a 12-2 lead and forced a running clock in the first half. The Bruins' defense held North County (12-5), an offense that scored 20 goals in two of its three region tournament games, to its second-lowest goal total of the season.

"We've just hit our rhythm," Coach Katy Kelley said. "We really didn't put a complete game together in our regular season, I didn't feel like."

Broadneck, which dropped regular season games to Severna Park and Glenelg, will face Dulaney in next week's 4A championship at Stevenson University in Owings Mills.

Senior midfielder Lilly Kelley, who will play at James Madison, paced the Bruins with four goals. She's one of seven seniors excited for a chance to win a third consecutive title after not having their freshman season amid the pandemic.

"We just don't want to lose," said senior attacker Mary Moore, a Villanova commit who scored twice. "That thought of 'this could be our last game' really hypes everyone up."

MARYLAND 4A GIRLS' LACROSSE SEMIFINAL

Six months after getting new coach, Wildcats see unexpected run come to end

DULANEY 17, WALTER JOHNSON 6

BY SAM JANE

In November, Walter Johnson seniors Ellie Hilton and Olivia McCloskey cautiously walked into the office of Tina Fitzpatrick, the school's newly hired physics teacher.

They weren't looking to discuss homework. They wanted a new lacrosse coach.

The co-captains of the Wildcats girls' lacrosse team, Hilton and McCloskey were stunned when their previous coach, Colleen Klipstein, abruptly resigned earlier that year. So when they found out Fitzpatrick played club lacrosse in college, they made a pitch for her to be their next coach, which she ultimately accepted.

Six months later, Walter Johnson was in the 4A state semifinals, but its unexpected run ended Saturday, when the Wildcats fell to Dulaney, 17-6, in Bel Air.

Preventing Walter Johnson (12-3) from scoring in the first 14 minutes of action, Dulaney (11-4) rode its lockdown defense to a state championship game appearance, in which it will face Broadneck in the coming week. The Lions jumped out to a 5-0 lead and held the Wildcats to their lowest goal total this season.

"We worked so well as a team, it just kind of intimidates the other team and scares them," Dulaney attacker Anna Jones said.

After winning the program's first region championship since 2009, Walter Johnson fell short of its ultimate goal. Still, when Hilton spoke with Fitzpatrick in the fall, playing in this type of game was what she envisioned.

"Obviously we had an amazing coach before, but I think we just needed something fresh to help us," Hilton said before Saturday's game.

When Fitzpatrick was hired, there was initial distress among some players about the change. Hilton said teammates came to her with concerns about Fitzpatrick changing traditions from years past; some wondered how they would fit into the new coach's system.

Eventually the relationship between the coach and players grew, and the Wildcats emerged as one of the state's best teams. They defeated rival Whitman, 11-8, for the region championship to fulfill a preseason goal.

Dulaney proved to be too tough. The Lions used their length to disrupt passing lanes, making Walter Johnson play at an excruciatingly slow pace in the offensive zone.

After the Wildcats went on a scoring run at the end of the half to cut the deficit to five, Dulaney responded with eight second-half goals to put the game out of reach.

Still, Fitzpatrick was proud of the steps her team took in her first season.

"In our preseason meeting, when they put up their goals for the season . . . getting here, we didn't think that was possible," Fitzpatrick said.

WCAC TRACK AND FIELD CHAMPIONSHIPS

Carroll boys win conference for first time; St. John's girls claim fifth straight

BY IAN DECKER

The fact that Drew Dillard won the high jump Saturday at the Washington Catholic Athletic Conference track and field championships was unsurprising. That he did it injured, however, added a layer; the All-Met indoor track athlete of the year had pulled his hamstring in the triple jump.

Even with Dillard sidelined, Carroll (160.5) won its first WCAC title, besting 2022 champion DeMatha (109) and St. John's (101.5) at Good Counsel High in Olney.

"This one means a lot," Coach Rafiu Bakare said. "This is the group that has been together for a few years, and today it started to jell. Our goal was to show the rest of this area that we are a track school. We're not just football; we're not just basketball; we're track."

Led by South Carolina commit Nyckoles Harbor, the male track performer of the meet after he won the 100 meters (10.47 seconds) and 200 (20.77, a meet record) and was part of the winning teams in the 4x100 relay (41.21, a meet record) and 4x200 (1:24.60, a meet record), Carroll dominated the sprint events en route to the title.

"We are definitely a track school," said junior sprinter Damill Bostic, who won the 400 (48.90). "We knew we had enough to get the job done."

"Carroll is a small school," 4x200-winning anchor Marcus Brown said, "but we have the heart, and that's why we came out with a ring today."

On the girls' side, St. John's (176) coasted to its fifth straight first-place finish, beating Elizabeth Seton (128.5) and Bishop McNamara (108.5).

The Cadets felt stronger this season after a mid-April meet at Mt. San Antonio College, roughly 30 miles from the Pacific Ocean.

"We knew we had something special, and then it really came to fruition [Saturday]," Coach Desmond Dunham said. "It's just been a pretty surreal experience this entire season."

"The synergy, the team effort, the chemistry has just been there this entire season," Dunham added.

"When you talk about individuals coming together, you do extraordinary things, and that definitely is the trademark of this group."

The Cadets swept the four relays — all of which were meet records — and won nine of 17 events.

Sophomore Cymia Yourish broke the meet record in the 400 in 54.29 and was on the winning 4x200 and 4x400 relays.

The team calls itself a family, the guiding principle in its success.

"I'm a senior, so winning the title for me was everything today," said senior captain Lailah King, who earned gold in the 100 and 4x100. "For the team, I was a leader to a lot of these girls. A lot of them are like my little sisters, so it was just a super loving environment."

Distance standout Evelyn Rogers of Elizabeth Seton was the girls' track performer of the meet. DeMatha's Michael Hansford (long jump, triple jump) and Paul VI's Alauna Rutland (high jump, long jump) were named boys' and girls' field performers of the meet. Bakare was named coach of the year.

SCOREBOARD

PRO BASKETBALL

NBA playoffs

CONFERENCE SEMIFINALS
Best of seven.

EASTERN CONFERENCE
HEAT ELIMINATED KNICKS, 4-2
Game 1: Miami 108, at New York 101
Game 2: at New York 111, Miami 105
Game 3: at Miami 105, New York 86
Game 4: at Miami 109, New York 101
Game 5: at New York 112, Miami 103
Game 6: at Miami 96, New York 92

CELTICS ELIMINATED 76ERS, 4-3
Game 1: Philadelphia 119, at Boston 115
Game 2: at Boston 121, Philadelphia 87
Game 3: Boston 114, at Philadelphia 102
Game 4: at Philadelphia 116, Boston 115 (OT)
Game 5: Philadelphia 115, at Boston 103
Game 6: Boston 95, at Philadelphia 86
Game 7: at Boston 112, Philadelphia 88

WESTERN CONFERENCE
NUGGETS ELIMINATED SUNS, 4-2
Game 1: at Denver 125, Phoenix 107
Game 2: at Denver 97, Phoenix 87
Game 3: at Phoenix 121, Denver 114
Game 4: at Phoenix 129, Denver 124
Game 5: at Denver 118, Phoenix 102
Game 6: Denver 125, at Phoenix 100

LAKERS ELIMINATED WARRIORS, 4-2
Game 1: L.A. Lakers 117, at Golden State 112
Game 2: at Golden State 127, L.A. Lakers 100
Game 3: at L.A. Lakers 127, Golden State 97
Game 4: at L.A. Lakers 104, Golden State 101
Game 5: at Golden State 121, L.A. Lakers 106
Game 6: at L.A. Lakers 122, Golden State 101

CONFERENCE FINALS
Best of seven; x-If necessary.

EASTERN CONFERENCE
HEAT LEADS CELTICS, 2-0
Game 1: Miami 123, at Boston 116
Game 2: Miami 111, at Boston 105
Sunday's game: Boston at Miami, 8:30, TNT
Tuesday's game: Boston at Miami, 8:30, TNT
x-Thursday's game: Miami at Boston, 8:30, TNT
x-Saturday's game: Boston at Miami, 8:30, TNT
x-Monday, May 29: Miami at Boston, 8:30, TNT

WESTERN CONFERENCE
NUGGETS LEAD LAKERS, 3-0
Game 1: at Denver 132, L.A. Lakers 126
Game 2: at Denver 108, L.A. Lakers 103
Game 3: Denver 119, at L.A. Lakers 108
Monday's game: Denver at L.A. Lakers, 8:30, ESPN
x-Wednesday's game: L.A. Lakers at Denver, 8:30, ESPN
x-Friday's game: Denver at L.A. Lakers, 8:30, ESPN
x-Sunday, May 28: L.A. Lakers at Denver, 8:30, ESPN

NBA FINALS
HEAT-CELTICS WINNER VS.
NUGGETS-LAKERS WINNER
TBD

Nuggets 119, Lakers 108

Denver	32	26	26	35	— 119
L.A. Lakers	20	35	27	26	— 108

DENVER	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Gordon	32:12	2-5	3-4	1-3	4	0	7
Porter Jr.	38:06	4-11	2-2	1-10	6	2	14
Jokic	38:15	9-19	4-7	1-6	8	4	24
Caldwell-Pope	34:14	6-10	1-2	0-3	0	2	17
Murray	41:36	15-29	2-2	0-7	6	2	37
Brown	28:48	6-11	2-2	2-5	5	5	15
Green	23:27	2-3	0-0	0-4	1	3	5
Braun	3:22	0-0	0-0	0-1	0	1	0
TOTALS	240	44-88	14-19	5-39	30	19	119

Percentages: FG .500, FT .737. **3-Point Goals:** 17-41, .415 (Murray 5-11, Caldwell-Pope 4-7, Porter Jr. 4-10, Jokic 2-5, Green 1-2, Brown 1-5, Gordon 0-1). **Team Rebounds:** 9. **Team Turnovers:** 1. **Blocked Shots:** 1 (Gordon). **Turnovers:** 5 (Jokic 2, Caldwell-Pope, Gordon, Murray). **Steals:** 7 (Caldwell-Pope 2, Murray 2, Brown, Jokic, Porter Jr.). **Technical Fouls:** None.

L.A. LAKERS	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
James	42:57	8-19	4-7	0-7	12	2	23
Vanderbilt	13:34	1-4	0-0	0-1	0	1	2
Davis	41:52	11-18	6-8	5-18	1	3	28
Reaves	39:40	7-10	6-6	2-7	5	2	23
Russell	20:01	1-8	0-0	0-3	4	0	3
Hachimura	33:44	5-12	2-2	1-6	1	2	13
Schroder	24:39	2-5	1-2	0-0	1	6	5
Walker IV	18:48	2-5	3-4	1-1	2	2	9
Beasley	0:57	0-1	0-0	0-0	0	0	0
Brown Jr.	0:57	1-2	0-0	1-1	0	0	2
Christie	0:57	0-0	0-0	1-1	0	0	0
Harrison	0:57	0-0	0-0	0-0	1	0	0
Thompson	0:57	0-0	0-0	0-0	0	0	0
TOTALS	240	38-84	22-29	11-45	27	18	108

Percentages: FG .452, FT .759. **3-Point Goals:** 10-32, .313 (Reaves 3-5, James 3-9, Walker IV 2-4, Hachimura 1-3, Russell 1-6, Beasley 0-1, Brown Jr. 0-1, Vanderbilt 0-1, Schroder 0-2). **Team Rebounds:** 9. **Team Turnovers:** None. **Blocked Shots:** 2 (Davis 2). **Turnovers:** 12 (Reaves 4, Russell 3, James 2, Davis, Hachimura, Schroder). **Steals:** 3 (Hachimura, Reaves, Schroder). **Technical Fouls:** None. **A:** 18,997 (18,997)

WNBA

EAST	W	L	Pct	GB
Chicago	1	0	1.000	—
Connecticut	1	0	1.000	—
Washington	1	0	1.000	—
New York	0	1	.000	1
Atlanta	0	1	.000	1
Indiana	0	1	.000	1

WEST	W	L	Pct	GB
Las Vegas	1	0	1.000	—
Los Angeles	1	0	1.000	—
Dallas	1	0	1.000	—
Seattle	0	1	.000	1
Phoenix	0	1	.000	1
Minnesota	0	1	.000	1

FRIDAY'S RESULTS
at Washington 80, New York 64
Connecticut 70, at Indiana 61
Chicago 77, at Minnesota 66
at Los Angeles 94, Phoenix 71

SATURDAY'S RESULTS
at Dallas 85, Atlanta 78
Las Vegas 105, at Seattle 64

SUNDAY'S GAMES
Washington at Connecticut, 1
Indiana at New York, 2
Chicago at Phoenix, 4

MONDAY'S GAMES
No games scheduled.

TUESDAY'S GAMES
Connecticut at Washington, 7
Atlanta at Minnesota, 8

THURSDAY'S GAMES
Las Vegas at Los Angeles, 10
Minnesota at Phoenix, 10

FRIDAY'S GAMES
Washington at Chicago, 8
Dallas at Seattle, 10

Aces 105, Storm 64

Las Vegas	18	25	31	31	— 105
Seattle	14	14	20	16	— 64

LAS VEGAS	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Wilson	27:25	6-13	1-1	1-13	1	1	13
Young	26:23	8-13	4-6	2-5	3	3	23
Parker	23:03	4-9	3-3	0-4	5	2	12
Gray	32:26	6-13	2-2	0-6	6	2	14
Plum	31:46	8-16	4-5	0-5	5	1	23
Stokes	22:53	1-1	0-0	3-9	0	1	2
Clark	22:23	4-5	0-0	0-1	1	2	10
Bell	5:14	1-1	0-0	0-3	1	1	3
George	4:34	2-2	0-0	0-2	0	0	5
Colson	3:53	0-0	0-0	0-2	0	1	0
TOTALS	200	40-73	14-17	6-50	22	14	105

Percentages: FG .548, FT .824. **3-Point Goals:** 11-18, .611 (Young 3-4, Plum 3-5, Clark 2-3, Bell 1-1, George 1-1, Parker 1-2, Gray 0-2). **Team Rebounds:** 3. **Team Turnovers:** None. **Blocked Shots:** 8 (Parker 3, Clark, Gray, Stokes, Wilson, Young). **Turnovers:** 14 (Gray 5, Young 3, Plum 2, Wilson 2, Parker, Stokes). **Steals:** 6 (Clark, Gray, Parker, Plum, Wilson, Young). **Technical Fouls:** None.

SEATTLE	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Magbegor	28:51	3-9	1-2	0-5	0	4	7
Nurse	10:29	0-2	0-0	0-1	0	1	0
Russell	24:15	3-5	0-2	2-9	1	0	6
Loyd	29:10	7-25	5-7	2-4	4	1	22
Turner	17:16	2-4	0-0	0-4	0	2	4
Horston	23:45	4-13	0-0	1-5	3	2	8
Dojkic	17:16	3-4	0-0	0-1	1	2	7
Charles	13:49	1-5	0-0	0-1	0	3	2
Whitcomb	13:43	0-5	1-2	0-0	2	0	1
Guirantes	11:59	1-4	2-2	0-1	0	0	5
Melbourne	6:15	1-2	0-0	0-0	1	1	2
Fankam Mendjiadeu	3:08	0-0	0-0	1-1	0	0	0
TOTALS	200	25-78	9-15	6-32	12	16	64

Percentages: FG .321, FT .600. **3-Point Goals:** 5-21, .238 (Loyd 3-8, Dojkic 1-1, Guirantes 1-2, Charles 0-1, Nurse 0-1, Turner 0-1, Magbegor 0-2, Whitcomb 0-5). **Team Rebounds:** 10. **Team Turnovers:** None. **Blocked Shots:** 6 (Guirantes 2, Loyd 2, Dojkic, Russell). **Turnovers:** 13 (Magbegor 3, Dojkic 2, Horston 2, Loyd 2, Turner 2, Guirantes, Russell). **Steals:** 12 (Magbegor 4, Horston 3, Charles, Dojkic, Loyd, Turner, Whitcomb). **Technical Fouls:** None. **A:** 11,229 (15,354).

Wings 85, Dream 78

Atlanta	18	12	29	19	— 78
Dallas	21	26	22	16	— 85

ATLANTA	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Coffey	20:38	1-3	0-0	0-3	0	4	3
R.Howard	35:38	8-24	0-0	3-10	2	5	20
Parker	29:55	7-14	4-5	9-11	3	2	18
Gray	30:29	4-14	2-3	3-7	7	4	10
McDonald	29:48	2-11	0-1	0-2	1	4	6
Hillmon	18:37	2-3	3-3	2-8	0	3	7
Durr	18:01	4-10	2-2	0-1	2	0	12
Robinson	7:03	1-2	0-0	0-1	2	1	2
Jones	5:21	0-1	0-0	0-1	1	0	0
Cubaj	4:30	0-0	0-0	0-1	0	0	0
TOTALS	200	29-82	11-14	17-45	18	23	78

Percentages: FG .354, FT .786. **3-Point Goals:** 9-32, .281 (R.Howard 4-12, Durr 2-4, McDonald 2-7, Coffey 1-2, Jones 0-1, Parker 0-1, Gray 0-5). **Team Rebounds:** 10. **Team Turnovers:** None. **Blocked Shots:** 6 (Coffey 4, Cubaj, R.Howard). **Turnovers:** 19 (Parker 6, Gray 4, Hillmon 3, McDonald 3, Durr 2, Jones). **Steals:** 6 (Parker 3, Coffey, Durr, Jones). **Technical Fouls:** None.

DALLAS	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
N.Howard	34:25	7-21	4-4	3-10	3	3	20
Sabally	34:54	7-13	8-9	3-7	3	3	25
McCowan	15:32	2-3	0-0	2-9	0	3	4
Burton	24:17	0-1	4-4	1-4	2	3	4
Ogunbowale	38:38	9-25	5-5	0-4	1	3	27
Dangerfield	24:20	0-5	0-0	2-4	2	1	0
Dickey	12:50	1-3	0-2	2-2	0	1	2
Kuier	8:47	0-1	1-2	0-0	2	1	1
Joens	3:11	1-1	0-0	0-0	0	0	2
Siegrist	3:05	0-1	0-0	0-0	0	1	0
TOTALS	200	27-74	22-26	13-40	13	19	85

Percentages: FG .365, FT .846. **3-Point Goals:** 9-30, .300 (Ogunbowale 4-14, Sabally 3-5, N.Howard 2-5, Burton 0-1, Kuier 0-1, McCowan 0-1, Siegrist 0-1, Dangerfield 0-2). **Team Rebounds:** 12. **Team Turnovers:** None. **Blocked Shots:** 5 (N.Howard 2, Sabally 2, Burton). **Turnovers:** 16 (Ogunbowale 5, McCowan 3, N.Howard 3, Dangerfield 2, Sabally 2, Burton). **Steals:** 10 (N.Howard 3, Ogunbowale 3, Sabally 2, Burton, Dangerfield). **Technical Fouls:** None. **A:** 5,588 (7,000)

Sun 70, Fever 61
Late Friday

CONNECTICUT	19	16	23	12	— 70
INDIANA	10	18	15	18	— 61

CONNECTICUT: Bonner 7-13 4-5 19, Thomas 6-14 6-7 18, Jones 4-9 5-6 13, Hayes 1-9 3-4 5, Hiedeman 2-10 1-2 7, Carrington 0-0 0-0 0, Nelson-Ododa 0-1 3-6 3, Allen 1-4 2-2 5, Brown 0-1 0-0 0, Harris 0-5 0-0 0. **Totals** 21-66 24-32 70.

INDIANA: Smith 2-11 2-3 6, Vivians 1-6 1-2 3, Boston 6-10 3-6 15, Mitchell 7-17 2-3 20, Wheeler 0-3 0-1 0, Cannon 2-2 0-0 4, Saxton 0-0 0-0 0, Egbo 1-5 1-2 3, Caldwell 1-5 0-0 3, Hull 0-1 2-2 2, Wallace 2-6 0-0 5. **Totals** 22-66 11-19 61.

Three-point Goals: Connecticut 4-17 (Hiedeman 2-4, Allen 1-2, Bonner 1-6, Harris 0-2, Hayes 0-3), Indiana 6-24 (Mitchell 4-9, Wallace 1-2, Caldwell 1-3, Boston 0-1, Hull 0-1, Wheeler 0-1, Smith 0-3, Vivians 0-4). **Fouled Out:** Connecticut 1 (Jones), Indiana 1 (Boston). **Rebounds:** Connecticut 43 (Thomas 11), Indiana 35 (Boston, Smith 9). **Assists:** Connecticut 15 (Thomas 6), Indiana 15 (Wheeler 5). **Total Fouls:** Connecticut 21, Indiana 24. **A:** 7,356 (20,000)

Sky 77, Lynx 66
Late Friday

CHICAGO	22	22	21	12	— 77
MINNESOTA	24	3	22	17	— 66

CHICAGO: Bertsch 3-7 0-0 6, Copper 7-19 4-4 20, E.Williams 7-9 0-0 14, C.Williams 2-8 0-0 5, Mabrey 2-9 0-0 5, Smith 5-5 2-2 15, Anigwe 0-0 0-0 0, Evans 1-7 0-0 2, Gardner 4-8 0-0 10. **Totals** 31-72 6-7 77.

MINNESOTA: Collier 5-14 6-8 17, Miller 3-9 3-4 9, Shepard 3-5 2-2 8, Banham 0-6 0-0 0, McBride 4-12 2-2 12, Carleton 2-5 0-0 6, Juhász 2-3 1-1 5, Milic 1-3 0-0 2, Powers 0-3 0-0 0, Mitchell 1-3 4-4 7. **Totals** 21-63 18-21 66.

Three-point Goals: Chicago 9-24 (Smith 3-3, Copper 2-3, Gardner 2-3, C.Williams 1-5, Mabrey 1-5, Bertsch 0-1, Evans 0-4), Minnesota 6-24 (Carleton 2-4, McBride 2-8, Mitchell 1-1, Collier 1-4, Powers 0-1, Miller 0-2, Banham 0-4). **Fouled Out:** None. **Rebounds:** Chicago 35 (C.Williams, Copper 7), Minnesota 40 (Shepard 8). **Assists:** Chicago 23 (Copper 5), Minnesota 16 (Shepard 7). **Total Fouls:** Chicago 19, Minnesota 10. **A:** 8,024 (19,356)

Sparks 94, Mercury 71
Late Friday

PHOENIX	22	19	14	16	— 71
LOS ANGELES	19	35	19	21	— 94

PHOENIX: Onyenwere 2-6 1-2 7, Turner 0-0 0-0 0, Griner 7-9 4-4 18, Jefferson 6-12 2-2 16, Taurasi 4-15 6-7 15, Dixon 0-1 0-0 0, Sissoko 1-1 0-0 2, Sutton 4-10 1-2 10, Westbrook 0-5 3-3 3. **Totals** 24-59 17-20 71.

LOS ANGELES: Clarendon 2-10 0-0 5, N.Ogwumike 6-13 5-5 17, C.Ogwumike 6-12 2-2 15, Brown 4-7 3-3 14, Canada 2-9 1-2 5, Hamby 1-7 7-8 9, Holmes 1-6 0-0 2, Clouden 0-0 0-0 0, Cooke 5-6 2-2 14, Kar.Samuelson 2-3 7-7 13. **Totals** 29-73 27-29 94.

Three-point Goals: Phoenix 6-20 (Onyenwere 2-3, Jefferson 2-5, Sutton 1-1, Taurasi 1-9, Westbrook 0-2), Los Angeles 9-22 (Brown 3-5, Cooke 2-2, Kar.Samuelson 2-2, C.Ogwumike 1-3, Clarendon 1-3, Hamby 0-1, N.Ogwumike 0-1, Holmes 0-2, Canada 0-3). **Fouled Out:** None. **Rebounds:** Phoenix 34 (Taurasi, Turner 7), Los Angeles 32 (C.Ogwumike 7). **Assists:** Phoenix 18 (Taurasi 5), Los Angeles 20 (Canada 5). **Total Fouls:** Phoenix 20, Los Angeles 19. **A:** 10,396 (18,997)

COLLEGE LACROSSE

NCAA men's tournament

PLAY-IN GAME
WEDNESDAY, MAY 10
at Delaware 25, Marist 10

FIRST ROUND
SATURDAY, MAY 13
at Virginia 17, Richmond 8
at Notre Dame 20, Utah 7
at Georgetown 19, Yale 17
Army 16, at Maryland 15

SUNDAY, MAY 14
at Johns Hopkins 22, Bryant 8
Michigan 15, at Cornell 14 (OT)
at Duke 12, Delaware 11
at Penn State 13, Princeton 12

QUARTERFINALS
SATURDAY'S RESULTS
Virginia 17, Georgetown 14
Duke 15, Michigan 8

SUNDAY'S GAMES
Army vs. Penn State, noon, ESPNU
Johns Hopkins vs. Notre Dame, 2:30, ESPNU

SEMIFINALS
AT LINCOLN FINANCIAL FIELD, PHILADELPHIA
SATURDAY'S GAMES
TBA, noon, ESPNU
TBA, 2:30, ESPNU

CHAMPIONSHIP
AT LINCOLN FINANCIAL FIELD, PHILADELPHIA
MONDAY, MAY 29
TBA, 1, ESPNU

NCAA women's tournament

FIRST ROUND
FRIDAY, MAY 12
Pennsylvania 13, Connecticut 8
Johns Hopkins 19, Massachusetts 8
at James Madison 12, Army 8
at North Carolina 16, Sacred Heart 5
at Loyola (Md.) 11, Fairfield 6
Michigan 13, Central Michigan 6
at Florida 13, Jacksonville 7
Maryland 11, Drexel 6
Richmond 18, Marquette 8
at Denver 10, Southern California 7
Stony Brook 12, Penn State 8
Notre Dame 21, Mercer 6
Albany 16, Virginia 14

SECOND ROUND
SUNDAY, MAY 14
at North Carolina 16, Richmond 12
Notre Dame 16, at Florida 15
at Northwestern 8, Michigan 7
at James Madison 15, Maryland 14
at Boston College 9, Pennsylvania 7
at Loyola (Md.) 9, Stony Brook 8
at Syracuse 25, Johns Hopkins 8
at Denver 8, Albany 6

QUARTERFINALS
THURSDAY'S RESULTS
Syracuse 13, James Madison 7
Boston College 20, Notre Dame 6
Denver 5, North Carolina 4
Northwestern 16, Loyola (Md.) 6

SEMIFINALS
AT WAKEMED SOCCER PARK, CARY, N.C.
FRIDAY'S GAMES
Northwestern vs. Denver, 3, ESPNU
Boston College vs. Syracuse, 5:30, ESPNU

CHAMPIONSHIP
AT WAKEMED SOCCER PARK, CARY, N.C.
SUNDAY, MAY 28
TBA, noon, ESPN

TRANSACTIONS

MLB

Boston Red Sox: Traded CF Greg Allen to N.Y. Yankees in exchange for RHP Diego Hernandez and placed him on the active roster.
Cleveland Guardians: Assigned RHP Triston McKenzie to Columbus (IL) on a rehab assignment.
Kansas City Royals: Reinstated LHP Amir Garrett to the active roster. Optioned RHP Jackson Kowar to Omaha (IL:).
Minnesota Twins: Placed INF Jorge Polanco on the 10-day IL, retroactive to May 18. Recalled INF Edouard Julien from St. Paul (IL). Agreed to terms with RHP Austin Brice on a minor league contract.

HOCKEY

Stanley Cup playoffs

FIRST ROUND
Best of seven.

EASTERN CONFERENCE
PANTHERS ELIMINATED BRUINS, 4-3
Game 1: at Boston 3, Florida 1
Game 2: Florida 6, at Boston 3
Game 3: Boston 4, at Florida 2
Game 4: Boston 6, at Florida 2
Game 5: Florida 4, at Boston 3 (OT)
Game 6: at Florida 7, Boston 5
Game 7: Florida 4, at Boston 3 (OT)

HURRICANES ELIMINATED ISLANDERS, 4-2
Game 1: at Carolina 2, N.Y. Islanders 1
Game 2: at Carolina 4, N.Y. Islanders 3 (OT)
Game 3: at N.Y. Islanders 5, Carolina 1
Game 4: Carolina 5, at N.Y. Islanders 2
Game 5: N.Y. Islanders 3, at Carolina 2
Game 6: Carolina 2, at N.Y. Islanders 1 (OT)

DEVILS ELIMINATED RANGERS, 4-3
Game 1: N.Y. Rangers 5, at New Jersey 1
Game 2: N.Y. Rangers 5, at New Jersey 1
Game 3: New Jersey 2, at N.Y. Rangers 1 (OT)
Game 4: New Jersey 3, at N.Y. Rangers 1
Game 5: at New Jersey 4, N.Y. Rangers 0
Game 6: at N.Y. Rangers 5, New Jersey 2
Game 7: at New Jersey 4, N.Y. Rangers 0

MAPLE LEAFS ELIMINATED LIGHTNING, 4-2
Game 1: Tampa Bay 7, at Toronto 3
Game 2: at Toronto 7, Tampa Bay 2
Game 3: Toronto 4, at Tampa Bay 3 (OT)
Game 4: Toronto 5, at Tampa Bay 4 (OT)
Game 5: Tampa Bay 4, at Toronto 2
Game 6: Toronto 2, at Tampa Bay 1 (OT)

WESTERN CONFERENCE
OILERS ELIMINATED KINGS, 4-2
Game 1: Los Angeles 4, at Edmonton 3 (OT)
Game 2: at Edmonton 4, Los Angeles 2
Game 3: at Los Angeles 3, Edmonton 2 (OT)
Game 4: Edmonton 5, at Los Angeles 4 (OT)
Game 5: at Edmonton 6, Los Angeles 3
Game 6: Edmonton 5, at Los Angeles 4

STARS ELIMINATED WILD, 4-2
Game 1: Minnesota 3, at Dallas 2 (2OT)
Game 2: at Dallas 7, Minnesota 3
Game 3: at Minnesota 5, Dallas 1
Game 4: Dallas 3, at Minnesota 2
Game 5: at Dallas 4, Minnesota 0
Game 6: Dallas 4, at Minnesota 1

KRAKEN ELIMINATED AVALANCHE, 4-3
Game 1: Seattle 3 at Colorado 1
Game 2: at Colorado 3, Seattle 2
Game 3: Colorado 6, at Seattle 4
Game 4: at Seattle 3, Colorado 2
Game 5: Seattle 3, at Colorado 2
Game 6: Colorado 4, at Seattle 1
Game 7: Seattle 2, at Colorado 1

GOLDEN KNIGHTS ELIMINATED JETS, 4-1
Game 1: Winnipeg 5, at Vegas 1
Game 2: at Vegas 5, Winnipeg 2
Game 3: Vegas 5, at Winnipeg 4 (2OT)
Game 4: Vegas 4, at Winnipeg 2
Game 5: at Vegas 4, Winnipeg 1

CONFERENCE SEMIFINALS
Best of seven.

EASTERN CONFERENCE
PANTHERS ELIMINATED MAPLE LEAFS, 4-1
Game 1: Florida 4, at Toronto 2
Game 2: Florida 3, at Toronto 2
Game 3: at Florida 3, Toronto 2 (OT)
Game 4: Toronto 2, at Florida 1
Game 5: Florida 3, at Toronto 2 (OT)

HURRICANES ELIMINATED DEVILS, 4-1
Game 1: at Carolina 5, New Jersey 1
Game 2: at Carolina 6, New Jersey 1
Game 3: at New Jersey 8, Carolina 4
Game 4: Carolina 6, at New Jersey 1
Game 5: at Carolina 3, New Jersey 2 (OT)

WESTERN CONFERENCE
GOLDEN KNIGHTS ELIMINATED OILERS, 4-2
Game 1: at Vegas 6, Edmonton 4
Game 2: Edmonton 5, at Vegas 1
Game 3: Vegas 5, at Edmonton 1
Game 4: at Edmonton 4, Vegas 1
Game 5: at Vegas 4, Edmonton 3
Game 6: Vegas 5, at Edmonton 2

STARS ELIMINATED KRAKEN, 4-3
Game 1: Seattle 5, at Dallas 4 (OT)
Game 2: at Dallas 4, Seattle 2
Game 3: at Seattle 7, Dallas 2
Game 4: Dallas 6, at Seattle 3
Game 5: at Dallas 5, Seattle 2
Game 6: at Seattle 6, Dallas 3
Game 7: at Dallas 2, Seattle 1

CONFERENCE FINALS
Best of seven; x-If necessary.

EASTERN CONFERENCE
PANTHERS LEAD HURRICANES, 2-0
Game 1: Florida 3, at Carolina 2 (4OT)
Game 2: Florida 2, at Carolina 1 (OT)
Monday's game: Carolina at Florida, 8, TNT
Wednesday's game: Carolina at Florida, 8, TNT
x-Friday's game: Florida at Carolina, 8, TNT
x-Sunday, May 28: Carolina at Florida, 8, TNT
x-Tuesday, May 30: Florida at Carolina, 8, TNT

WESTERN CONFERENCE
GOLDEN KNIGHTS LEAD STARS, 1-0
Game 1: at Vegas 4, Dallas 3 (OT)
Sunday's game: Dallas at Vegas, 3, ABC
Tuesday's game: Vegas at Dallas, 8, ESPN
Thursday's game: Vegas at Dallas, 8, ESPN
x-Saturday's game: Dallas at Vegas, 8, ABC
x-Monday, May 29: Vegas at Dallas, 8, ESPN
x-Wenesday, May 31: Dallas at Vegas, 9, ESPN

STANLEY CUP FINALS
TBD

Panthers 2, Hurricanes 1 (OT)

FLORIDA	0	1	0	1	— 2
CAROLINA	1	0	0	0	— 1

FIRST PERIOD
Scoring: 1, Carolina, Chatfield 1 (Noesen, Aho), 1:43.

SECOND PERIOD
Scoring: 2, Florida, Barkov 4 (Mahura), 7:43.

OVERTIME
Scoring: 3, Florida, Tkachuk 7 (Bennett, Reinhart), 1:51 (pp).

SHOTS ON GOAL

FLORIDA	11	8	3	4	— 26
CAROLINA	20	8	8	2	— 38

Power-play opportunities: Florida 1 of 3; Carolina 0 of 3. **Goalies:** Florida, Bobrovsky 9-2-0 (38 shots-37 saves). Carolina, Raanta 3-3-0 (26-24). **A:** 18,854 (18,680). **T:** 2:54.

AUTO RACING

NASCAR Cup Series

NASCAR ALL-STAR RACE LINEUP
After Saturday qualifying; race Sunday.
At North Wilkesboro (N.C.) Speedway
Lap length: 0.62 miles
(Car number in parentheses)
2. (99) Daniel Suárez, Chevrolet.
3. (17) Chris Buescher, Ford.
4. (9) Chase Elliott, Chevrolet.
6. (3) Austin Dillon, Chevrolet.
7. (22) Joey Logano, Ford.
8. (24) William Byron, Chevrolet.
10. (11) Denny Hamlin, Toyota.
13. (1) Ross Chastain, Chevrolet.
15. (14) Chase Briscoe, Ford.
16. (5) Kyle Larson, Chevrolet.
20. (47) Ricky Stenhouse Jr, Chevrolet.
21. (19) Martin Truex Jr, Toyota.
22. (2) Austin Cindric, Ford.
23. (23) Bubba Wallace, Toyota.
24. (29) Kevin Harvick, Ford.
26. (6) Brad Keselowski, Ford.
29. (12) Ryan Blaney, Ford.
31. (8) Kyle Busch, Chevrolet.
32. (20) Christopher Bell, Toyota.
35. (45) Tyler Reddick, Toyota.
37. (43) Erik Jones, Chevrolet.

NASCAR Cup Series

HEAT RACE 1
At North Wilkesboro (N.C.) Speedway
Lap length: 0.62 miles
(Start position in parentheses)
1. (1) Daniel Suárez, Chevrolet, 60 laps, 0 points.
2. (3) Joey Logano, Ford, 60, 0.
3. (5) Chase Briscoe, Ford, 60, 0.
4. (10) Christopher Bell, Toyota, 60, 0.
5. (4) Denny Hamlin, Toyota, 60, 0.
6. (2) Chase Elliott, Chevrolet, 60, 0.
7. (8) Kevin Harvick, Ford, 60, 0.
8. (7) Austin Cindric, Ford, 60, 0.
9. (6) Ricky Stenhouse Jr, Chevrolet, 60, 0.
10. (11) Erik Jones, Chevrolet, 60, 0.

Note: printed list numbering as shown on page:
1. (1) Daniel Suárez, Chevrolet, 60 laps, 0 points.
2. (3) Joey Logano, Ford, 60, 0.
3. (5) Chase Briscoe, Ford, 60, 0.
4. (10) Christopher Bell, Toyota, 60, 0.
5. (4) Denny Hamlin, Toyota, 60, 0.
6. (2) Chase Elliott, Chevrolet, 60, 0.
7. (8) Kevin Harvick, Ford, 60, 0.
8. (7) Austin Cindric, Ford, 60, 0.
9. (6) Ricky Stenhouse Jr, Chevrolet, 60, 0.
10. (11) Erik Jones, Chevrolet, 60, 0.

HEAT RACE 2
1. (1) Chris Buescher, Ford, 60 laps, 0 points.
2. (2) Austin Dillon, Chevrolet, 60, 0.
3. (3) William Byron, Chevrolet, 60, 0.
4. (8) Brad Keselowski, Ford, 60, 0.
5. (7) Bubba Wallace, Toyota, 60, 0.
6. (6) Martin Truex Jr, Toyota, 60, 0.
7. (9) Kyle Busch, Chevrolet, 60, 0.
8. (5) Kyle Larson, Chevrolet, 60, 0.
9. (4) Ross Chastain, Chevrolet, 60, 0.
10. (10) Tyler Reddick, Toyota, 60, 0.

NASCAR Cup Series

POINTS LEADERS
Through Monday.
1. Ross Chastain, 429.
2. Christopher Bell, 402.
3. Kevin Harvick, 400.
4. Denny Hamlin, 393.
5. William Byron, 387.
6. Martin Truex Jr, 385.

SOCCER

MLS

EAST	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Cincinnati	9	1	3	30	21	14
Nashville	7	3	4	25	19	9
New England	7	3	3	24	19	14
Atlanta	6	4	4	22	28	24
Philadelphia	6	4	3	21	20	14
D.C. United	5	5	4	19	19	16
Orlando City	5	4	4	19	16	16
Columbus	5	5	3	18	25	17
Charlotte FC	5	6	3	18	19	25
New York City FC	4	5	4	16	15	16
New York	3	4	7	16	10	12
Inter Miami CF	5	8	0	15	14	17
CF Montréal	5	8	0	15	12	22
Chicago	3	4	6	15	18	21
Toronto FC	2	5	7	13	13	18

WEST	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
x-Seattle	7	4	2	23	20	11
x-Los Angeles FC	6	1	4	22	21	9
FC Dallas	6	3	4	22	16	13
x-St. Louis City SC	6	4	1	19	22	13
x-San Jose	5	4	3	18	16	16
x-Portland	4	5	4	16	18	19
Austin FC	4	5	4	16	13	18
Houston	4	5	3	15	11	11
x-Minnesota United	4	5	3	15	11	14
x-Vancouver	3	4	5	14	16	14
x-Real Salt Lake	3	6	3	12	10	20
x-Colorado	2	5	6	12	10	18
x-Sporting KC	2	7	4	10	9	17
LA Galaxy	2	8	3	9	10	23

x-Late match

WEDNESDAY'S RESULTS
D.C. United 0, at Philadelphia 0
at Atlanta 4, Colorado 0
at Charlotte FC 2, Chicago 1
at Cincinnati 3, CF Montréal 0
at Columbus 2, LA Galaxy 0
New York City FC 1, Orlando City 1
New York 0, at Toronto FC 0
at FC Dallas 2, Vancouver 1
at Minnesota 1, Houston 0
at Nashville 2, Miami 1
Portland 0, at Real Salt Lake 0
Sporting KC 1, at Los Angeles FC 1
Austin FC 2, at Seattle 1

SATURDAY'S RESULTS
at D.C. United 3, LA Galaxy 0
Nashville 2, at Charlotte FC 1
at Cincinnati 3, Columbus 2
Orlando City 3, at Miami 1
at New York 2, CF Montréal 1
at Philadelphia 3, New England 0
at Austin FC 1, Toronto FC 0
Houston 1, at FC Dallas 1
Atlanta 3, at Chicago 3
Real Salt Lake at Colorado, late
Sporting KC at St. Louis City SC, late
San Jose at Los Angeles FC, late
Minnesota at Portland, late
Seattle at Vancouver, late

SATURDAY'S MATCHES
D.C. United at Toronto FC, 7:30
Miami at CF Montréal, 7:30
Chicago at New England, 7:30
Philadelphia at New York City FC, 7:30
Atlanta at Orlando City, 7:30
Austin FC at Houston, 8:30
Real Salt Lake at Minnesota, 8:30
Vancouver at St. Louis City SC, 8:30
Cincinnati at Colorado, 9:30
Charlotte FC at LA Galaxy, 10:30
FC Dallas at San Jose, 10:30
New York at Seattle, 10:30

SUNDAY, MAY 28
Portland at Sporting KC, 3
Columbus at Nashville, 8:30

D.C. United 3, Galaxy 0

LOS ANGELES	0	0	0
D.C. UNITED	0	3	3

First Half: None.
Second Half: 1, D.C. United, Benteke, 6, 71st minute; 2, D.C. United, Dajome, 1 (Benteke), 73rd; 3, D.C. United, Klich, 2, 80th.
Goalies: Los Angeles Galaxy, Jonathan Bond, Jonathan Klinsmann; D.C. United, Tyler Miller, Alex Bono, Luis Zamudio.
Yellow Cards: Aude, Los Angeles Galaxy, 45th+1; Pines, D.C. United, 65th; Delgado, Los Angeles Galaxy, 87th; Dajome, D.C. United, 90th.
Los Angeles Galaxy, Jonathan Bond; Julian Aude (Oriol Rosell, 84th), Martin Caceres, Jalen Neal (Eriq Zavaleta, 84th); Gaston Brugman (Daniel Aguirre, 83rd), Calegari, Marky Delgado, Riqui Puig, Memo Rodriguez (Dejan Joveljic, 75th); Tyler Boyd (Raheem Edwards, 63rd), Chicharito.
D.C. United, Tyler Miller; Victor Palsson, Donovan Pines, Gaoussou Samake (Jacob Greene, 82nd), Derrick Williams; Chris Durkin, Mateusz Klich (Yamil Asad, 89th), Theodore Ku-DiPietro (Cristian Dajome, 68th), Lewis O'Brien, Russell Canouse (Brendan Hines-Ike, 89th); Christian Benteke (Kristian Fletcher, 89th).

Orlando City 3, Inter Miami CF 1

ORLANDO CITY	1	2	3
MIAMI	0	1	1

First Half: 1, Orlando City, Kara, 4 (Araujo), 19th minute.
Second Half: 2, Miami, Campana, 3 (Martinez), 57th; 3, Orlando City, Ojeda, 3 (Kara), 68th; 4, Orlando City, Santos, 1 (McGuire), 86th.
Goalies: Orlando City, Pedro Gallese, Mason Stajduhar; Miami, Drake Callender, Nick Marsman.
Yellow Cards: Campana, Miami, 16th; Carlos, Orlando City, 23rd; Cartagena, Orlando City, 36th; Angulo, Orlando City, 41st; Cremaschi, Miami, 75th; Fray, Miami, 89th; McVey, Miami, 90th+1.
Orlando City, Pedro Gallese; Antonio Carlos, Robin Jansson, Rafael Santos, Kyle Smith (Rodrigo Schlegel, 64th); Cesar Araujo, Wilder Cartagena, Gaston Gonzalez (Martin Ojeda, 65th), Facundo Torres (Mauricio Pereyra, 76th); Ivan Angulo (Dagur Dan Thorhallsson, 84th), Ercan Kara (Duncan McGuire, 76th).
Miami, Drake Callender; Sergey Krivtsov (Nicolas Stefanelli, 33rd), Christopher McVey, Kamal Miller (Ryan Sailor, 83rd), Franco Negri, DeAndre Yedlin (Harvey James Neville, 83rd); Dixon Arroyo, Benjamin Cremaschi (Ian Fray, 83rd); Leonardo Campana, Corentin Jean (Robert Taylor, 76th), Josef Martinez.

Union 3, Revolution 0

NEW ENGLAND	0	0	0
PHILADELPHIA	0	3	3

First Half: None.
Second Half: 1, Philadelphia, Gazdag, 5 (Uhre), 56th minute; 2, Philadelphia, Gazdag, 6 (penalty kick), 74th; 3, Philadelphia, Carranza, 5 (Donovan), 88th.
Goalies: New England, Djordje Petrovic, Earl Edwards Jr.; Philadelphia, Andre Blake, Joseph Bendik.
Yellow Cards: Blessing, New England, 4th; Wood, New England, 45th; Farrell, New England, 73rd; Altidore, New England, 85th; Romney, New England, 90th; Real, Philadelphia, 90th+3.
New England, Djordje Petrovic; Brandon Bye, Andrew Farrell, DeJuan Jones, Dave Romney; Emmanuel Boateng (Esmir Bajraktarevic, 78th), Noel Buck, Carles Gil (Jack Panayotou, 35th), Matt Polster (Jozy Altidore, 78th); Latif Blessing (Justin Rennicks, 66th), Bobby Wood (Giacomo Vrioni, 66th).
Philadelphia, Andre Blake; Jack Elliott, Jakob Glesnes, Damion Onandi Lowe, Olivier Mbaizo, Kai Wagner (Matt Real, 90th+2); Leon Maximilian Flach, Jose Martinez; Julian Carranza, Daniel Gazdag (Jesus Bueno, 90th+1), Mikael Uhre (Chris Donovan, 80th).

FC Cincinnati 3, Crew 2

COLUMBUS	1	1	2
CINCINNATI	2	1	3

First Half: 1, Cincinnati, Acosta, 4 (Badji), 17th minute; 2, Cincinnati, Acosta, 5 (penalty kick), 23rd; 3, Columbus, Zelarrayan, 6 (Hernandez), 40th.
Second Half: 4, Columbus, Amundsen, 2, 52nd; 5, Cincinnati, Moreno, 3 (Kubo), 67th.
Goalies: Columbus, Patrick Schulte, Evan Bush; Cincinnati, Roman Celentano, Alec Kann.
Yellow Cards: Miazga, Cincinnati, 63rd; Amundsen, Columbus, 72nd.
Columbus, Patrick Schulte; Malte Amundsen (Jimmy Medranda, 87th), Mohamed Ramzdine Farsi, Steven Moreira, Philip Quinton, Gustavo Vallecilla (Jacen Russell-Rowe, 87th); Alexandru Matan, Aidan Morris, Darlington Nagbe (Christian Ramirez, 90th+3), Lucas Zelarrayan; Cucho Hernandez.
Cincinnati, Roman Celentano; Raymon Gaddis (Alvas Powell, 66th), Nick Hagglund, Matt Miazga, Yerson Mosquera; Luciano Acosta (Malik Pinto, 85th), Alvaro Barreal (Santiago Arias, 90th+5), Junior Moreno (Marco Angulo, 90th+5), Obinna Nwobodo; Dominique Badji (Yuya Kubo, 66th), Brandon Vazquez.

Nashville SC 2, Charlotte FC 1

NASHVILLE	1	1	2
CHARLOTTE FC	1	0	1

First Half: 1, Charlotte FC, Bronico, 1 (Meram), 6th minute; 2, Nashville, Mukhtar, 7 (Davis), 39th.
Second Half: 3, Nashville, Mukhtar, 8 (penalty kick), 90th+3.
Goalies: Nashville, Joe Willis, Elliot Panicco; Charlotte FC, Kristijan Kahlina, Pablo Sisniega.
Yellow Cards: Byrne, Charlotte FC, 11th; Bunbury, Nashville, 34th; Bronico, Charlotte FC, 54th; McCarty, Nashville, 69th.
Nashville, Joe Willis; Daniel Lovitz, Lukas MacNaughton, Jack Maher, Shaq Moore; Sean Davis, Dax McCarty, Hany Mukhtar (Ethan Zubak, 90th+4), Alex Muyl (Taylor Washington, 80th), Fafa Picault (Anibal Godoy, 71st); Teal Bunbury (Jacob Shaffelburg, 80th).
Charlotte FC, Kristijan Kahlina; Nathan Byrne, Adilson Malanda (Jaylin Lindsey, 81st), Jan Sobocinski, Bill Tuiloma; Brandt Bronico, Derrick Jones, Justin Meram (Kerwin Vargas, 81st), Ashley Westwood (Harrison Afful, 82nd); Enzo Copetti (Brandon Cambridge, 62nd), Karol Swiderski.

Red Bulls 2, CF Montréal 1

MONTRÉAL	1	0	1
NEW YORK	2	0	2

First Half: 1, New York Red Bulls, Reyes, 2, 23rd minute; 2, Montréal, Waterman, 1 (Campbell), 29th; 3, New York Red Bulls, Burke, 2 (Casseres Jr), 38th.
Second Half: None.
Goalies: Montréal, Jonathan Sirois, James Pantemis; New York Red Bulls, Carlos Miguel, Ryan Meara.
Yellow Cards: Camacho, Montréal, 16th; Duke, Montréal, 32nd; Casseres Jr, New York Red Bulls, 45th+1; Herrera, Montréal, 65th.
Montréal, Jonathan Sirois; Rudy Camacho, George Campbell, Aaron Herrera (Zachary Brault Guillard, 83rd), Joel Waterman (Gabriele Corbo, 46th); Mathieu Choiniere, Bryce Duke (Matko Miljevic, 83rd), Lassi Lappalainen (Ahmed Hamdi, 83rd), Victor Wanyama; Ariel Lassiter (Sunusi Ibrahim, 46th), Chinonso Offor.
New York Red Bulls, Carlos Miguel; Dylan Nealis, Sean Nealis, Andres Reyes, John Tolkin; Wikelman Carmona (Cameron Harper, 66th), Cristian Casseres Jr, Omir Fernandez, Peter Stroud, Dru Yearwood (Hassan Ndam, 78th); Cory Burke (Dante Vanzeir, 66th).

Austin FC 1, Toronto FC 0

TORONTO FC	0	0	0
AUSTIN FC	0	1	1

First Half: None.
Second Half: 1, Austin FC, Zardes, 2, 90th+1 minute.
Goalies: Toronto FC, Sean Johnson, Tomas Romero; Austin FC, Bradley Stuver, Matt Bersano.
Yellow Cards: Pereira, Austin FC, 28th; Servania, Toronto FC, 35th; Finlay, Austin FC, 37th; Franklin, Toronto FC, 54th; Kaye, Toronto FC, 71st; Ring, Austin FC, 75th; Djeffal, Austin FC, 79th.
Toronto FC, Sean Johnson; Kobe Franklin, Matt Hedges, Richie Laryea, Aime Mabika, Raoul Petretta; Themi Antonoglou (Hugo Mbongue, 46th), Federico Bernardeschi (Jordan Faria, 67th), Mark-Anthony Kaye, Brandon Servania (Kosi Thompson, 46th); C.J. Sapong.
Austin FC, Bradley Stuver; Julio Cascante, Nicholas Lima, Leo Vaisanen; Sofiane Djeffal, Ethan Finlay (Emiliano Rigoni, 64th), Daniel Pereira (Jhojan Valencia, 64th), Alexander Ring; Jon Gallagher (Adam Lundqvist, 75th), Rodney Redes (Diego Fagundez, 83rd), Maximiliano Urruti (Gyasi Zardes, 64th).

Dynamo 1, FC Dallas 1

HOUSTON	0	1	1
DALLAS	0	1	1

First Half: None.
Second Half: 1, Dallas, Obrian, 1, 53rd minute; 2, Houston, Ulfarsson, 1 (Herrera), 85th.
Goalies: Houston, Steve Clark, Andrew Tarbell; Dallas, James Maurer, Michael Webber.
Yellow Cards: Gasper, Houston, 25th; Escobar, Houston, 90th+3.
Houston, Steve Clark; Ethan Bartlow, Franco Escobar, Chase Gasper (Brad Smith, 74th), Micael; Artur, Adalberto Carrasquilla (Ivan Franco, 85th), Hector Herrera; Ibrahim Aliyu (Nelson Quinones, 56th), Amine Bassi (Corey Baird, 74th), Carlos Sebastian Ferreira Vidal (Thorleifur Ulfarsson, 56th).
Dallas, James Maurer; Marco Farfan, Sebastien Ibeagha, Nkosi Tafari; Paxton Pomykal (Jesus Jimenez, 89th), Facundo Quignon, Ema Twumasi; Jesus Ferreira, Tsiki Ntsabeleng (Edwin Cerrillo, 71st), Jader Obrian, Alan Velasco (Sam Junqua, 83rd).

Atlanta United 3, Fire 3

ATLANTA	1	2	3
CHICAGO	1	2	3

First Half: 1, Atlanta, Gutman, 2, 29th minute; 2, Chicago, Sanchez, 42nd.
Second Half: 3, Chicago, Haile-Selassie, 2 (Przybylko), 49th; 4, Atlanta, Giakoumakis, 7 (Gutman), 55th; 5, Atlanta, Giakoumakis, 8 (Almada), 65th; 6, Chicago, Koutsias, 1 (Haile-Selassie), 89th.
Goalies: Atlanta, Quentin Westberg, Clement Diop Degoud; Chicago, Christopher Brady, Spencer Richey.
Yellow Cards: Navarro, Chicago, 3rd; Ibarra, Atlanta, 41st; Herbers, Chicago, 45th+2; Gutierrez, Chicago, 58th; Araujo, Atlanta, 69th; Czichos, Chicago, 87th.
A: 18,343.
Atlanta, Quentin Westberg; Luis Abram, Andrew Gutman, Ronald Hernandez, Juan Sanchez (Miles Robinson, 62nd); Thiago Almada, Derick Etienne (Machop Chol, 62nd), Franco Ibarra, Matheus Rossetto; Luiz Araujo, Miguel Berry (Giorgos Giakoumakis, 46th).
Chicago, Christopher Brady; Rafael Czichos, Miguel Navarro, Mauricio Pineda, Arnaud Souquet (Georgios Koutsias, 80th); Brian Gutierrez (Jairo Torres, 80th), Maren Haile-Selassie, Federico Navarro, Xherdan Shaqiri; Fabian Herbers (Chris Mueller, 73rd), Kacper Przybylko.

NWSL

	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Washington	4	1	3	15	11	7
San Diego	5	3	0	15	15	10
OL Reign	4	2	1	13	12	6
Gotham FC	4	2	1	13	7	6
Portland	3	1	3	12	18	10
North Carolina	3	3	2	11	8	9
Orlando	3	4	1	10	7	12
Louisville	2	2	4	10	11	9
Angel City	2	3	3	9	11	13
Houston	2	3	3	9	5	9
Kansas City	2	6	0	6	9	16
Chicago	1	5	1	4	11	18

SUNDAY, MAY 14
at North Carolina 1, OL Reign 0
Orlando 0, at Gotham FC 0
San Diego 2, at Kansas City 0

SATURDAY'S RESULTS
at Orlando 2, Washington 1
Angel City 0, at North Carolina 0
Louisville 2, at Kansas City 0
San Diego 3, at Houston 0

SUNDAY'S MATCHES
Chicago at Portland, 5
Gotham FC at OL Reign, 6

FRIDAY'S MATCHES
Houston at Kansas City, 8
Portland at San Diego, 10

SATURDAY'S MATCHES
Angel City at OL Reign, 3:30
North Carolina at Louisville, 8
Orlando at Chicago, 8

SUNDAY, MAY 28
Gotham FC at Washington, 5

SATURDAY, JUNE 3
Louisville at Washington, 8
Portland at OL Reign, 8
Orlando at Houston, 8:30
North Carolina at Kansas City, 8:30

SUNDAY, JUNE 4
San Diego at Gotham FC, 5:30

MONDAY, JUNE 5
Chicago at Angel City, 10

FRIDAY, JUNE 9
San Diego at Louisville, 8

HIGH SCHOOLS

GIRLS' LACROSSE
MARYLAND
Broadneck 17, North County 4
Dulaney 17, Walter Johnson 6

PRIVATE
Paul VI 11, St. Anne's-Belfield 8

BOYS' LACROSSE
MARYLAND
Broadneck 9, Urbana 8

PRIVATE
Paul VI 9, Episcopal 5

SOFTBALL
MARYLAND
Broadneck 5, Eleanor Roosevelt 1
Urbana 18, Walter Johnson 0

BASEBALL
MARYLAND
Sherwood 1, Perry Hall 0

GOLF

PGA Championship

At Oak Hill East; In Rochester, N.Y.
Purse: $15 million
Yardage: 7,394; **Par:** 70

THIRD ROUND

Brooks Koepka, United States	72 66 66	— 204	-6
Corey Conners, Canada	67 68 70	— 205	-5
Viktor Hovland, Norway	68 67 70	— 205	-5
Bryson DeChambeau, United States	66 71 70	— 207	-3
Justin Rose, England	69 70 69	— 208	-2
Scottie Scheffler, United States	67 68 73	— 208	-2
Rory McIlroy, Northern Ireland	71 69 69	— 209	-1
Michael Block, United States	70 70 70	— 210	E
Justin Suh, United States	69 68 73	— 210	E
Eric Cole, United States	67 74 70	— 211	+1
Tommy Fleetwood, England	72 71 68	— 211	+1
Stephan Jaeger, Germany	72 70 69	— 211	+1
Min Woo Lee, Australia	73 67 71	— 211	+1
Shane Lowry, Ireland	73 67 71	— 211	+1
Victor Perez, France	70 72 69	— 211	+1
Cameron Davis, Australia	71 70 71	— 212	+2
Ryan Fox, New Zealand	68 73 71	— 212	+2
Kurt Kitayama, United States	70 71 71	— 212	+2
Patrick Reed, United States	72 71 69	— 212	+2
Patrick Cantlay, United States	74 67 72	— 213	+3
Hideki Matsuyama, Japan	72 71 70	— 213	+3
Keith Mitchell, United States	69 71 73	— 213	+3
Taylor Pendrith, Canada	70 69 74	— 213	+3
Sepp Straka, Austria	69 71 73	— 213	+3
Adam Svensson, Canada	70 70 73	— 213	+3
Sahith Theegala, United States	71 71 71	— 213	+3
Keegan Bradley, United States	68 72 74	— 214	+4
Hayden Buckley, United States	69 74 71	— 214	+4
Tyrrell Hatton, England	77 68 69	— 214	+4
Chris Kirk, United States	70 75 69	— 214	+4
Matthew NeSmith, United States	70 70 74	— 214	+4
Cameron Smith, Australia	72 72 70	— 214	+4
Beau Hossler, United States	71 70 74	— 215	+5
Dustin Johnson, United States	67 74 74	— 215	+5
Collin Morikawa, United States	71 70 74	— 215	+5
Mito Pereira, Chile	72 69 74	— 215	+5
Thomas Pieters, Belgium	69 76 70	— 215	+5
Chez Reavie, United States	76 68 71	— 215	+5
Xander Schauffele, United States	72 72 71	— 215	+5
Alex Smalley, United States	73 72 70	— 215	+5
Harold Varner III, United States	70 71 74	— 215	+5
Dean Burmester, South Africa	73 71 72	— 216	+6
Adam Hadwin, Canada	70 73 73	— 216	+6
Lucas Herbert, Australia	75 69 72	— 216	+6
Tom Hoge, United States	74 70 72	— 216	+6
Nicolai Hojgaard, Denmark	76 67 73	— 216	+6
Kyoung-Hoon Lee, South Korea	73 68 75	— 216	+6
Jon Rahm, Spain	76 68 72	— 216	+6
Adam Scott, Australia	68 74 74	— 216	+6
Jordan Spieth, United States	73 72 71	— 216	+6
Sam Stevens, United States	71 72 73	— 216	+6
Max Homa, United States	71 72 74	— 217	+7
Thriston Lawrence, South Africa	75 69 73	— 217	+7
Denny McCarthy, United States	75 70 72	— 217	+7
J.T. Poston, United States	72 70 75	— 217	+7
Patrick Rodgers, United States	70 75 72	— 217	+7
Callum Tarren, England	71 67 79	— 217	+7
Thomas Detry, Belgium	74 71 73	— 218	+8
Tony Finau, United States	72 73 73	— 218	+8
Padraig Harrington, Ireland	72 71 75	— 218	+8
Sihwan Kim, United States	75 68 75	— 218	+8
Pablo Larrazabal, Spain	69 75 74	— 218	+8
Adrian Meronk, Poland	75 69 74	— 218	+8
Yannik Paul, Germany	76 69 73	— 218	+8
Matt Wallace, England	73 70 75	— 218	+8
Zach Johnson, United States	74 71 74	— 219	+9
Lee Hodges, United States	75 70 75	— 220	+10
Rikuya Hoshino, Japan	75 70 75	— 220	+10
Phil Mickelson, United States	73 72 75	— 220	+10
Justin Thomas, United States	72 73 75	— 220	+10
Joel Dahmen, United States	74 69 78	— 221	+11
Taylor Montgomery, United States	75 70 76	— 221	+11
Taylor Moore, United States	74 69 78	— 221	+11
Kazuki Higa, Japan	72 73 77	— 222	+12
Ben Taylor, England	72 72 78	— 222	+12
Mark Hubbard, United States	71 74 79	— 224	+14

PGA Championship

SUNDAY'S TEE TIMES
7:50 a.m.: Mark Hubbard, Ben Taylor
8 a.m.: Joel Dahmen, Kazuki Higa
8:10 a.m.: Taylor Montgomery, Taylor Moore
8:20 a.m.: Phil Mickelson, Justin Thomas
8:30 a.m.: Lee Hodges, Rikuya Hoshino
8:40 a.m.: Zach Johnson, Sihwan Kim
8:50 a.m.: Padraig Harrington, Matt Wallace
9 a.m.: Pablo Larrazabal, Adrian Meronk
9:10 a.m.: Thomas Detry, Tony Finau
9:20 a.m.: Yannik Paul, Callum Tarren
9:30 a.m.: Max Homa, J.T. Poston
9:40 a.m.: Thriston Lawrence, Patrick Rodgers
9:50 a.m.: Kyoung-Hoon Lee, Denny McCarthy
10:10 a.m.: Adam Hadwin, Adam Scott
10:20 a.m.: Nicolai Hojgaard, Sam Stevens
10:30 a.m.: Lucas Herbert, Tom Hoge
10:40 a.m.: Dean Burmester, Jon Rahm

PRO FOOTBALL

USFL

NORTH	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
Philadelphia	2	3	0	.400	90	130
New Jersey	2	3	0	.400	96	87
Pittsburgh	2	4	0	.333	82	108
Michigan	2	4	0	.333	96	130

SOUTH	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
New Orleans	4	1	0	.800	135	111
Birmingham	4	2	0	.667	171	117
Houston	3	2	0	.600	142	129
Memphis	3	3	0	.500	119	119

WEEK 5
SATURDAY, MAY 13
Pittsburgh 23, at Michigan 7
Houston 27, at Birmingham 20

SUNDAY, MAY 14
at Philadelphia 24, New Jersey 21
Memphis 17, at New Orleans 10

WEEK 6
SATURDAY'S RESULTS
at Memphis 22, Pittsburgh 0
Birmingham 27, at Michigan 13

SUNDAY'S GAMES
New Orleans at Philadelphia, noon
New Jersey at Houston, 4

WEEK 7
SATURDAY'S GAMES
Birmingham at New Orleans, 4
Philadelphia at Pittsburgh, 9

SUNDAY, MAY 28
Houston at Memphis, 2:30
Michigan at New Jersey, 5:30

TENNIS

ATP/WTA

ITALIAN OPEN
At Foro Italico; In Rome
Purse: $8,448,771
Surface: Red clay

MEN'S SINGLES — SEMIFINALS
Holger Rune (7), Denmark, def. Casper Ruud (4), Norway, 6-7 (7-2), 6-4, 6-2; Daniil Medvedev (3), Russia, def. Stefanos Tsitsipas (5), Greece, 7-5, 7-5.

WOMEN'S DOUBLES — CHAMPIONSHIP
Storm Hunter, Australia, and Elise Mertens (4), Belgium, def. Jessica Pegula and Coco Gauff (1), United States, 6-4, 6-4.

WTA

TROPHEE CLARINS
At Lagardere Paris Racing Club; In Paris
Purse: $115,000
Surface: Red clay

SINGLES — SEMIFINALS
Diane Parry, France, def. Varvara Gracheva (2), Russia, 6-0, 6-2; Caty McNally (6), United States, def. Katie Volynets, United States, 6-1, 4-6, 6-2.

DOUBLES — SEMIFINALS
Vera Zvonareva, Russia, and Anna Danilina, Kazakhstan, def. Nadiia Kichenok, Ukraine, and Alycia Parks (1), United States, 5-7, 7-6 (7-2), 14-12.

HORSE RACING

148th Preakness Stakes

13th Race at Pimlico
1 3/16 Miles Dirt. Purse $1,000,000, 3-year-olds

Horse	Wgt	PP	Strt	1/4	1/2	3/4	Strch	Fin	Jockey	Odds
National Treasure	126	1	2	1-1	1-1½	1-1	1-hd	1-hd	J. Velazquez	2.90
Blazing Sevens	126	7	4	3½	4-hd	2-hd	2-2	2-2	I. Ortiz Jr.	4.90
Mage	126	3	3	4-3	3-hd	5-2	3-1½	3-2½	J. Castellano	1.40
Red Route One	126	5	6	6-3½	5-1½	4-½	4-5½	4-7½	J. Rosario	8.00
Chase the Choas	126	2	7	7	7	7	6-½	5-4¼	S. Russell	10.50
Perform	126	6	5	5-hd	6-3½	6-3½	5-hd	6-3¼	F. Lynch	8.50
Coffeewithchris	126	4	1	2-1½	2-2	3-1½	7	7	J. Rodriguez	10.50

Time .... 23.95 48.92 1:13.49 1:37.07 1:55.12.
1 (1) .... National Treasure 7.80 4.00 2.60
2 (7) .... Blazing Sevens 5.00 2.80
3 (3) .... Mage 2.40
$0.2 Pick 6 Jackpot (6-8-13-4/8-9-1) 6 correct paid $7,800.88.
$0.5 Pick 5 (8-13-4/8-9-1) 5 correct paid $1,112.70.
$0.5 Pick 4 (13-4/8-9-1) 4 correct paid $47.25.
$0.5 Pick 3 (4/8-9-1) 3 correct paid $10.40.
$1 Super High Five (1-7-3-5-2) paid $164.90.
$1 Trifecta (1-7-3) paid $24.20.
$1 Daily Double (9-1) paid $7.40.
$2 Daily Double (BES/PRKNSS 10-1) paid $93.40.
$1 Exacta (1-7) paid $15.90
$1 Superfecta (1-7-3-5) paid $72.40.
Trainer: Bob Baffert, SF Racing LLC.
Winner: National Treasure, dark bay or brown colt, by Gun Runner out of Amour d'Ete, by Tiznow. Foaled Mar 7, 2019, in Kentucky.
Data provided by Equibase



PHOTOS BY JONATHAN NEWTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

Bob Baffert's return to the Triple Crown scene brought tragedy and triumph Saturday as his record eighth Preakness Stakes win was marred by the death of Havnameltdown, a horse he trained, in the sixth race.

Tragedy casts a pall on National Treasure's Preakness win

PREAKNESS FROM D1

was euthanized on the track behind a dark-colored screen while, perhaps 100 yards away, a DJ had the infield crowd dancing to 2Pac's "California Love."

It was a horrific scene that melded two of the most unsavory and painful storylines in the sport — a spate of equine deaths at high-profile tracks and Baffert's history of doping violations and suspensions — and shoved the entire, smoldering mess into the face of the public on one of the most-watched days on the racing calendar.

While horse racing deaths are at their lowest rate since data was first tracked in 2009, scrutiny of the industry is at an all-time high, particularly after seven horses died in the run-up to the Derby. While none of them were Baffert horses, he has been tied to an alarming number of deaths; according to a 2021 Washington Post analysis, at least 74 horses died under Baffert's care in California between 2000 and 2021, more than all but two of hundreds of trainers operating in the state.

Baffert, 70, had been absent from the Triple Crown chase for two years — largely the result of a suspension stemming from his stewardship of Medina Spirit, who won the 2021 Kentucky Derby by only to be disqualified for a positive drug test, a result Baffert appealed but failed to overturn. Medina Spirit died later that year of an apparent heart attack, and Baffert was barred from the 2022 Triple Crown races plus this year's Derby.

"He's been through a lot. He's been treated really unfairly," said Sol Kumin, one of National Treasure's owners, when asked why he kept the horse under Baffert's care. "He's our guy and will continue to be so."

Though he kept a lower profile than usual, showing up at Pimlico the day before the race, Baffert nonetheless sucked much of the oxygen out of the prerace atmosphere. It helped that he had a quality horse who went off Saturday as the 5-2 second choice.

But Saturday's proceedings didn't even make it all the way to the Preakness itself before Baffert was back in the national consciousness for all the wrong reasons — forced to answer for a tragedy that again scarred the sport. It left another beautiful animal dead and a jockey, Luis Saez, at a nearby hospital with a leg injury. After X-rays came back negative, Saez was released later in the day, and his agent told reporters that he hoped to ride at Pimlico on Sunday.

"We never had an issue with him," Baffert said of Havnameltdown. "We are so careful with all these horses, and it still happens. It is something that is very disheartening. . . . We do grieve when these things happen. There's nothing worse than coming back [to the stables] and the stall is empty. He is a nice horse. He could not have been doing any better. It's sickening. I am in shock."

The criticism from animal rights groups and other watchdog organizations was searing and, in some cases, aimed directly at Baffert.

"Pimlico should have followed Churchill Downs' example and barred Bob Baffert from the track," Kathy Guillermo, senior vice president of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, said in a statement. "The tragic death of Havnameltdown is the latest in a long list of fatalities. The racing industry must kick out the bad guys or it will have blood on its hands as well as blood on its tracks."

Into this wounded sport Saturday evening galloped National Treasure, his mission to get to the finish line first unaffected by the carnage of the sixth race. He broke well from the starting gate, led almost the entire way and held off a monstrous closing charge from Blazing Sevens to win in 1 minute 55.12 seconds. In that endeavor, he was guided expertly by jockey John Velazquez, previously 0 for 12 in the Preakness, who navigated a tepid pace, made sure to stay ahead of Mage and then coaxed a max-effort stretch run from National Treasure.

"He did not want to let that horse pass him," Velazquez said of National Treasure's duel with Blazing Sevens. "That's what champions do."

Afterward, when NBC's camera caught up with him near the finish line, Baffert's words came in fits and starts: "This business is all twists and turns, the ups and downs. . . . The emotions of this game . . . to win this . . . losing that horse today really hurt."

But after greeting National Treasure on the dirt track, beaming through the winner's circle ceremony and dishing out a hundred or more hugs, Baffert had composed himself.

"It's the love of the horse that just keeps me focused and keeps me going," he said. "I just kept the noise out. . . . It was tough. We've had some tough moments. But it's days like this — it's not really vindication. It's just — I feel like we have a moment we can enjoy."

Baffert's day, his night and his entire racing season would have looked very different — darker, for sure — had National Treasure been caught and passed down the stretch in the 13th race Saturday.

"This horse brought us all out of a horrible moment today," he said. "And I'm just grateful for that horse."



Jockey John Velazquez ended an 0-for-12 Preakness Stakes skid by winning the race's 148th running.



The Washington Post
ARTS&STYLE
SUNDAY, MAY 21, 2023 · SECTION E
EZ EE K

CRITICS' NOTEBOOK



A taste for art

We consume art and food in different ways, but how do we react when they merge? We sent two critics to eat only with their eyes.

NORTON SIMON FOUNDATION

BY PHILIP KENNICOTT AND TOM SIETSEMA

Edible things are a staple of art, but that doesn't mean they are simply food. They can also be religious and political symbols, signs of wealth and class, and, today, key markers of identity. ¶ An old but powerful idea distinguishes between art (which is permanent, eternal and lasting) and things that can be consumed (food, wine and other sensual pleasures). Another aesthetic school argued that if you desire something with your body or with your own pleasure or status in mind, then it can't be art at all. True art is above such supposedly crass things. ¶ I asked Tom Sietsema, The Washington Post's expert on food and dining, to explore some key works of art that raise these and other issues. I enjoy a good meal, but Tom sees food with the refined eyes of a critic. We looked at six iconic paintings and prints, beginning with a curious "feast of the gods" by the Renaissance master Giovanni Bellini and ending with a harrowing image of hunger from one of the darkest chapters of the 20th century.

SEE **FOOD IN ART** ON **E8**







CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

'La Bohème,' our favorite opera, never seems to get old

BY MICHAEL ANDOR BRODEUR

One hundred and twenty-seven years after its premiere at the Teatro Regio in Turin, Italy, Giacomo Puccini's "La Bohème" arguably remains the most popular opera in the world, with 500 to 600 productions staged every year.

Just this past week, there were three stagings of "La Bohème" within a short train ride of each other: the Metropolitan Opera's revival of Franco Zeffirelli's seemingly unkillable 1981 museum piece production, Washington National Opera's fresh take on an original 2014 production by Jo Davies, and Opera Philadelphia's now concluded turn with director Yuval Sharon's inverted take on the opera, which opens in the gloom of Act IV and builds to the ecstasy of Act I.

Helpless to resist a proverbial Bohemian rhapsody, I went and saw all three. At this point, this tale of an enclave of starving artists falling in love in the garrets of revolutionary Paris has been told so many times, it can feel as flat as the pages it's printed on. But a few repeated listens through a trio of varied interpretations helped restore some of its seductive depth.

I went partly out of a simple desire to hear the thing again. I love Puccini's auspicious score, its bustling crowd of little melodies that converge and mature into themes that seem to hold a whole life. I love its clutter of everyday sentimental stuff: Mimi's lost key, Musetta's pawned earrings, Corrine's surrendered coat, Marcello's unfinished painting. And, admittedly, I love its self-referential brevity, the soul of its wit.

(I'm certain that another part of my drive to submit to three rounds of "La Bohème" was just basic standard-issue masculine identification with Rodolfo and Marcello, who labor under the belief that worthwhile art must entail proportionate suffering.)

But mostly I just wanted to know: Why do we keep coming back to "La Bohème"? And how does one keep it from becoming like one of Mimi's embroideries, i.e. a flower with no fragrance?

Perhaps it's the timelessness of this inexhaustible opera, itself based on Henri Murger's novel and play "Scènes de La Vie de Bohème." Over the decades, directors have taken full and often literal advantage of this quality: Baz Luhrmann placed it in Paris of the 1950s, Stefan Herheim moved it to a modern-day cancer ward, Claus Guth set it in a spaceship careening into the distant future. "La Bohème" is one of the most

SEE **LA BOHÈME** ON **E11**

INSIDE



Artistic director has Mosaic punching above its weight E2

ART: Exhibition proves Juan de Pareja, enslaved by Diego Velázquez, was a formidable artist in his own right. **E12**



JHON OCHOA

In its 10th year, Mosaic Theater is readying for an audacious season

BY PETER MARKS



CHRIS BANKS



DAMU MALIK

Dominique Morissea, MacArthur Fellow and Tony Award nominee, wrote "Confederates" for Mosaic Theater's new season.

TOP: Company members participate in a reading of Psalmayene 24's "Monumental Travesties," the first play of Mosaic's 2023-2024 season. ABOVE: Reginald L. Douglas took over as artistic head of Mosaic Theater Company in 2021. LEFT: Playwright Dominique Morisseau wrote "Confederates," part of the upcoming season.

It didn't matter to Dominique Morisseau — a playwright with both Broadway credits and a MacArthur "genius" fellowship — that the Washington theater that wanted to produce her latest play was not the largest or highest-profile in town.

What concerned the dramatist more was that Mosaic Theater Company and its artistic director, Reginald L. Douglas, cared about what she cared about. "There's a thing about trying to get to the biggest institution," she explained in an interview. "That was of no interest to me. It wasn't about me trying to get the most money. It was the interest in who wants to tell this story, who has the passion for it."

Which is how Morisseau's "Confederates" — a time-bending story of two Black women, one a spy for the Union during the Civil War, the other a modern-day academic — wound up on the 2023-2024 roster of Mosaic, a modest-size theater with a major appetite. Lacking a permanent home or anything close to a sustaining war chest, the company with its $2.1 million yearly budget is building a reputation for bold new voyages, at a time when other arts organizations are trimming their sails.

That newly acquired reach has a lot to do with the leadership of Douglas, who took over as artistic head of Mosaic in 2021, and at 36 is running his first company, after posts at Studio Theatre and other troupes. Given his networking skills, his enthusiasm for the form and a prowess for pursuing artists he loves, it's safe to say it won't be his last. This is not even to mention the scale of his upcoming season, which in addition to "Confederates" includes two world premieres: a play about a controversial statue of Abraham Lincoln in Washington, D.C., and a hip-hop musical illuminating a community of 400,000 formerly enslaved people who settled in Mexico via the Underground Railroad. The fourth play is the story of an unlikely familial connection uncovered between Pocahontas and Nancy Reagan.

"It's like the ultimate dream to have these writers say yes to Mosaic. For us to be their home," Douglas said over breakfast in a cafe near Mount Vernon Square. "All of these playwrights are full of curiosity, not just answers. They're not didactic. They're provocative. They make you think more. And that's what I think theater should be. That's what makes them exciting to me. They're full of inquiry and surprise."

Approaching its 10th anniversary, Mosaic was founded by former artistic director Ari Roth, who was soon joined in the new venture by Serge Seiden, who remains the company's managing director. As its name implies, it has long sought to produce work that draws on the interests of a wide range of the city's varied ethnic communities. Its base is the Atlas Performing Arts Center, a renovated movie complex on H Street NE that has become an artistic anchor for the city's underserved Northeast quadrant.

While that quite vitally means making Mosaic a platform for stories by and about people of color, that is not its singular focus. In January, for example, the company hired actors from D.C., New York and Baltimore for a 10-day workshop of "Max and Willy's Last Laugh," a play with music by Jake Broder and Conor Duffy about Jewish prisoners forced to entertain Nazi officers at a transit camp in the Netherlands during the Second World War.

"He understands the intersectionality of many things." Andy Shallal, a Washington restaurateur and longtime Mosaic board member, said of Douglas. "Not only the racial dynamics, but also tying them to a bigger picture."

Douglas is in the vanguard of a new generation of artistic directors in Washington, several of them artists of color. Among them are Karen Ann Daniels at Folger Theatre, Raymond O. Caldwell at Theater Alliance and Hana Sharif, who arrives at Arena Stage in August. Of ushering in an ever broader cultural dialogue at his theater, Douglas said: "It's inherent in my DNA to think about the world very much as a plural place, not an individual place. And I think there's no more exciting place to think that way than the nation's capital, where we are a global melting pot."

Cathy Solomon, president of Mosaic's 26-member board of directors, says that Douglas took over at a difficult juncture for the theater; it was dealing with the effects of the pandemic as well as the aftershocks of the turbulence surrounding Roth's resignation. (Roth has since formed a new D.C. company, Voices Festival Productions.) "I had very high expectations for Reg and I would say he has exceeded them, which is saying a lot," Solomon said. "It was not easy to come on," she added, pointing to an ambitious project that was already on the theater's books, a trio of plays about the killing of Emmett Till.

"He inherited the 'Till Trilogy,' he did it enthusiastically, and made it his own," Solomon said.

Now, he categorically "owns" everything on his schedule, one that is loaded with risk. New plays are simply harder to sell, and in an age in which the public's interest in purchasing subscriptions to entire seasons is waning, the marketing imperatives are that much more demanding. First up on Mosaic's 2023-2024 agenda is "Monumental Travesties" (Sept. 7-Oct. 1), a world premiere by D.C.-based theater maker Psalmayene 24 that Douglas will direct.

The subject is a statue in Lincoln Park on Capitol Hill that has drawn protests over its depiction of Lincoln, an enslaved man and emancipation. In February, Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D. C.), arguing that the monument "fails to depict how enslaved African Americans pressed for their own emancipation," reintroduced a bill calling for its removal to a museum.

Morisseau's "Confederates" (Oct. 26-Nov. 19) follows, under the direction of Stori Ayers, who also staged it off-Broadway in 2021. Then comes Rhiana Yazzie's "Nancy," (March 28-April 21, 2024), a work directed by Ken-Matt Martin in which the histories of the White House and the nation's Indigenous people intertwine. The main-stage season concludes with "Mexodus" (May 16-June 9, 2024) a musical by and featuring Brian Quijada and Nygel D. Robinson, with David Mendizábal directing.

To Douglas, one of the attributes that ties these disparate projects together is that "they're all naturally, inherently cross-cultural — a play like 'Nancy' that puts together the unlikeliest of women, a single Navajo mother fighting for climate change, in conversation with Nancy Reagan, of all people. All because a writer took this historical spark that no one knows about."

"That's so audacious, and I have no idea how we're going to stage it," Douglas said, laughing. "And that's what thrills me."

ART

The woman who danced her way to abstraction

BY SEBASTIAN SMEE

Sonia Delaunay-Terk (b. 1885)

Electric Prisms, 1913

At the Davis Museum of Art, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.

A series featuring art critic Sebastian Smee's favorite works in permanent collections across the United States

On Thursday evenings in the months before the outbreak of World War I, Sonia Delaunay-Terk would go dancing at a nightclub in Paris called Le Bal Bullier. Dressed in colorful, crazy-looking clothes of her own design, she and her friends would do the fox trot and the tango, which were all the rage.

Delaunay-Terk was already an experienced artist. Born Sarah Stern in 1885, she was the daughter of factory workers from Odessa, Ukraine. At age 5, she was placed in the care of Heinrich Terk, a well-off relative in St. Petersburg who liked to collect art.

Terk saw to it that Sonia (she assumed the name as a child) got a proper education. Since she showed an interest in art, she went to Germany to study drawing at the Karlsruhe Academy of Fine Arts, then moved to Paris in 1905. That was the year Matisse painted "Portrait of Madame Matisse. The Green Line" and "Woman With a Hat," the scandalous portraits of his wife that, by liberating color from description, became the opening salvos of the 20th-century avant-garde.

When she got home from La Bal Bullier, Delaunay-Terk (who died in 1979) began a series of works on paper based on the movements of dancers. "One was accustomed to see a dancer represented in a photo-pose, in an arrested movement," she later explained. "I broke with this convention by superimposing her attitudes [i.e. poses]. Light and movement were confounded, the planes were scrambled together. The rhythms made us want to make the colors dance."

Delaunay-Terk's parents didn't like where her artistic interests were leading her and tried to call her home. She avoided that fate by marrying the gay art dealer Wilhelm Uhde in 1908. (Picasso painted Uhde's portrait in his freshly hatched cubist idiom in 1910.) Delaunay-Terk showed her own work at Uhde's gallery, where she met Robert Delaunay, a modern painter who was developing color theories that were to prove enormously influential on the first generation of abstract painters.

After divorcing Uhde, Sonia married Delaunay, and the two formed an enormously influential creative partnership along the lines of such other avant-garde couples as Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky, Sophie Taeuber and Hans Arp, and Natalia Goncharova and Mikhail Larionov.

This painting by Delaunay-Terk, with its Cezannesque lozenges of colored paint arranged in wheeling, quilt-like pattern of circles and sinuous curves, is in the collection of the Davis Museum at Wellesley College in Massachusetts. One in a series she titled "Electric Prisms," it was painted in 1913, which makes it a very early example of modernist abstraction.

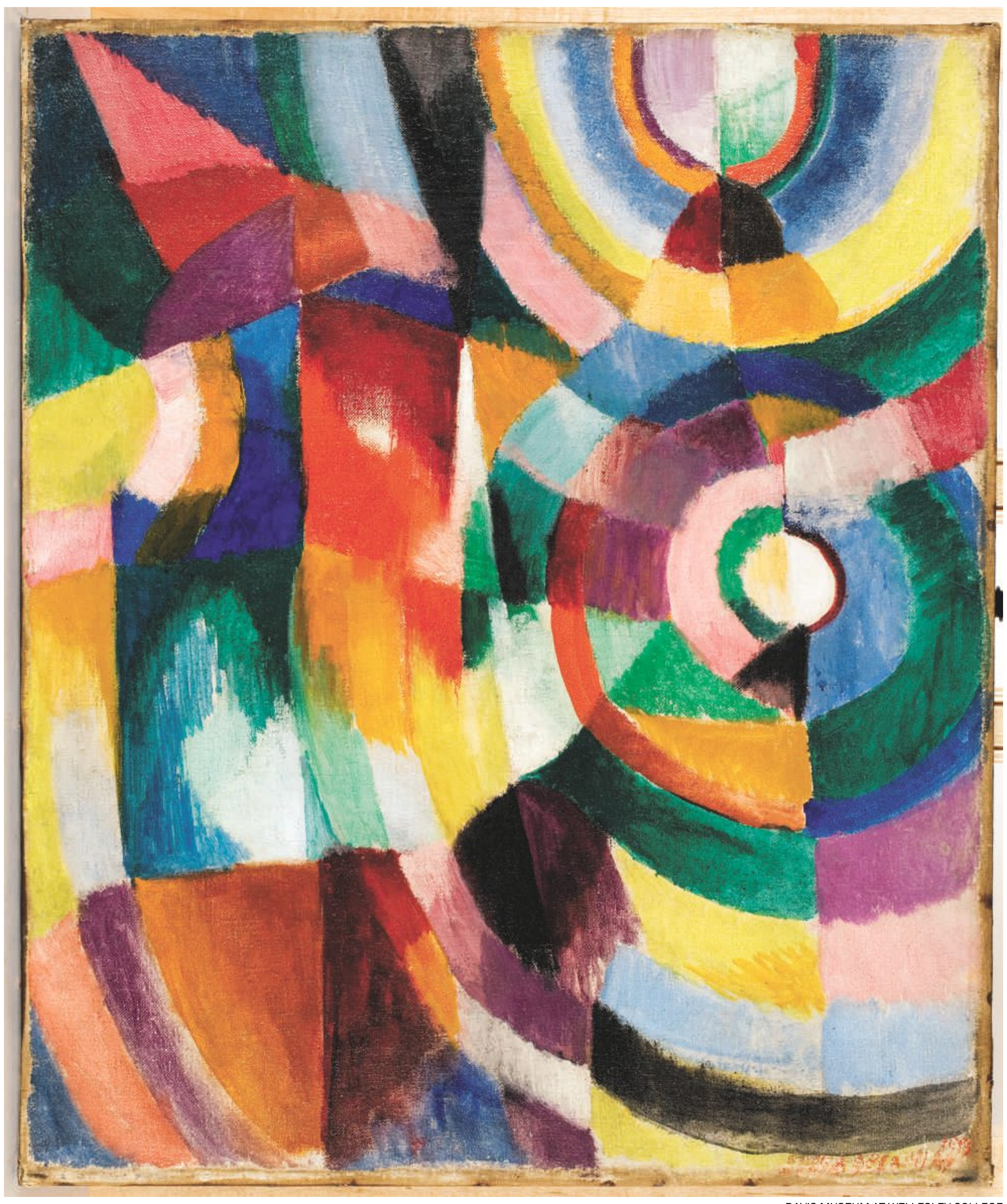
Modern art's drive toward abstraction has always been described in terms of music, and that's of course right. But Delaunay-Terk's work reminds us that dance and even fashion were also important.

And so, perhaps, was a feeling — the feeling you got on a Thursday night when you dressed up, went out with your girlfriends, flirted, danced and enjoyed the way bodies, colored fabrics and indoor lights all moved together on a crowded dance floor in Montparnasse.

It's often at nightclubs, after all, that young people feel most liberated from parents and teachers and bosses and all the strictures of the workaday world. And liberation is what abstraction was all about.

The Delaunays and their fellow pioneers of abstraction spoke of the world of appearances as akin to a veil covering a deeper spiritual world. They wanted to tear that veil. And just as followers of the modernist composer Arnold Schoenberg linked his attempt to "emancipate dissonance" with a wider social emancipation, early abstract artists believed that liberating line and color from the duties of describing real objects might help everyone gain access to a deeper spiritual reality. In this way, abstract art might emancipate society.

It's crushing to think that, as Sonia and her friends danced in Montparnasse, politicians and generals were studying railway lines, choreographing troop movements and preparing to sanction the murder of 10 million young men.



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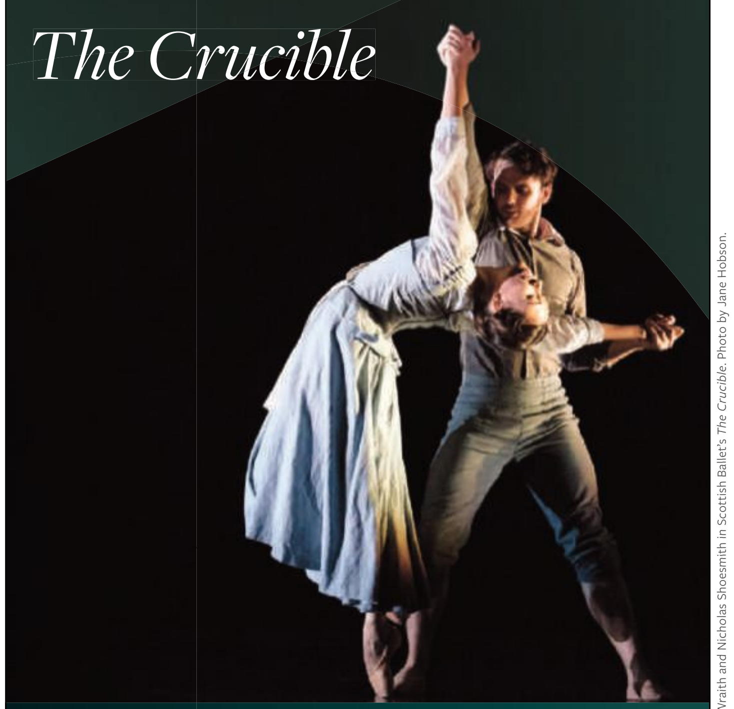
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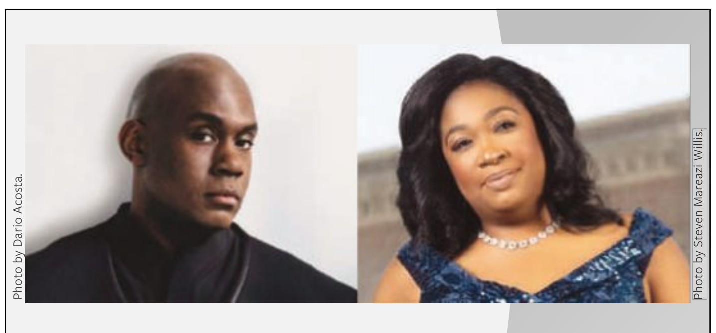


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IN THE GALLERIES

Collaborations woven with wisdom, mischief and generosity

BY MARK JENKINS



JAMES HUCKENPAHLER

A view of "Remembrancer" by Alberto Gaitán in his show at Otis Street Arts Projects including video, electronic music, computer-generated painting, drawings and photos.

Local artist, composer and scientist Alberto Gaitán (1955-2022) had a gift for working with technology and a genius for working with others. He was "the help desk for the D.C. art scene," notes the text of "Albertopalooza: The Self-Organizing Systems of Alberto Gaitán," a retrospective at Otis Street Arts Project. The show encompasses video, electronic music and computer-generated painting, as well as drawings and photographs of long-gone conceptual art projects. It was organized by James Huckenpahler, Gaitán's friend and collaborator.

The son of a Colombian diplomat, Gaitán was born in Ecuador but lived most of his life in the Washington area. He aspired to be a guitarist, an ambition derailed by the onset of severe arthritis during the early 1970s. He later performed on electronic keyboards and other devices, such as the Make Noise Shared System modular synthesizer, which was moved directly from his studio to this show, where it produces an oscillating hum and various staccato counterpoints. But Gaitán devoted much of his time to devising systems that could operate independently and planning schemes that could be executed with or by others.

In the 1990s, Gaitán was a member of Art Attack, a local group that transformed buildings destined for demolition into temporary art objects. Showcased here is documentation of a 1994 remake of a doomed Arlington farmhouse. Nearby in 1998, Gaitán outfitted Lorcom Lane with tubes that produced percussive patterns as cars traversed them, an undertaking represented by a map and an audio recording.

In April 2007, the artist debuted "Remembrancer," a piece in which three robotic painters applied drips of different colored pigment to canvases in response to keywords in news stories found on the internet: Regional stories were red, national stories were blue and international stories were green. (Gaitán divulged just one of the keywords, "death," a term that precipitated a flood of red drips two days later, after the killings at Virginia Tech.)

The "Remembrancer" paintings in this show are from a later incarnation of the work, but are no less poignant. They embody Gaitán's singular aptitude for combining the mechanistic and the human.

Albertopalooza: The Self-Organizing Sytems of Alberto Gaitán Through June 3 at Otis Street Arts Project, 3706 Otis St., Mount Rainier.

Reynier Leyva Novo

Many dictators, most famously Joseph Stalin, removed people from history as they purged them from their coteries; allies-turned-outcasts vanished from subsequent reproductions of photographs in which they had stood with the supreme leader. Conceptual artist Reynier Leyva Novo gives such propagandistic excisions an ironic twist in his Terzo Piano show, "Democratic Memory: A Happy Day." The tyrants themselves evaporate from Novo's painstakingly altered archival photos.

Novo is Cuban, so the autocrat who doesn't appear in his pictures most often is Fidel



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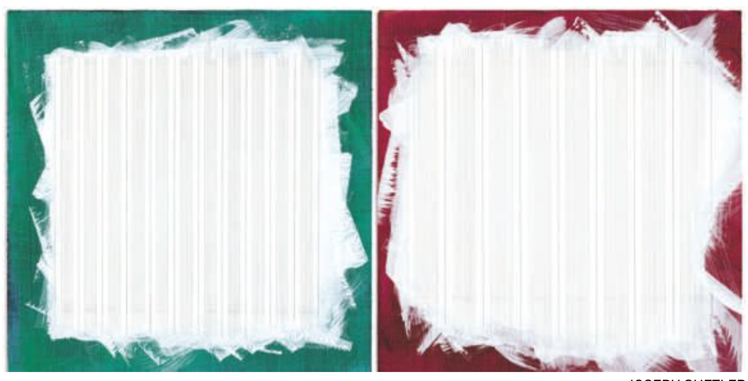
IN THE GALLERIES



DUPONT UNDERGROUND



REYNIER LEYVA NOVO



JOSEPH SHETLER

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: An installation view of "Do You See Me? Paintings of Postpartum Trauma and Healing." Reynier Leyva Novo's "A Happy Day FC V No. 11" in his show at Terzo Piano. "Untitled (Diptych 3)" by Joseph Shetler in his exhibit "In Consideration."

Castro, who rates an entire wall of 16 absences. Novo arranges multiple disappearances for Mao Zedong and removes several images of, or references, to Francisco Franco and Adolf Hitler. What's left behind is often an occasion of public pomp rendered meaningless by the lack of its central figure. But a few photos record domestic moments: Novo pairs photos of nearly identical German shepherds, minus Castro or Hitler, respectively.

The apparent implication of the show's title is that human history would be happy without the likes of Mao, Hitler or Castro. But not all the scenes are rendered placid by the removal of the despot. In one picture, more than a dozen Chinese nurses are visibly anguished by the sight of a bier from which Novo has erased Mao's corpse. The need to venerate a leader can be just as compelling as the leader's need for veneration.

Reynier Leyva Novo: Democratic Memory: A Happy Day Through May 31 at Terzo Piano, 1515 14th St. NW.

Joseph Shetler

With his latest work, D.C. minimalist artist Joseph Shetler moves into color field painting. But the bold, single-hued areas in his new pictures serve primarily as boundaries for lines that are thin, straight and parallel. The 10 works in Shetler's show at the Silva Gallery x Latela Curatorial, "In Consideration," are loud around the edges and hushed at their centers.

The sets of orderly pinstripes, half oriented vertically and half horizontally, are rendered with silverpoint, a technique in which a silver rod is dragged across a soft white background. The parallel arrays are contained within painted enclosures that are essentially square yet rough-edged. The ragged borders strongly contrast the tidy lines within them.

Form is content in Shetler's work, but the artist also has what he terms a moral purpose. "Every time we make art, or look at art, we are creating a habit of seeing different perspectives," notes his statement. In these drawing-paintings, multiple approaches are contained within frames within further frames.

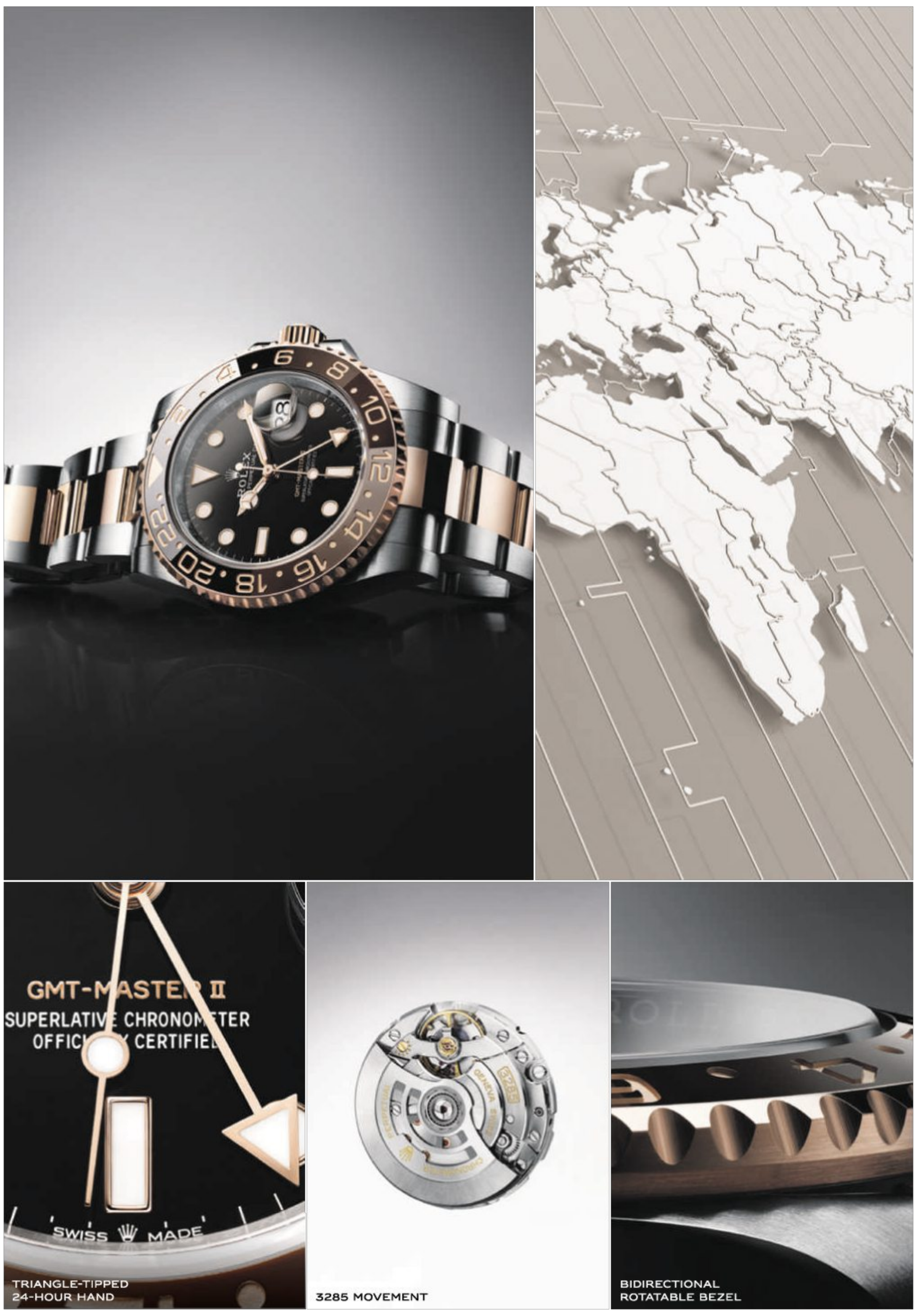
Joseph Shetler: In Consideration Through June 11 at Silva Gallery x Latela Curatorial, 1630 Columbia Rd. NW.

S. Abbas Shobeiri

Artist and physician S. Abbas Shobeiri's Dupont Underground show is a suite of 25 oil and mixed-media paintings. But it can also be seen as a course of treatment. The pictures in "Do You See Me? Paintings of Postpartum Trauma and Healing" are divided among seven thematic sections, beginning with "Shock" and ending hopefully with "Return to a Meaningful Life." They're complemented by comments from distraught mothers, which are projected on the curved inner wall of the venue, a former trolley station.

The Iran-born Northern Virginian takes an expressionistic approach. He depicts postpartum patients in intimate moments or symbolic poses, using heavily impastoed pigment that is sometimes combined with 3D elements. Two of the paintings feature collaged strips of hospital gowns, while "The Goddess" portrays a woman surrounded by a dozen obstetric forceps arranged in a halo around her head. If that seems too literal, Shobeiri shows no interest in transcending his subject. As his statement notes, "I am an artist who advocates for new mothers by retelling their stories through art." His paintings can't be separated from the words projected alongside them.

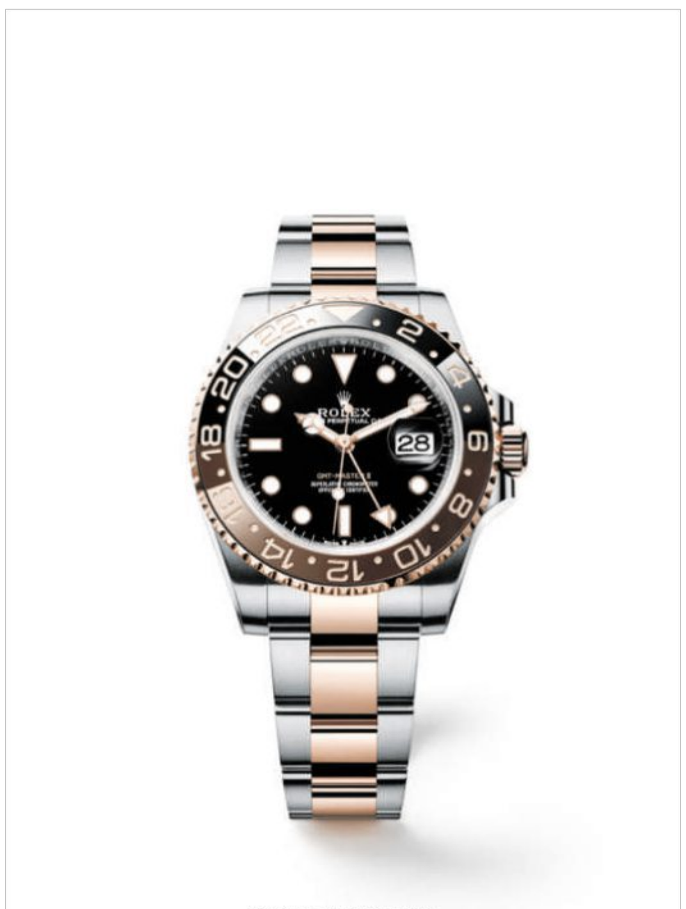
S. Abbas Shobeiri: Do You See Me? Paintings of Postpartum Trauma and Healing Through May 28 at Dupont Underground, 19 Dupont Circle NW.



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ADVICE

How can reader get dad who shows love with over-the-top coddling to ease up?



Carolyn Hax

Dear Carolyn: Before I say anything else, I want to say my parents are wonderful and I'm lucky to have them both be so loving and involved with my life and always willing to step up and help me.

I'm 28, and I lived at home until I was 26. My parents and I are super close. My mom and I have a more adult relationship, but I feel like my dad still sees me as a little kid. He messages me every night reminding me to take my pills and brush my teeth. He sometimes lets himself into my house and leaves fruit or veggies in my fridge, scoops the cat litter box or does my yardwork. He'll show up at my job and take my car to get some gas, and I only know he did it because poof! My car is magically full of gas.

These are obviously acts of service and how he expresses his love. I've told him he doesn't have to and his reply is always, "I just want to help you as much as I can." When I lived at home, it wasn't that weird, but now that I live 40 minutes away ... it feels very weird.

Is there any way I can get him to back off while still making it clear I love him very very much? I don't even care that much, but I know it kind of bugs my fiance and I wonder if co-workers notice the strange man who periodically steals then returns my car.

He lives within walking distance of my older sister and does all this for her as well, and she doesn't seem to mind.

— Dad's Not-So-Little Girl

Dad's Not-So-Little Girl: I have many thoughts on this, mostly supportive, but I won't keep them straight till I say this:

If you share a home with other adults, then he cannot let himself in without their granting him access. Hard no. Doesn't matter if he's leaving fresh fruit or wads of cash.

Now the thoughts. Three people have a say — dad, you, fiance — not co-workers! — involving three concepts: intent, consent, transparency.

With your dad, intent matters. Such intrusive caregiving can be an exercise of love or control, or a combination of both.

If you identify any signs of control, then put a stop to his coddling for your own emotional health. Under the guidance of a therapist, if needed.

If his intent is benign, in your estimation — meaning, you feel fully in charge of your own life, and your dad merely adds an eccentric but loving touch — then check your own intent. Are you trying to "get him to back off" because you want that, or because you think your fiance (or society) expects that?

If you're responding to external voices, then I urge you not to marry anyone until you can tune others out effectively enough to heed your own voice. Again, in a therapist's care if you're stuck.

If you're confident it's your own voice you're responding to, and you welcome the doting within reason, then it becomes a matter of consent. Which fussings are okay with you and which go too far? This is your life and these are your lines to draw, so weigh carefully how you feel about each of your dad's interventions and why, and then give or revoke your consent for them accordingly.

Revoked consent means none of this, "Gee Dad you don't have to," stuff. It's, "I love you, Dad, very much. However, I am not comfortable with X and Y, so it's time to stop." It's backing that up by reclaiming car keys, or muting your phone at night, or changing your locks, if it comes to that.

Once you sort out your consent, *full transparency* with your fiance comes next. For example: "I know my dad's helicoptering bugs you. I have put a stop to X and Y. But I love him and his fussing, and I have no problem with Z, so I told him it's okay." And in general: "I am an adult and I have my limits, but this is how my family is. I love it this way. If it's going to be a source of friction in our marriage, then let's reckon with that now."

Then, it's your fiance's turn for consent and transparency. It's not just whether he's okay with your being babied at 28, 36, 47 — it's whether your fiance loves this about you and your family. Because this *is* you. Even with lines drawn, it influences how you think, feel, show you care. We'd all do better to think this way: "Love me, love my comfort zone."

Your fiance either signs on for all of you, or, for everyone's sake, he needs to rethink signing on at all. However he settles it in his mind, he then needs to be transparent with you.

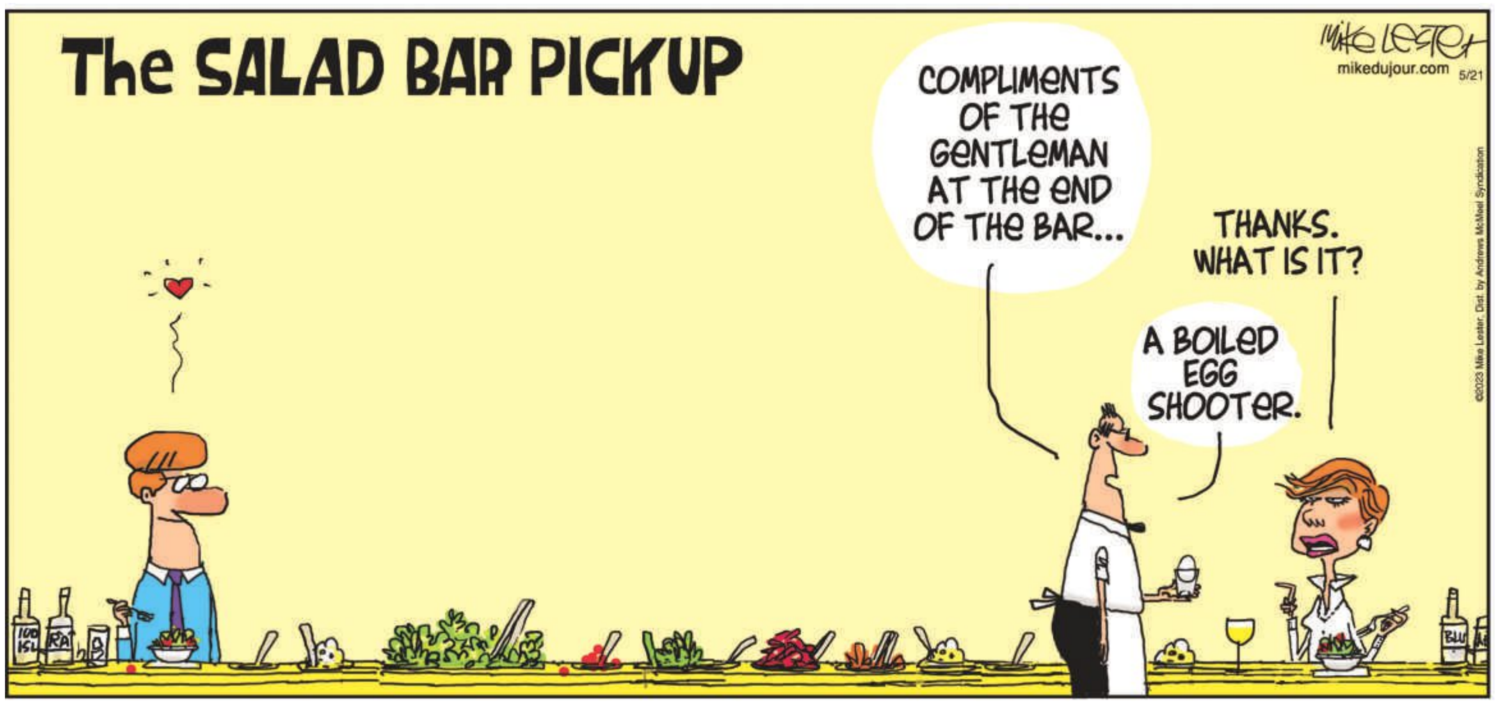
There are many fine ways to go into a marriage, but assuming things will get easier or less annoying is not one of them. Good luck.

Write to Carolyn Hax at tellme@washpost.com. Get her column delivered to your inbox each morning at wapo.st/gethax.

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ADVICE

Reader isn't a hoarder, but his fiancee feels compelled to get rid of his stuff

Ask Amy

AMY DICKINSON

Dear Amy: I'm a middle-aged man. My fiancee recently moved in with me.

My family had hoarding issues for generations. Long before Marie Kondo and hoarding intervention TV came along, I was in therapy and successfully dealing with this. I've disposed of multiple dumpster loads of my ancestors' stuff, to have room to live in my inherited home. My possessions bring me joy.

I'm a design professional with a lot of experience working with clients in their homes. I understand that hoarding is an obsessive-compulsive disorder, but I also see compulsive decluttering as a big problem. I've been inside homes that were virtually empty because of this.

While visiting a friend who was downsizing I realized how anxious stuff, boxes and clutter made my fiancee. We had to end the visit early because she was so anxious! When she is stressed, she "purges" objects and sometimes buys others, only to return or donate them. Some things I treasure have "disappeared."

I make space for her in our home (by removing my stuff) and she leaves the space empty, but then complains there is no room for her things. We have no photos or artwork on our bedroom walls because the visual incompatibility makes her anxious and upset.

If something is not being used NOW (even if needed or useful later), out it goes. She donated an occasionally used, older kitchen appliance and later the same day purchased another.

I'm not sure how to help her (or keep my stuff), as she says I need help with "hoarding." Please raise awareness of compulsive decluttering.

How do I defend decisions when being branded a "hoarder" for useful/needed/cherished objects?

— R

R: Several years ago, I sardonically suggested that decluttering expert Marie Kondo had a compulsive disorder (she sends so much to the landfill!). And then earlier this year, Ms. Kondo announced that the quest for tidy perfection had taken up too much space in her own life, and that she was now rearranging her priorities in a quest for more balance.

Compulsive decluttering does resemble hoarding, in that extreme anxiety and compulsions drive the desire to obsessively remove "stuff." People who suffer with this will get rid of things they will need later, then replace the item, and then remove that, too. So yes, according to your description, your fiancee may suffer from a version of this.

But she has moved into "your" house. Like every cohabiting couple, you will have to negotiate the issue of combining your possessions and arriving at a lifestyle that you both can manage. It is vital that she feels comfortable and at peace in her home.

Because you two have such opposing styles — and are quick to label each other as having a serious disorder — it would be important to sit down with a couples therapist who could help you to sort out, rearrange and unpack the considerable baggage you each bring into this relationship.

Dear Amy: You and I are about the same age, and I'm wondering if some of our peers did something wrong raising their kids.

When I walk in my suburban neighborhood (I've done this every day for years), I say hello to everyone, whether they are sitting on their porch, or out walking the same or opposite way as me. Most everyone the same age as me (or older) returns the greeting.

Everyone from approximately age 50 and younger will either glare at me or act like I'm not there. Amy, what is up with that? Why is it acceptable to be so rude? These are not children, so "not talking to strangers" is not the problem!

What is your take on this?

— Perplexed in Suburbia

Perplexed: During my travels, I've noted general regional differences regarding how outwardly "friendly" strangers are to one another. I was raised in an area that is overall on the far less-friendly side of the spectrum (whereas I tend to be more outgoing). It has never occurred to me that this behavior might be generational, however.

I'd be interested to hear from readers: Has my generation raised a passel of rude-niks?

Dear Amy: I must admit that I am often impressed by how you handle questions related to addiction, and I wonder how you gained this insight. I hope it's not too personal, but I'm curious.

— Curious

Curious: Addiction is an issue I've studied extensively. Fortunately, I don't have personal experience with addiction, but the relationship problems triggered by addiction are devastating, and important to understand.

Amy's column appears seven days a week at *washingtonpost.com/advice*. Write to *askamy@amydickinson.com* or Amy Dickinson, P.O. Box 194, Freeville, N.Y. 13068. You can also follow her *@askingamy*.

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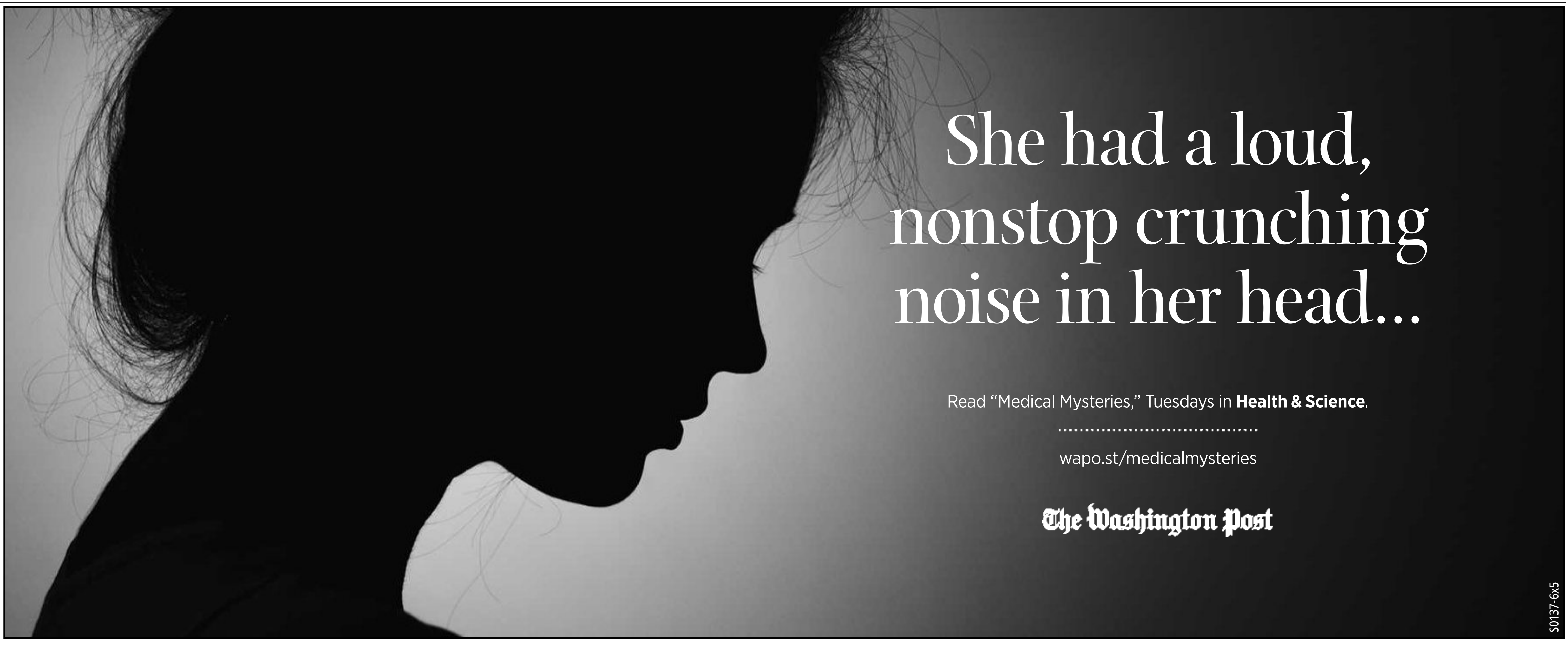
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ART

These matters of taste start on a palette, not the palate

FOOD IN ART FROM E1

It quickly became clear that many more distinctions were necessary to make sense of how images of food operate in art. There is food and then there is eating. There are essential differences between, say, caviar and a cheeseburger. But there are hierarchies to how and where we eat, too. Do we savor delicacies in a restaurant? Or feast on comfort foods? Or gorge on empty calories in squalid seclusion? It is also difficult to disentangle drinking from all of this, which raises questions of disorder, violence and sin.

Many centuries-old ideas about food seem quaint to us today, especially religious moralizing about gluttony, which has been reinvented in a new discourse of the body, health and wellness. New moral ideas have replaced the old ones, and food is no less fraught with ethical questions now than it was for the Dutch in the 17th century. Where does our food come from? What are the environmental costs of meat vs. lentils?

For most of our history, it took more energy and skill to paint a radish than to grow one. Today, photographing our food is as commonplace as saying grace before a meal a generation ago. Awash in images of foodstuffs, it's easy to forget the long history of food as symbols, signs and moral markers. We look to art not just to recapture that history, but also to remind us that it is always better to eat purposefully, aware of a world that extends far beyond our own appetites and desires.



NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART/WIDENER COLLECTION

"The Feast of the Gods" (1514/1529) by Giovanni Bellini and Titian. On view at the National Gallery of Art.

The Feast of the Gods

Giovanni Bellini and Titian, 1514/1529

Philip Kennicott: It's hard to believe that this fantasy of appetite and desire was painted so late in the very long career of Giovanni Bellini, in 1514, just two years before his death in his mid-80s (it was substantially altered by Titian in 1529). The drama of the work seems to lie at the far right of the painting, where Priapus (the god of fertility) is disrobing the nymph Lotis. We would call that sexual assault, but the act is interrupted by the braying of the donkey at the far left. As an image of eating and drinking, it warns about the dangers of excess. But it also suggests a fantasy that remains vital to the way we think about food and drink today, especially in advertisements for liquor and fast food: That somehow we might enjoy sating ourselves without any adverse consequences. In the 19th century, philosophers suggested that God was merely a projection of human values. Here, without disturbing his deeply Christian worldview, Bellini uses the gods to project an ideal and impossible human fantasy of consumption.

Tom Sietsema: Food's association with disorder or danger, hinted at here, goes back to Eve in the Garden of Eden, right? But there are plenty of examples of food as something to be enjoyed, as something more than mere sustenance. The luminous colors in this painting speak to that. I can't pinpoint what the assembly is eating — apples? pears? — but wine is everywhere, in cups and jugs, an ageless and alluring companion to the gathering. Regarding parallels to advertising, we see Bacchus and Apollo here, the gods of wine and music. You can't get more seductive than that. Gluttony or excess is only hinted at — see the nymph nodding off in the corner. These are the 1 percent, the beautiful people, being attended to and living the good life.



NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART/JULIET AND LEE FOLGER/FOLGER FUND

"Still Life With Fruit" (1675) by Jacob van Walscapelle. On view at the National Gallery of Art.

Still Life With Fruit

Jacob van Walscapelle, 1675

Sietsema: This painting revels in symbolism. Wine and grapes represent the Eucharist; the bright red pomegranate acknowledges the suffering of Christ. I detect the passage of time here, too. Some of the grapes are fading, and the peel of pomegranate looks curled and dried. Only the wine, poured into an elegant Venetian glass, looks as if it has just been fetched from the cellar. I appreciate the little imperfections in the image, including the worn, chipped counter.

Kennicott: I wonder where one would hang this little painting. In the dining room because it shows things one might eat? Or in the bedroom, where you might examine it by candlelight when you're having the 4 a.m. willies about death and mortality? The distressed tabletop shows up in still lifes by other Dutch artists, but it seems particularly potent here, perhaps because of the small size and intimacy of the painting. No matter how sturdy the substance, everything decays, and dies. I like to imagine a more contemporary, less Christian allegory for this image: That the pleasure in ephemeral things, the passing pleasure of taste and delight in freshness, can be more lasting, more substantial than the things we think are solid, permanent and foundational to our happiness.

Still Life With Fruit and Vegetables

Frans Snyders, 1625-1635

Kennicott: This painting by the Flemish artist Frans Snyders was made perhaps a half century before Walscapelle's 1675 still life, and it lives in a very different world. The allegorical sobriety of Walscapelle is almost silent compared to the clamoring pageant of abundance on Snyders's canvas. And in this case we know that it was installed in the dining room of a stately home in England. Curator Maggie Bell included this work in an exhibition on view at the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena, Calif., "All Consuming: Art and the Essence of Food." Bell sees this as an image of abundance, as opposed to excess, and a marker of Snyders's wealthy patrons' interest in a kind of "hipster" idea of agrarian fecundity and self-reliance. But it's also a fantasy, with the food representing different seasons of the year, all gathered, and the African lovebird likely a sign of European dominion over the vast colonial domains. The cabbage at lower left fascinates me. It is huge, and perhaps meant as a slight tug on the conscience: Yes, we can stock our pantries with anything and everything, but the brassicas and root vegetables are still the cornerstone of a humble, healthy, unpretentious diet.

Sietsema: I want to shop in this woman's rich larder! The eyes don't know where to focus. Seemingly every square inch of table and floor is devoted to something beautiful and luscious, including items representing the expansion of global trade. I appreciate the deliberate placement of the bounty, with the more common vegetables on the ground and the dearer, seasonal ingredients set apart, in baskets or on higher surfaces. Food is fuel, of course, but also a source of delight, for all the senses. I can practically smell the mingling of flowers and just-plucked fruit and feel the bumps on the gourds and the prick of the artichokes. The quality of fruits and vegetables is underscored by the robust and contented appearance of the woman and boy in the painting. The message: You are what you eat (and money helps).



NORTON SIMON FOUNDATION

ABOVE: "Still Life With Fruit and Vegetables," (1625-35) by Frans Snyders. On view at the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena, Calif.
BELOW: "Carousing Peasants," (c. 1630) by Adriaen Van Ostade. On view at the Norton Simon Museum.

Carousing Peasants

Adriaen Van Ostade, c. 1630

Sietsema: There's a voyeuristic quality to this painting, not unlike when people pause outside a bar or restaurant and take stock of a place, if even for a moment. Viewers are prompted to judge. The artist is clearly poking fun at his subjects. All but one of them is low to the ground; two are possibly on the floor because they're drunk. Check out the red noses, the half-grins, the smudged or ripped clothing of the illuminated characters. Is the one with the wine jug offering his friends more to drink or playfully cutting them off? Unclear. The scene is raw, the characters unguarded, thanks to alcohol. "Feast of the Gods" glamorized drinking to an extent. "Carousing Peasants" captures the darker side of the activity. I see headaches in the subjects' futures.

Kennicott: As in the refined paintings of upscale Dutch interiors a few decades later, the characters in this drama are caught in a shaft of light from a window to the left. But daylight picks out only confusion and disorder, even the architecture. Everything is patched, clumsily repaired or loose and provisional, like the brushwork. Even the Y-shaped wooden framing seems to be haphazardly buttressed, giving the impression of a house that is about to collapse — an unsubtle metaphor for society or the state that allows this kind of license. Bellini's drunkards were seen outdoors, in the flattering light of the sun, drowsy but beautiful. Here, for the amusement of people who can afford to buy paintings, the lower classes are seen physically deformed by excess. The arms of the central couple form a loop, which suggests an age-old slander against women: She places the idea of lust in his head, which he executes by reaching under her apron.

SEE FOOD IN ART ON E10



NORTON SIMON FOUNDATION

ART

FOOD IN ART FROM E8



NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART/RICHARD S. ZEISLER FUND/JAMES ROSENQUIST FOUNDATION

"White Bread," (1964) by James Rosenquist. In the collection of the National Gallery of Art.



NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART/ROSENWALD COLLECTION

"Germany's Children Are Hungry!" ("Deutschlands Kinder Hungern!") (1924) by Käthe Kollwitz. In the collection of the National Gallery of Art.

White Bread

James Rosenquist, 1964

Sietsema: "You eat first with your eyes" goes the chef maxim. In that case, I'll forgo the bleached white bread slathered with a shocking yellow spread, probably margarine, in this Pop Art statement about American consumption. There's nothing personal, pretty or nurturing about the uniform slices of bread that seem to have spilled from an unseen plastic bag. Even the knife is standard issue. This is cheap food designed to fill you up, nothing more. James Rosenquist was a sign painter earlier in his career. The yellow in "White Bread" is the shade of a yield sign. I taste a subliminal message there.

Kennicott: We are not so far away from the old idea of food as symbol, the earthy virtue of root vegetables for the Dutch, or the Christian symbolism attached to food that pervaded still life for centuries. White bread describes a pervasive idea of American culture: bland, conformist, mass produced for an audience that hates surprise. You can imagine that the yellow of the margarine might spread across the whole of the painting, joining the yellow of the background, until this dreadful bread disappears entirely in an oleaginous sea of yellow. But I wonder whether there's a play on the idea of painting and printing. Each slice of bread, like a print, is essentially identical to every other one, but there is no such thing as an original slice of bread. As we stand in front of this painting, we sense we are seeing that elusive original — the perfect, Platonic form of white bread. And it's slightly nauseating.

Germany's Children Are Starving!

Käthe Kollwitz, 1924

Kennicott: The great German artist Käthe Kollwitz simplified her graphic style to concentrate the moral force of this devastating image. As soon we move from eating food to feeding others, we enter the social realm, with obligations and responsibilities that transcend our own needs and pleasures. The emptiness of the bowls the children hold is seen as white space, while she uses the hauntingly dark orbs of their eyes to suggest the emptiness they feel, their hunger. This suggests not just pathos, but also anger. They raise both eyes and bowls not to the viewer, but to an unseen figure above and to their right. On one level, social failure is a shared responsibility: We are all to blame. But this image is more specific, more political and, hence, more powerful. It says these children are hungry and this is on you. The difference is vital, between feeling bad about the human condition and feeling angry about a failure of governance.

Sietsema: Artists tend to play up the joys of eating or the pleasures of the table when they portray food. But no discussion of food in art would be complete without telling the whole story. The sad reality is that a lot of people have, and continue, to go hungry. The brilliance in this lithograph lies in its bold simplicity: Wide-eyed children raising empty bowls in the hope of being fed by some unseen benefactor. The scene is captured in black and white, emphasizing the direness of the situation. While the image is all about food, it doesn't depict so much as a crumb. The children's hunger is palpable. Honestly, I had to look away from the picture a few times.

OPERA

Three 'La Bohèmes' enjoyed in one week

LA BOHÈME FROM E1

versatile and relatable works in the repertory. And it's also sort of the Billy bookcase of operas.

In the case of Washington National Opera's revived "Bohème," directed by Peter Kazaras and now onstage at the Kennedy Center, the action unfolds in a postwar Paris similarly rich in artistic activity, charged by revolutionary spirit, and haunted by death and disease. The slight historical repositioning has not altered the story, but has yielded a production of restrained opulence, popping with rich color and texture that focuses attention on the singing.

On opening night, soprano Gabriella Reyes made a fabulous Mimi, her Act I aria ("Mi chiamano Mimì") an early display of her talent for masking the power of her voice with an arresting fragility. Tenor Kang Wang was a sturdy and robust Rodolfo, imparting lovely softness when he and Mimi meet cute in Act I ("Che gelida manina") and hard-edged grief to his Act III confession to Marcello ("Mimì è tanto malata!").

Soprano Jacqueline Echols was an especially beguiling Musetta. Flanked by waiters playing matador with table linens, she rose above Cafe Momus with flamboyant authority, an ideal foil to the potent, smoky baritone and easy comic timing of Gihoon Kim's Marcello. Also in fine form, baritone Blake Denson and bass Peixin Chen as the poet Schaunard and the philosopher Colline, with Chen beautifully tender in his overthinking ode to his overcoat ("Vecchia zimarra"). Extra credit goes to bass Peter Rose, who dazzled in the dual role of Benoit the landlord and Musetta's erstwhile sugar daddy Alcindoro. (Artists from the Cafritz Young Artist Program will take on the lead roles for the May 26 performance.)

Conductor (and music director of Saint Petersburg's Mikhailovsky Theatre) Alevtina Ioffe led the Washington National Opera Orchestra with admirable precision and push. The music cohered beautifully with the singers, with concertmaster Oleg Rylatko delivering an impactful performance, especially his icy lines through the frigid Act III. The addition of the Washington National Opera Chorus and Corps Dancers, plus the Washington National Opera Children's Chorus, gave the production a populous buzz that leaned grand without using spectacle as a crutch.

How strange to see Mimi up and about the very next afternoon at the Metropolitan Opera in New York, still struggling with that same stubborn cough, still failing to keep her candle lit, but wide-awake once again to the possibilities of love, i.e. "the first kiss of April."

Since its company premiere on Nov. 9, 1900, "La Bohème" has shown up at the Met for all but nine seasons and a grand total of 1,367 performances (as of last Wednesday). The current revival of Zeffirelli's 1981 production stands as the most performed production in the company's history, with nearly 500 performances, more than twice as many as the next most-performed productions at the Met. (At this rate it will be another century before Mimi catches a break.)

At a recent performance, Met music director Yannick Nézet-Séguin posted to Instagram that leading the Zeffirelli was "fulfilling my dream." It's not a bad shake for audiences either, more accustomed to experiencing this opera led by Met delegates than its music director. (Paolo Carignani and James Gaffigan will also conduct dates through the run.)

Donning a cerulean jacket garnished with a golden braid, Nézet-Séguin was a wildly effective bellows, restoring a roaring flame to Puccini's score with vigor and volume. He lit up the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra with unexpected energy and drama, adeptly accounting for the tendency of the cavernous set to swallow up sopranos. Of the three "La Bohèmes" I saw, this one had me closing my eyes and listening.

Unlike Mimi's hands, tenor Stephen Costello was quick to warm up through the first act as Rodolfo, and he had wonderful vocal chemistry with soprano Eleonora Buratto's Mimi, a magnetic and agile singer with a diamond-clear high register. Baritone Davide Luciano struggled here and there to surface as Marcello, a hesitance that made more sense once we encountered soprano Sylvia D'Eramo's fiery Musetta. And while baritone Alexey Lavrov delivered a sweet-natured Schaunard, Met (and personal) favorite bass-baritone Christian Van Horn was sensational as Colline.

The sets — lavishly destitute — earned applause each time the curtain parted. This production requires three hours and includes two full intermissions to account for its extreme world-building demands: Visionary as he was, "poor" was not primary on Zeffirelli's mood board. Rodolfo and Marcello's garret is about as squalid as the capacious loft from "Friends." Even the bleak checkpoint at the Barrière d'Enfer could not keep out Zeffirelli's overblown elegance.

But sometimes this push toward grandeur feels unproductively at odds with Puccini's pull toward intimacy: Cafe Momus is tucked into the underbelly of a town square featuring a donkey, a horse and 238 performers playing merchants, children, a marching band. Since the production premiered in 1981, the Act II set has traveled almost 15 miles rolling on and off the Met stage.

In many ways, this production (now directed by Mirabelle Ordinaire) feels suspended in reverence for itself, like a massive snow globe, complete with 15 pounds of paper snow per show. Its gargantuan scale can also feel like a monument to Zeffirelli's grasp of the grand. But Nézet-Séguin made clear that it just takes some love and attention to relight its candle, to pull a Mimi and bring it right back to life.

On a recent Sunday at the Academy of Music in downtown Philadelphia, music director Corrado Rovaris led his Opera Philadelphia Orchestra through an especially energized closing performance of "La Bohème" from director Yuval Sharon, who has taken the challenge of resurrecting Mimi more literally. Sharon is the artistic director of the Detroit Opera who recently gave the premiere of his tripartite opera "Proximity" at the Lyric Opera of Chicago, the latest example of a format-busting approach that extends to his tenure helming the experimental Los Angeles-based company The Industry.

This take on "La Bohème," produced with the Detroit Opera and Spoleto Festival USA, exploits the built-in modularity of Puccini's unconventional "quattro quadri" ("four pictures") structure by flipping and reversing it. Meaning that we open with Mimi's second and traditionally final appearance at Rodolfo's door, i.e. the swallow coming back to her nest, and work our way backward to the fateful climax of their first encounter.

Sharon's treatment also leans the production to 100 minutes with the omission of intermission, the streamlining of sets and slight trims to Act I: Benoit doesn't come to collect the rent. Love's rush thus sometimes felt a touch too rushed.

This was a brisk and bristling "Bohème," the drama of Puccini's melodies brightened and effortlessly underlining the vocals. Tenor Joshua Blue sang a fine Rodolfo alongside soprano Kara Goodrich's Mimi, their voices buoyant atop Rovaris's lithe conducting. Baritone Troy Cook was an alluring Marcello, and soprano Melissa Joseph offered a show-stealing Musetta, my favorite "Quando me'n vo'" of the week, situated in my least favorite Cafe Momus.

Bass Adam Lau as Colline and baritone Benjamin Taylor as Schaunard were, in this vision, the third couple, and sung with an appropriately enhanced (if unexpected) sweetness. And the Opera Philadelphia Chorus and Philadelphia Girls and Boys Choirs provided a wonderful richness that felt intentionally absent from the visuals. A spartan set on a tilted turntable stage is presided over by a single Flavinesque bar of fluorescent light. A fleeting Cafe Momus materializes and disperses. A doorway to nowhere frames falling snow like a sky full of stars. This is a Latin Quarter of the mind.

To assist in shepherding viewers against the natural current of the opera, Sharon has inserted a new character, The Wanderer, a ghostly host of sorts, played here by Anthony Martinez Briggs. The Wanderer's lines derive from Murger's play, as well as stage directions translated from the original libretto by Giuseppe Giacosa and Luigi Illica. But uttered through the fourth wall — in English no less — the effect is hammy.

"Maybe it could have all turned out differently," The Wanderer supposes aloud at several junctures. At the Barriere: "What would have happened if Rodolfo went back inside?" At Cafe Momus: "What would have happened if Musetta stayed silent?" And in the new finale of Act I, he slips from narrator to interloper.

It's a curious strategy, one that manages to draw explicit attention to our experience of a work of art while simultaneously negating it as a series of deliberate choices. I mean, sure, maybe it all *could* have turned out differently. (Have you seen "Rent"?) In the end, the addition of a chaperone undermines the argument that "La Bohème" can be effectively rearranged. I found myself greeting his appearances with a groan, like the unsolicited assistance of Clippy.

The reversal did have some compelling effects. There is a longer resonance to Rodolfo's explanation that in hiding Mimi's key, he was helping destiny ("aiutavo il destino"). And in the finale wrought from Act I, Rodolfo's bright idea to tear up the pages of his own play and feed it to the stove crackles with wry irony.

But what good is an emotional roller coaster without the plunge? Even as Mimi and Rodolfo leave hand in hand for Cafe Momus, their love on the wing as the curtain dives to the stage, dread prevails. You know full well how this ending is going to begin. It's only a matter of hours before some other Mimi drops her key and some other Rodolfo seals their fates. And we'll keep buckling in for the ride, again and again.

It could be the music and the singing that keep us coming back to "La Bohème." It could be the spectacle and drama we've been trained to expect. Or it could be something far more simple: that we've all loved, we've all lost, and we'll all continue to do so until nobody's watching.

La Bohème runs at the Washington National Opera though May 27 and at the Metropolitan Opera through June 9.



SCOTT SUCHMAN

Soprano Jacqueline Echols, left, plays Musetta in the Washington National Opera production of "La Bohème" that runs through May 27. Over a century after it premiered at the Teatro Regio in Italy, the classic from Giacomo Puccini arguably remains the most popular opera in the world, with 500 to 600 productions staged every year.



SCOTT SUCHMAN

Kang Wang plays Rodolfo and Gabriella Reyes is Mimi in the Washington National Opera production at the Kennedy Center, where the lively music coheres beautifully with the singers.



STEVEN PISANO

Kara Goodrich sings the role of Mimi in the Opera Philadelphia production of "La Bohème."



STEVEN PISANO

Melissa Joseph as Musetta and Benjamin Taylor as Schaunard in Opera Philadelphia's "La Bohème."



CURTIS BROWN/METROPOLITAN OPERA

Sylvia D'Eramo plays Musetta in the Metropolitan Opera's "La Bohème," which runs through June 9. The opera has been staged at the Met for all but nine seasons since 1900.

ART



METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

For years before Spanish artist Diego Velázquez painted this portrait of the Afro-Hispanic Juan de Pareja in 1650, Pareja served in his studio and accompanied him on travels.

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

FREE FROM SLAVERY, JUAN DE PAREJA PAINTED WITH A POTENT VISION

Exhibition at the Met shows that subject of celebrated portrait by Diego Velázquez was an important artist in his own right

BY PHILIP KENNICOTT IN NEW YORK

Stare at the face painted by the great Spanish artist Diego Velázquez for as long as you like, it will not yield any clear sense of expression. Juan de Pareja, the Afro-Hispanic subject of the 1650 portrait, is neither smiling nor frowning. His eyes glisten and he stares directly at the viewer, with no trace of affection, hostility, curiosity or impatience. If the eyes are windows on the soul, the shutters are firmly shut. The only clear clue to his personality is a deep sense of intelligence.

Pareja, who was also an artist, is the subject of a small but potent exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. For years before Velázquez painted his portrait, Pareja was enslaved, serving Velázquez in his studio and accompanying him on his travels. Shortly after Velázquez painted the famous image of a handsome man with dark skin, Pareja was granted the promise of freedom after four more years of service. The exhibition, "Juan de Pareja: Afro-Hispanic Painter," is the first gathering of the works Pareja made after 1654, when he became legally, personally and


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ART

artistically independent of the man who owned him.

An expressionless face is its own kind of expression, a refusal of vulnerability, a decline of any emotional insight to the viewer. It is a mask, and in this case, it is almost certainly hiding the complicated and emotionally fraught relationship between two artists, one whose star was rising, the other who was then working anonymously, probably making copies of Velázquez's most in-demand works. Look at this painting, and say to yourself, "He is looking at the man who owns him." The mask makes perfect sense, but what does it cost a man to wear it every hour of every day?

The portrait was made in Rome, and its lively, humane depiction of a man with African features caused a sensation. It was a calling card for the Spanish artist among the elite of Rome, and in this exhibition it sits opposite another equally stunning Velázquez portrait of Pope Innocent X.

The Pareja portrait, which the Met acquired with great fanfare in 1971, very likely secured Velázquez access to paint the pope's portrait. To see both works in the same room is an explosive experience. Both ends of the social hierarchy are represented and linked by a complex chain of associations.

Pareja's servitude furthered Velázquez's success, and the painting of an enslaved Black man led to the portrait of one of Europe's ultimate power players. Pareja withholds emotion and access, while Innocent X holds nothing back, pinched lips etching a slight sneer and beady eyes almost shouting "Begone!" at both artist and viewer.

Much of this exhibition is focused on illuminating the complexity of Spain's multiracial society in the 17th century. Slave labor and colonial exploitation of the Americas had piled up vast wealth, and slavery was embedded in Spanish economic and cultural life.

In Seville, the artisan class relied on slave labor to produce luxury goods. In Madrid, the center of political and court life, slavery was a status symbol. When Velázquez took the enslaved Pareja to Rome, where slavery was less common, the locals may have found it slightly quaint or ostentatious for an artist to swan about with human chattel.

The racialization of slavery, so deeply embedded in the United States' ugly history, was not as strongly established in Spain. When Pareja set out as a free man and independent artist, he had considerable success in Madrid, as a Catholic man painting Catholic subjects despite the church's acceptance of slavery. Racism and racial thinking included deep anxieties about the intermixing of Jewish, Islamic and Christian populations over centuries of Spain's complicated history.

Unfortunately, this exhibition has been installed in the wing housing the Met's Robert Lehman Collection, some of the least congenial and most disjointed galleries in the building. That made it impossible to juxtapose Velázquez's aristocratic portraiture, including the portrait of Pareja, with fascinating and moving works that include people of African descent installed in a nearby hallway.

These works by various artists, including three related images of a kitchen maid by Velázquez, depict Black people of the servant class with what seems a genuine sense of insight and empathy. Like the maid in Velázquez's images, a boy with black skin also wears an expressionless mask in Murillo's moving "Three Boys." There might have been some revelation had they been placed closer to the portrait of Pareja. As a man enslaved to a fashionable artist, Pareja saw Rome, which almost certainly expanded the breadth of his artistic vision; servants, whether enslaved or free, saw far less of the world.

Most of Pareja's own works are placed in another corridor space, which is also unfortunate. In the excellent catalogue, co-curator David Pullins identifies 14 works firmly attributed to Pareja, five of which are in the exhibition.

It would be nice to have more, but this show includes two magnificent paintings that may be the most important in his oeuvre. "The Calling of Saint Matthew" (1661) and "The Baptism of Christ" (1667) put to rest any lingering idea (once more common among scholars studying Pareja) that he was a lesser Velázquez. They are grandly scaled, wonderfully idiosyncratic Baroque masterpieces with complex drama and geometry and loving attention to detail.

They underscore the larger argument of Pullins and his co-curator, Vanessa K. Valdés, that Pareja's post-enslavement work was a break from Velázquez's refined, sensitive and courtly aesthetic and more in sympathy with the exuberance and colors of the Madrid School painters, relatively little-known today, who were creating a new mélange of styles in Madrid in the mid-17th century.

Another Pareja work, "The Flight Into Egypt" (1658), is awkward and cloying, and perhaps an unsuccessful effort at a personal take on the works of the Madrid painters. The Saint Matthew and Baptism paintings suggest a fully complete transition to an independent vision.

There are, in fact, two portraits of Pareja in the show. The first, by Velázquez, is the most famous. The second is a self-portrait by Pareja, which he included at the far left, among the other figures, in his "The Calling of Saint Matthew." There is no doubt they are the same man. And in the Saint Matthew canvas, Pareja depicts another painter from the Madrid School, Jose Antolinez, standing next to him — a sign that the formerly enslaved artist was now integrated into larger artistic circles.

In his self-portrait, Pareja again stares directly at the viewer, and his mouth again gives away no sense of emotion. But a patch of light above his right eyebrow suggests just a slight touch of irony, adding a note of self-confidence to the engaging intelligence of the Velázquez image. Pareja is literally in the picture, but stands apart from its drama. He and Antolinez are occupied with themselves, a bit like stage managers who have seen the show so often that they no longer need to pay it much attention.

What does it mean? Sometimes, in art, one sees things that are clearly meaningful, obviously important, powerfully resonant, yet no specific meaning emerges. The only thing I can think of is that Pareja is saying, "Look at what I have made." But he won't tell us whether he means the art or himself.

Juan de Pareja: Afro-Hispanic Painter Through July 16 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. metmuseum.org.



APSLEY HOUSE/WELLINGTON MUSEUM/BRIDGEMAN IMAGES



ARCHIVE MUSEO NACIONAL DEL PRADO



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DULWICH PICTURE GALLERY/BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

Much of the Juan de Pareja exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art focuses on illuminating the complexity of Spain's multiracial society in the 17th century. CLOCKWISE FROM BELOW: Murillo's "Three Boys" (c. 1670); Pareja's "The Baptism of Christ" (1667) and "The Calling of Saint Matthew" (1661) are wonderfully idiosyncratic Baroque masterpieces with complex drama and loving attention to detail. The show also includes this Diego Velázquez portrait of Pope Innocent X (c. 1651).

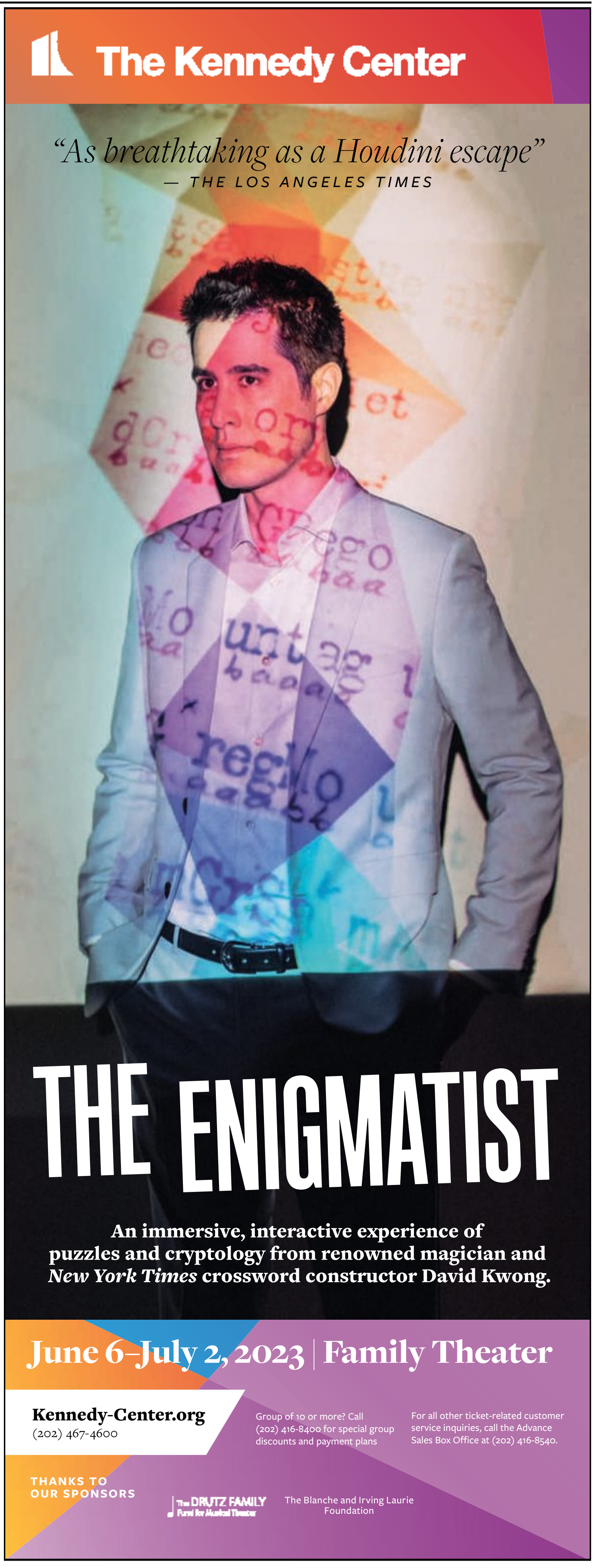
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the GUIDE to the Lively Arts

SHOW NAME	DATES & TIMES	DESCRIPTION	DETAILS	PRICE	ADDITIONAL
THEATRE					
GALA — **KUMANANA! An Afro-Peruvian Musical Revue**	Thru June 22 Wed–Sat at 8 pm Sun at 2 pm	Experience the power of the African beats and the resilience of a people that spurred change in a culture. Be part of the movement.	**GALA Theatre 3333 14th Street NW 202-234-71 74 www.galatheatre.org**	$25-$48	In Spanish with English surtitles
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MUSIC - CONCERTS					
 **André Rieu and his Johann Strauss Orchestra**	Saturday, September 16, 2023 7:30 P.M.	Join André Rieu and his Johann Strauss Orchestra for a magical night of fun, dance and romance.	**Capital One Arena 601 F St. NW, Washington DC 20004 www.capitalonearena.com**	$79+	
INSERIES (OPERA that speaks. THEATER that sings.) — **CHUCK & EVA**	Thursday, June 1 and Friday, June 2 at 7p.m.	An experience that brings to life the legendary album "The Other Side" by DC and MD musical legends Chuck Brown and Eva Cassidy.	**The True Reformer Building 1200 U St NW, WDC 20009 202 204-7763 www.inseries.org**	$35, $45, $55	Music from the Great American Songbook
MUSIC - CHORAL					
CANTATE (Victoria Gau, Music Director) — **Pieces of Nature**	Sunday, May 21, at 5:00pm	Cantate Chamber Singers concludes the season with a program in which music director Victoria Gau shares her love of the natural world. Music by Morten Lauridsen, Dan Forrest, Andrew Earle Simpson, Craig Hella-Johnson and more draws together a program that is at turns meditative and joyful.	**St. Paul's Lutheran Church 4900 Connecticut Ave NW Washington DC 20008 https://www.cantate.org**	$0 - $45	
OPERA					
Bel Cantanti Opera — **Franz Lehar King of Operetta**	FRI May 26 - 7:30 p.m. SAT May 27 - 7:30 p.m. SUN May 28 - 3:00 p.m.	A gala Bel Cantanti Opera concert featuring the works of Austro-Hungarian composer Franz Lehar, with a chamber orchestra and featuring the Four Seasons Dancers.	**Bender Jewish Community Center 6125 Montrose Rd. Rockville, MD www.belcantanti.com**	$40	Tickets online and at the door

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TELEVISION

Nick Offerman reminds you he's not Ron Swanson

In diverse roles and live stage show, prolific actor breaks out of 'Parks and Recreation' pigeonhole

BY JESSICA M. GOLDSTEIN

If Nick Offerman had his druthers (his word), he would go to bed at 10 o'clock and rise at 5 in the morning "and have some cows to milk." But Lady Fortune (also his words) has another destiny in mind for this would-be farmer, so he is currently doing night shoots for the fourth season of Netflix superhero series "The Umbrella Academy" alongside his wife, Megan Mullally, for which he is on the set from 6 in the evening until 6 in the morning. When we speak at 10 a.m., he is in a "fugue state" from pulling a week of all-nighters, though this does not prevent him from thoughtfully delving into his latest run of sensational television work — as in the zeitgeist-dominating "The Last of Us" and a food snob-slash-Hitler fanatic in the excellent "Party Down" reboot — or his experiences touring his live show, at which a small subset of fans are scandalized to discover the real Offerman does not share his "Parks and Recreation" character's political predilections but is in fact a "giggly sap" who hopes his work helps "soften the boundaries between genders."



FRAZER HARRISON/GETTY IMAGES

Q: I'm curious about people who come to your live show and know you largely from these characters that you play on TV. I'd imagine that there are some surprises for them when they see you as the you-est you, right? You're being yourself in these performances.
A: Most of my audience [knows] who I am and the ways in which I am different from Ron Swanson, for example. And if they don't cotton to that, the differences are soon elucidated in my song, "I'm Not Ron Swanson." There is a small percentage of the uninitiated who think that I'm gonna be a cigar-smoking shotgun enthusiast, so I usually have seven to 11 people leave in a huff muttering about what a snowflake I am.

I received a lot of new homophobic attention after my work in 'The Last of Us." So now I've written a song called "I Thought I Was a Man, But I Was Wrong." I generally make hay out of the ways in which some of my audience has poor reading comprehension when it comes to understanding how actors work.

Q: Is there anything strange, challenging or exciting to you about being somebody who a lot of fans think of as a paragon of what is to be a man in this cultural moment where we're all examining gender differently, and trying to have more expansive ideas about what that means?
A: It never occurred to me that I would be held up as some sort of ideal of masculinity, I suppose because despite the package that I was born in, and the voice that emanates from this beefy torso, I am *me* inside, and I'm a complicated, artistic, creative human being. I'm a giggly sap who also is good at chopping firewood and driving equipment and grilling red meat. That's what I try to gently explain, to those sad Libertarian fans.

Even Ron Swanson — that's why I said those fans have poor reading comprehension — he's truly a very progressive and open Libertarian. He's not right-wing, he's not misogynist. He's an incredible feminist, he's a very gentle soul who just happens to have these old-fashioned, conservative ways of living.

I encourage my audience to squint their eyes and soften the boundaries between genders and between groups of people, and [let go of] the need to simplify and specialize human beings, and instead open the categories to where everyone is accepted with their own list of proclivities and attributes.

Q: Did you ever struggle with the dissonance between the way that your physical appearance made people think about you and the person that you actually wanted to be? Especially starting out as an actor where I feel like you're constantly getting told, "Oh, you look like this type, you look like you should be this person."
A: Absolutely. I think that is true for just about everybody, whether you struggle for a long time — which I did — to begin to get roles of any size, or if you're the lead in the show right out of the gate. Everybody is being pigeonholed constantly, and not just as an actor. That's one of the things that our society wants to do, is isolate us all.

When I first got to town, as a Chicago theater actor — I had done a handful of shows at Steppenwolf, for example — I was immediately categorized as a dramatic actor. And so I got to work on shows like "ER" and "The West Wing" and "Deadwood." I actually had to get proactive in my 30s. I called Amy Poehler, who I'd known for a long time, and said, "How do I get people to see me as somebody who can make people laugh?" She had me come to the Upright Citizens Brigade in New York, where we were living at the time because Megan was working on Broadway, and I just started to do a couple of shows there. And suddenly the business was like, "Oh, I didn't know you do comedy!" Then once I became known for "Parks and Recreation," now people are surprised to see, "Oh, what are you doing in this dramatic role?"

Q: Take me back to that early time in your career. You leave Chicago, you go to L.A. As you say, you're getting parts on these dramas. But as I understand it, there was also a period of time of auditioning and not getting stuff, right? You audition for Michael Scott in "The Office" and it goes to Steve Carrell. You have this time of having to stay in it, emotionally and mentally, during a period of your career where there were like more noes than yeses. What was that like for you?
A: You're right. Things began to go well in Chicago, mainly in the theater, but I got a couple of small film jobs and got a SAG card, and that momentum took me to Los Angeles. And it was one of the most ignorant life moves I ever made. I didn't do much research. I didn't really know anyone in Los Angeles. I was not aware that it was not a theater town. I couldn't have fathomed that the biggest collection of acting and writing talent in the country wouldn't be at least as good a theater town as Chicago.

I was by myself. I basically spent three solid years drinking too much. The first year, I was a broke jerk paying my rent with my carpentry tools while just flailing, not only at finding remunerative work as an actor but also with comprehending fitting the strange animal of myself into the machinery of Hollywood. It was just a terrible cold-water plunge.

I began to get sporadic jobs. One big brass ring to actors starting out is what is called the top-of-show guest star. . . . It means you'll get the top of the scale for the week's paycheck, which at the time would be five or six grand, which would pay my rent for months. I would get one or two of those a year. When I got on "ER" in 1998, that was, for me, a six-month gold medal. Those are also signals, little breadcrumbs, left by the fates, by Lady Fortune, to say: "Keep finding this path. Keep looking for the tree blazes. Stick with it."

It was a real crisis. ... When things began to seem bleak, I was 29. I didn't know if I had made the right choice and I didn't know what to do. And I said, well, the thing that made me was working in theater, so even though it's not a theater town, I just need to do a play. ... Some friends hooked me up with an audition for a play, "The Berlin Circle," by Charles Mee. And I ended up getting cast and the lead in this play was Megan Mullally, who had just had her first two seasons of "Will and Grace" and was about to win her first Emmy and become the international comedy legend that we all know her as. I fell in love and haven't stopped smiling since. It will never be lost on me that I turned to my true vocation — even though it was illogical. . . . By listening to that voice, I met the love of my life.

Q: I was re-watching your episode of "The Last of Us" last night and I was wondering, when was the last time Bill played that piano? And of course, we as viewers don't know if that's in the script. But I'm curious if that's something that you thought about. How much work do you do imagining things about the characters you play beyond what's on the page?
A: That's something I thought about a lot for that episode of "The Last of Us," when it came to assessing: How should this sound? Should it sound ready for a concert? How often does Bill play? Has he ever played in front of someone else before?

The better the writing, I find, the less questions are required. Because, by definition, the thing that makes the writing good is that it's already thought about so many of these questions, and so a lot of these nuances, I can find in the script. I can tell by the way Craig Mazin, who wrote it thoughtfully, has described for us this meal that the character Bill prepares for himself: He's happy, he has a wonderful, rewarding life by himself. But then when he suddenly has company that he wants to invest in, [the script shows] how his cooking life changes, or not. How that comes to bear on his relationship with Frank. So there are all these little things. And we love to talk about them as we prepare to perform these scenes.



NBC/EVERETT COLLECTION

TOP: Nick Offerman attends the premiere of HBO's "The Last of Us" on Jan. 9. ABOVE: In a 2014 episode of "Parks and Recreation," Offerman's character Ron Swanson receives a trophy for a burger cook-off competition. Though he and his character share a penchant for grilling red meat, "I'm a complicated, artistic, creative human being."

Q: Was there anything specific that you can remember about Bill that was not your idea but that came up during one of these conversations, whether it was with Craig or with other people in the cast?
A: Two things come to mind: One is a really fun conversation about what is going through Bill's head when he finds Frank in his pit. Why doesn't he just shoot him, first and foremost? And all of the tiny questions that had to be asked and answered in Bill's psyche to get Frank to his dinner table, and then to get, ultimately, Frank into his heart. There is a lot of conversation there that I undoubtedly benefited from, from digging into the head of Craig, one of our most lauded screenwriters working.

The [other] is around the thought process that Bill went through on their last day, when Frank woke up and said: "Here's what's happening, here's my last day, here's what you're going to do for me." And how Bill romantically had the last laugh and said, "Guess what? I'm coming with you. I'm going to be your dreamboat until the last sip of wine." Talking those out with Craig and Peter Hoar, our wonderful director, and [co-star] Murray Bartlett, those were some of the most exquisite episodes of table talk, really fleshing that out with my collaborators. All of the conversation gets unpacked, and then it has to be condensed back into the glass of wine in which Bill has, unbeknownst to Frank, packed a dose for himself. . . . Relishing that act, looking my life partner in the eyes, is one of the greatest, most joyful things I've ever gotten to perform.

Q: At the risk of undercutting such a beautiful experience for you, I think it's very funny that there's this parallel where you go from playing a guy on "The Last of Us" who thinks that the government is full of Nazis, to "Party Down," where you are a man who is trying to make a government full of Nazis.
A: And Bill has a great line that he screams in the street about how the government are all Nazis! But you've done a great job of elucidating for my fans that are still in the dark about how acting works. . . . I can play Ron Swanson and turn around and play an aspiring white supremacist.

Q: You've named so many of these great writers that you've gotten to work with and whose work you seem to deeply appreciate. How are you feeling about the writers strike?
A: I'm infuriated. First and foremost, I'm commiserating with and supporting all my friends who are picketing in New York and L.A., and it makes me sad I can't be there with them; I'm in Toronto working. But nonetheless the thing we keep saying to each other is: These fat corporate executives, who are selling a product — they are selling sandwiches, at great profits to themselves and their ilk, and denying any of those profits to the inventors of this sandwich. These people are serving Reubens and the actual creators of the Reuben are on strike.

The things that are being asked for, the stats that are being publicized, tell it so clearly, because of course they're very well-written. The CEO of Disney last year made a quarter-billion dollars, which is the sum total of *all* they're asking for *all* of the writers. That one salary would pay all of the requests. All they're asking for is a wage and a promise that our stories will not be created by robots, which is very terrifying.

My analogy is not great. It's not a sandwich. It's the original creative stories by which we all are fed our souls. It's the medicine for the souls of the world, and to behave in such an exploitive way — [they] might as well be running a mine for blood diamonds.

Nick Offerman performs at MGM National Harbor in Oxon Hill, Md., on May 26.

MOVIE DIRECTORY

(!) No Pass/No Discount Ticket

Sunday, May 21, 2023
www.washingtonpost.com/movies

DISTRICT

AMC Georgetown 14
3111 K Street N.W.

Fast X (PG-13) CC: 12:30-3:40-7:00-10:20
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) CC: 5:00-8:35-9:35
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) CC: 11:30-12:00-3:15-6:00-6:30-9:15-9:45
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) CC: 12:10-2:30-4:50-7:15-9:35
Hypnotic (R) CC: 2:55
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) CC: 11:35-2:10-4:45-7:20-9:55
Polite Society (PG-13) CC: 12:25-4:15
Evil Dead Rise (R) CC: 5:15-7:40-10:05
It Ain't Over (PG) CC: 11:00-4:40-7:10
Air (R) CC: 11:10-4:30-7:10-9:50
Fast X: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13) CC: 11:30-2:40-5:50-9:00
Fool's Paradise (R) CC: 11:25-2:15
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) CC: 12:30-3:45-7:00-10:15
Book Club: The Next Chapter - Early Access Event (PG-13) CC: 11:05-1:40-6:50-9:25
Fast X (PG-13) CC: 1:00-1:50-4:10-5:00-8:10
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) OC: 1:25
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) OC: 2:45
Hypnotic (R) OC: 11:55AM
Air (R) OC: 1:50
Fast X (PG-13) OC: 7:30

Alamo Drafthouse Cinema - DC Bryant Street
630 Rhode Island Ave NE

Fast X (PG-13) OC: 1:00
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 3:30; 7:20-10:40
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:15-12:15-4:00-5:45-8:00-9:45
Fast X (PG-13) 2:15-4:40-6:20-8:30-10:00
Master Gardener (R) 12:45-4:20-6:40-10:00
BlackBerry (R) 11:45-3:20-6:00-9:10
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 11:00AM
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 11:15-1:15-4:25-7:40-10:15
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 3:00
Fast X (PG-13) 11:30-3:15-7:00

Angelika Pop-Up at Union Market
550 Penn Street NE - Unit E

Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:45-12:45-2:45-3:45-6:00
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) OC: 4:45
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) OC: 7:00
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 12:00-2:20-7:15

Avalon Theatre
5612 Connecticut Avenue

Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) 12:30-2:50-5:15-7:45
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 12:00-2:20-4:45-7:15
Exhibition on Screen: Vermeer - The Greatest Exhibition 10:30AM

Landmark Atlantic Plumbing Cinema
807 V Street Northwest

Fast X (PG-13) 1:00-2:00-3:30-4:00-5:00-6:30-7:00-8:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 1:10-2:10-4:10-5:10-7:10-8:10
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 1:20-4:50-7:20
Fast X (PG-13) 1:30

Landmark E Street Cinema
555 11th Street Northwest

Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 12:15-3:45-7:15
The Eight Mountains 12:00
Beau Is Afraid (R) 3:10-6:45
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 1:45-4:15-7:35
It Ain't Over (PG) 1:30-4:00-7:25
BlackBerry (R) 12:45-3:30-7:10
Monica (R) 1:00-3:25-7:45
Master Gardener (R) 1:15-3:35-7:15
The Starling Girl (R) 12:25-2:55-6:55

Regal Gallery Place
701 Seventh Street Northwest

Fast X (PG-13) 12:20-3:40-7:00-10:30
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) 9:25
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:10-11:40-12:10-1:40-3:10-4:10-5:10-6:10-6:40-7:40-8:40-10:10
Hypnotic (R) 2:20-5:20-7:50
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 11:05-1:50-7:20-9:50
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) 12:10-6:10-9:10
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 11:20-4:55-7:55-10:40
Evil Dead Rise (R) 6:50
Fool's Paradise (R) 11:30AM
Knights of the Zodiac (PG-13) 10:20
Fast X (PG-13) 11:00-11:30-12:00-1:00-2:30-4:00-4:30-6:00-6:30-7:30-8:00-9:30-10:00
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) OC: 2:50
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) OC: 4:40
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) OC: 3:10
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) OC: 2:10
Evil Dead Rise (R) OC: 11:50AM
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) 2:40-9:40
Fast X (PG-13) OC: 3:00

MARYLAND

AFI Silver Theatre Cultural Center
8633 Colesville Road

The First Legion (1951) (NR) 3:15
One Sings, the Other Doesn't (L'Une chante, l'autre pas) (NR) 7:00
Life Is Cheap... But Toilet Paper Is Expensive (NR) 9:30
Black Legion (1937) (NR) 11:30AM
Polite Society (PG-13) OC: 6:45
Documentary Film Program (NR) 5:15-7:15
Take Me to Town (NR) 5:10
Thunder on the Hill (NR) 11:05AM
American Factory 1:00
BlackBerry (R) 9:05
R.M.N. 1:10
The Eight Mountains 3:50
Exhibition on Screen: Vermeer - The Greatest Exhibition 3:20
Other People's Children 11:00-9:20

AMC Academy 8
6198 Greenbelt Road

Fast X (PG-13) CC: 1:00-2:00-4:00-4:45-5:15-7:00-8:30-10:10
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) CC: 1:00-4:10-6:45-9:50
Hypnotic (R) CC: 5:30
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) CC: 1:30-4:20-7:30-10:00
Evil Dead Rise (R) CC: 2:15-8:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) CC: 2:10-7:45
Book Club: The Next Chapter - Early Access Event (PG-13) CC: 1:45-4:30-7:10-9:40

AMC Annapolis Mall 11
1020 Annapolis Mall Road

Fast X (PG-13) CC: 10:00-11:00-12:00-1:10-2:10-3:10-4:20-5:20-6:20-7:30-8:30-9:30-10:40
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) CC: 3:15-6:50-10:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) CC: 10:00-12:20-1:20-3:40-4:40-7:00-8:00-10:20
Hypnotic (R) CC: 10:00-12:50
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) CC: 10:00-11:20-1:45-4:10-6:40-9:05
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) CC: 10:50-1:40-4:30-7:10-9:45
Evil Dead Rise (R) CC: 12:20-2:45-5:10-7:35-10:30
Knights of the Zodiac (PG-13) CC: 10:00AM
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) CC: 11:10-2:40-6:00-9:20
Book Club: The Next Chapter - Early Access Event (PG-13) CC: 10:20-1:00-3:50-6:30-9:10

AMC Center Park 8
4001 Powder Mill Rd.

Fast X (PG-13) CC: 1:00-2:15-4:00-5:30-7:00-8:45-10:10
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) CC: 12:50-3:50-6:50-10:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) CC: 1:20-4:10-7:10-10:00
Hypnotic (R) CC: 6:00
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) CC: 1:10-4:30-7:40-10:30
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) CC: 2:45-8:30
Book Club: The Next Chapter - Early Access Event (PG-13) CC: 1:30-4:40-7:30-10:20

AMC Columbia 14
10300 Little Patuxent Parkway

Fast X (PG-13) CC: 11:00-2:30-6:00-9:15
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) CC: 11:25-3:10-7:05-9:50
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) CC: 11:10-1:10-2:40-4:40-6:10-8:10-9:40
Hypnotic (R) CC: 12:05-5:05-10:05
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) CC: 12:15-2:45-4:20-6:50-9:20
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) CC: 1:00-3:40-6:25-9:10
Love Again (PG-13) CC: 1:55
BlackBerry (R) CC: 11:05-7:00
Evil Dead Rise (R) CC: 5:10-7:35-10:10
Fast X: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13) CC: 12:00-3:30-7:00-10:15
Sisu (R) CC: 2:35-7:35
Fool's Paradise (R) CC: 4:30
The Super Mario Bros. Movie 3D (PG) CC: 11:15-1:45
Book Club: The Next Chapter - Early Access Event (PG-13) CC: 11:00-1:40-4:20-7:00-9:45
Fast X (PG-13) CC: 11:30-1:00-3:00-4:30-8:00-9:45
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) CC: 12:10-3:40-7:10
Fast X (PG-13) OC: 6:30

AMC DINE-IN Rio Cinemas 18
9811 Washingtonian Center

Fast X (PG-13) CC: 11:30-3:00-6:30-10:00
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) CC: 11:05-2:55-6:45-10:30
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) CC: 10:10-11:00-1:45-2:30-5:15-6:15-8:45-9:45
Hypnotic (R) CC: 10:20-1:00-3:30-6:00-8:30-11:00
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) CC: 10:00-12:45-3:15-5:45-8:15-10:45
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) CC: 10:30-1:15-4:00-6:45-9:30
Love Again (PG-13) CC: 9:30
Evil Dead Rise (R) CC: 12:00-2:45-5:30-8:15-11:00
Master Gardener (R) 11:00-1:45-7:30
Fast X: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13) CC: 12:30-4:00-7:30-11:00
The Kerala Story (Hindi) 12:00-3:15-6:30-10:00
Guy Ritchie's The Covenant (R) CC: 5:00
Fool's Paradise (R) CC: 11:00
Knights of the Zodiac (PG-13) CC: 8:00
Carmen (R) CC: 10:50AM
Over My Dead Body 4:30-10:30
The Super Mario Bros. Movie 3D (PG) CC: 11:30-2:00-4:30-7:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) CC: 11:45-3:20-6:45-10:15
Book Club: The Next Chapter - Early Access Event (PG-13) CC: 10:15-1:15-4:15-7:00-9:45
Fast X (PG-13) CC: 10:00-11:00-12:00-1:30-2:30-5:00-6:00-7:00-8:30-9:30-10:30; 3:30

AMC Loews St. Charles Town Ctr. 9
11115 Mall Circle

Fast X (PG-13) CC: 10:30-11:45-12:45-1:45-3:00-4:15-5:00-6:15-7:45-8:15-9:30
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) CC: 10:15-2:00-6:00-9:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) CC: 11:45-1:00-4:30-8:00-9:45
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) CC: 10:45-1:15-3:45-6:15-10:15
Hypnotic (R) 2:30-10:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) CC: 3:15-6:45
Book Club: The Next Chapter - Early Access Event (PG-13) CC: 10:45-1:30-4:15-7:00-9:45
Evil Dead Rise (R) 11:45-5:00-7:30

AMC Magic Johnson Capital Center 12
800 Shoppers Way

Fast X (PG-13) CC: 12:30-3:45-5:15-7:00-8:30
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) CC: 2:45-4:15-8:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) CC: 12:45-1:30-4:20-5:00-7:45-8:30
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) CC: 12:00-2:30-5:00-7:30
Hypnotic (R) CC: 6:25-8:50
Love Again (PG-13) CC: 4:30
Chevalier (PG-13) CC: 12:00-1:30
Evil Dead Rise (R) CC: 12:45-3:15-5:45-8:15
Fast X: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13) CC: 1:30-4:45-8:00
Big George Foreman (PG-13) CC: 1:15-7:15
The Super Mario Bros. Movie 3D (PG) CC: 12:45-3:15-5:45-8:15
Book Club: The Next Chapter - Early Access Event (PG-13) CC: 12:30-3:15-6:00-8:40
Fast X (PG-13) OC: 2:00

AMC Montgomery 16
7101 Democracy Boulevard

Fast X (PG-13) CC: 12:00-12:45-1:45-2:30-3:30-4:15-6:00-7:00-7:45-8:45-9:30-10:30
Dungeons & Dragons: Honor Among Thieves (PG-13) CC: 12:45-9:30
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) CC: 12:00-1:00-2:00-3:30-4:30-5:30-7:00-8:00-9:00-10:30
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) CC: 12:15-2:45-5:15-7:45-10:15
Hypnotic (R) CC: 12:05-5:30
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) CC: 1:45-4:30-7:15-10:15
Love Again (PG-13) CC: 1:30
It Ain't Over (PG) CC: 4:45-7:15
Evil Dead Rise (R) CC: 6:45-7:55-10:25
Air (R) CC: 2:45-9:15
Rally Road Racers (PG) 2:15-4:00
BlackBerry (R) CC: 1:00-4:00-6:30-9:45
Fool's Paradise (R) CC: 4:15-7:05
Book Club: The Next Chapter - Early Access Event (PG-13) CC: 12:15-3:00-5:45-8:30-9:45
Fast X (PG-13) OC: 5:15

Cinemark Egyptian 24 and XD
7000 Arundel Mills Circle

Simhadri (NR) 5:30
Fast X (PG-13) XD: 9:45-1:00-4:15-7:30-10:45; 11:50-3:10-6:30-9:50; 10:15-10:30-11:15-11:20-12:05-12:30-1:30-1:50-2:40-3:25-3:45-4:45-5:10-5:45-6:00-6:45-7:00-8:00-9:00-9:20-10:05-10:15-10:30; 2:30
Dungeons & Dragons: Honor Among Thieves (PG-13) 12:10-6:55-10:10
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) 11:30-7:05-10:55
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) XD: 11:45-3:30-7:15-11:00; 9:30-10:10-11:00-12:35-2:00-4:20-5:05-5:50-6:35-8:05-8:50-9:35-10:20; 2:45
Hypnotic (R) 7:10-9:40
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 9:35-9:50-10:05-10:25-11:10-12:05-12:55-1:40-4:10-5:05-6:50-7:35-9:25
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 10:20-1:05-6:40-9:25
Evil Dead Rise (R) 11:45-5:00-7:45-10:25
Sisu (R) 10:00-12:30-3:00-9:30
Knights of the Zodiac (PG-13) 8:30
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) 1:20
Fast X (PG-13) XD: 9:45-1:00-4:15-7:30-10:45
Dungeons & Dragons: Honor Among Thieves (PG-13) OC: 3:20
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) OC: 3:15
Hypnotic (R) OC: 3:35
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) OC: 2:35
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) OC: 3:55
Rally Road Racers (PG) 10:40-1:10
BlackBerry (R) 10:45AM
Evil Dead Rise (R) OC: 2:20
Anni Manchi Sakunamule 1:45-6:15-9:50
Bichagadu 2 2:25-9:30
Pichaikkaran 2 10:55-6:00
2018 (Malayalam) 3:40-7:20-10:50
Fast X (PG-13) 11:50-3:10-6:30-9:50

Cinépolis Gaithersburg
629 Center Point Way

Fast X (PG-13) 11:00-12:00-12:40-1:20-2:00-2:40-3:40-4:20-5:00-5:40-6:20-7:20-8:00-8:40-9:30
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:20-1:00-3:00-4:40-8:20-9:00
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 11:00-2:20-6:00
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 11:40-3:20-7:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) 6:40

Landmark Bethesda Row Cinema
7235 Woodmont Avenue

Fast X (PG-13) 1:00-4:00-7:00-8:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 5:00; 1:10-4:15-7:45
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 1:05-3:10-5:15-7:20
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) 1:20-3:45-6:30
Chevalier (PG-13) 1:45-6:45
Master Gardener (R) 1:50
Air (R) 4:10
Fast X (PG-13) 2:00
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 3:45-6:20
Master Gardener (R) 4:30-7:10
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 1:30

Landmark at Annapolis Harbour Center
2474 Solomons Island Road Unit H-1

Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 1:15-1:45-2:15-3:30-4:25-5:30-6:30-7:30-8:30
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 1:20-3:50-7:15
Air (R) 1:10-3:40-7:30
Fast X (PG-13) 1:00-2:00-4:00-5:10-6:15-7:00-8:10
Hypnotic (R) 5:25
Love Again (PG-13) 1:00
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 1:50-4:15-7:10

Old Greenbelt Theatre
129 Centerway

Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 5:15
Master Gardener (R) 2:30-5:00
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 2:45

Phoenix Theatres Marlow 6
3899 Branch Avenue

Fast X (PG-13) 11:00-12:00-1:00-2:00-3:00-4:00-5:00-6:00-7:00-8:00-9:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:15-2:30-6:05-9:35
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 1:00-3:30-6:05-8:15
Evil Dead Rise (R) 1:30-4:00
Big George Foreman (PG-13) 6:30-9:30

Regal Cinemas Majestic Stadium 20 & IMAX
900 Ellsworth Drive

Fast X (PG-13) 10:45-11:30-12:00-1:00-1:30-2:00-2:45-4:15-4:45-5:15-6:00-6:30-7:30-8:00-8:30-9:15-9:45
Dungeons & Dragons: Honor Among Thieves (PG-13) 10:05-1:20-4:40
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) 10:30-2:20-6:10
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 10:30-11:15-12:15-12:45-1:15-2:05-2:50-3:20-3:45-4:20-4:50-5:30-6:15-7:15-7:45-8:15-8:55-9:50-10:10
Hypnotic (R) 4:25-6:50-9:35
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 10:55-1:25-4:00-6:40-9:10
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) 10:00
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 1:30-4:20-7:10-10:00
The Pope's Exorcist (R) 8:10
BlackBerry (R) 10:00-1:05-4:55-7:50
Evil Dead Rise (R) 1:20-4:00-6:40-9:20
Anni Manchi Sakunamule 10:10-1:50-5:25-9:00
Fast X: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13) 12:30-3:45-7:00-10:15
Fool's Paradise (R) 1:35
Knights of the Zodiac (PG-13) 10:40AM
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) 11:45-6:45
Fast X (PG-13) OC: 3:15

Regal Germantown
20000 Century Boulevard

Fast X (PG-13) 11:35-12:10-12:30-1:20-2:20-2:50-4:00-4:50-5:40-6:10-6:50-7:30-8:20-9:00
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) 2:10-5:50-9:30
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:40-12:20-1:00-1:40-3:00-3:40-4:25-5:20-6:20-7:00-7:50-8:40-9:40
Hypnotic (R) 9:25
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 11:45-2:00-4:30-7:10-9:35
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 1:10-3:50-6:30-9:10
Anni Manchi Sakunamule 1:30-5:00-8:50
Fool's Paradise (R) 11:30AM
Fast X (PG-13) OC: 3:20

Regal Hyattsville Royale
6505 America Blvd.

Fast X (PG-13) 11:30-12:20-1:00-1:40-2:50-4:20-5:00-6:10-7:10-7:50-8:30-9:30-10:30
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) 12:15-4:10-8:40
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:00-12:00-2:00-3:00-3:30-5:30-6:30-8:00-9:00-10:00
Hypnotic (R) 5:40-8:10-10:40
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 11:20-1:50-4:30-7:20-10:20
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) 1:20-4:15
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 12:30-3:40-6:50-9:50
Evil Dead Rise (R) 6:50-9:20
Fool's Paradise (R) 12:10-3:10
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) 2:20-7:00
Fast X (PG-13) OC: 3:50

Regal Laurel Towne Centre
14716 Baltimore Avenue

Fast X (PG-13) 11:00-12:00-12:30-1:00-1:45-2:30-3:30-4:00-4:30-5:10-6:00-7:00-7:30-8:00-8:40-9:30
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) 11:10-3:00-6:40
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:15-11:45-12:50-3:20-4:15-6:10-6:50-9:45-10:15
Hypnotic (R) 11:30-4:45-9:50
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 11:05-1:15-3:50-6:20-8:50
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 12:40-3:40
Evil Dead Rise (R) 2:00-7:15
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) 2:45-7:45

Regal Rockville Center
199 East Montgomery Avenue

Fast X (PG-13) 11:20-11:50-12:20-12:50-1:20-1:50-2:50-3:20-3:50-4:20-4:50-5:20-6:20-6:50-7:20-7:50-8:25-8:50-9:50-10:20-10:50-11:20
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) 9:40
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:10-1:30-3:40-5:00-6:10-7:10-8:30-10:30-10:40
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 11:40-2:30-5:10-7:40-10:10
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) 11:30-2:20-5:30-8:10-11:10
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 1:10-4:10-7:00-10:00
Air (R) 11:00-1:40-4:40
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) 12:10
IB 71 2:40-7:30

Regal UA Snowden Square
9161 Commerce Center Drive

Fast X (PG-13) 11:50-3:20-6:50-10:10
Dungeons & Dragons: Honor Among Thieves (PG-13) 6:30-10:00
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) 5:20-9:20
Hypnotic (R) 1:10-4:00
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 11:30-12:40-2:10-3:30-5:00-6:10-7:40-8:40
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) 1:30-4:30-7:30
Love Again (PG-13) 11:40-2:40
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 12:00-3:10-6:40-9:40
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) 3:40
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:00-12:10-1:20-2:30-4:50-6:00-7:10-8:20-9:30
Fast X (PG-13) 10:20-11:20-12:20-12:50-1:50-2:50-3:50-4:20-5:20-6:20-7:20-7:50-8:50-9:50

Regal Waugh Chapel & IMAX
1419 South Main Chapel Way

Fast X (PG-13) 10:30-11:00-11:30-1:40-2:10-2:40-5:00-5:30-6:00-7:40-8:10-8:40-9:10
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) 10:50-3:10-5:40-9:30
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:20-11:50-12:20-3:20-4:00-6:20-6:50-7:20-10:10
Hypnotic (R) 1:50
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) 4:30-7:10-9:40
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 10:40-11:40-1:10-2:00-3:40-6:10-8:50
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 12:00-3:00-7:30-10:10
Fast X: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13) 12:30-3:50-7:00-10:20
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) 2:50-9:50
Fast X (PG-13) OC: 4:20

Regal Westview & IMAX
5243 Buckeystown Pike

Fast X (PG-13) 12:10-3:30-7:00-10:20
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:20-12:20-1:40-2:50-3:50-5:10-6:20-7:20-8:40-9:50-10:50
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 11:00-1:30-4:10-6:40-9:10
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 1:10-4:00-6:50-9:40
Fast X: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13) 11:10-2:30-6:00-9:20
Fast X (PG-13) 11:40-1:00-4:20-6:30-7:40-10:00; 3:00

Xscape Theatres Brandywine 14
7710 Matapeake Business Drive

Rio Bravo (NR) 1:00-4:00-7:00
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) 10:50-2:20-6:20-9:10
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:20-12:20-2:40-3:40-6:00-7:00-9:20
Hypnotic (R) 11:35-4:45-9:55
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 10:40-1:10-3:50-6:40-9:30
Fast X (PG-13) 10:20-11:00-12:10-12:50-1:30-2:10-3:20-4:05-4:40-5:20-6:30-7:10-7:50-8:30-9:40
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 10:25-1:05-4:15-6:45-9:25
Evil Dead Rise (R) 11:50-2:30-5:10-7:40-10:00
Big George Foreman (PG-13) 1:55-7:05
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) 10:00-1:20-4:50-8:10

iPic Pike & Rose
11830 Grand Park Avenue

Fast X (PG-13) (!) 11:00-11:45-2:30-3:15-6:00-6:45-9:30-10:15
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) 11:30-3:00-6:15-10:30
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 12:30-1:00-2:15-2:45-6:30-7:00-10:00-10:30
Hypnotic (R) (!) 12:15-3:30-7:15-10:45
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 12:00-4:30-7:30-10:15
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) (!) 11:15-4:45-7:45-11:00

VIRGINIA

AMC Courthouse Plaza 8
2150 Clarendon Blvd.

Fast X (PG-13) CC: 12:00-12:50-3:20-4:10-6:40-7:30
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) CC: 12:20-3:30-3:40-7:00
Hypnotic (R) CC: 11:35-4:40
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) CC: 11:30-1:50-4:20-6:50
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) CC: 12:30-6:00
Air (R) CC: 3:10-8:35
Guy Ritchie's The Covenant (R) CC: 2:05-7:40
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) CC: 12:10-7:00
Book Club: The Next Chapter - Early Access Event (PG-13) CC: 11:30-2:00-5:00-7:10

AMC Hoffman Center 22
206 Swamp Fox Rd.

Fast X (PG-13) CC: 11:30-2:45-6:00-9:15
Dungeons & Dragons: Honor Among Thieves (PG-13) CC: 2:45-8:45
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) CC: 11:00-3:00-7:00-9:30
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) CC: 11:30-2:00-3:00-4:30-7:00-8:30-9:30
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) CC: 11:00-12:00-2:00-2:30-3:30-5:30-6:00-7:00-9:00-9:30
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) CC: 11:15-12:45-4:30
Hypnotic (R) CC: 11:15-1:45-4:15-6:45-9:15
Love Again (PG-13) CC: 6:05
Chevalier (PG-13) CC: 12:00-6:00
Evil Dead Rise (R) CC: 11:00-1:30-4:00-6:30-9:00
BlackBerry (R) CC: 12:00-3:00-6:00-9:00
Master Gardener (R) 12:45-3:30-6:15-9:00
Fast X: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13) CC: 12:30-3:45-7:00
Sisu (R) CC: 6:00
Guy Ritchie's The Covenant (R) CC: 11:00-3:00-8:45
Nefarious (R) CC: 2:00-7:00
Fool's Paradise (R) CC: 3:30-8:30
Knights of the Zodiac (PG-13) CC: 12:00-5:30
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) CC: 11:30-1:00-4:30-8:00
Book Club: The Next Chapter - Early Access Event (PG-13) CC: 1:00-3:45-6:30-9:15
Fast X (PG-13) CC: 12:00-1:30-2:15-3:15-4:45-6:30-8:45-9:45; 8:00; 11:00-5:30

AMC Potomac Mills 18
2700 Potomac Mills Circle

Fast X (PG-13) CC: 12:00-3:30-7:00-10:30
Dungeons & Dragons: Honor Among Thieves (PG-13) CC: 4:40-10:40
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) CC: 11:20-3:10-6:50-10:40
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) CC: 11:00-1:20-3:45-6:10-8:30-10:50
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) CC: 12:15-1:15-3:45-4:45-7:15-8:10-10:45-11:30
Hypnotic (R) CC: 11:10-1:45-4:15-6:45-9:10-11:30
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) CC: 1:10-3:45-6:20
Love Again (PG-13) CC: 11:10AM
Evil Dead Rise (R) CC: 1:00-3:30-6:00-8:30-11:00
BlackBerry (R) CC: 11:00-1:50-7:45
Fast X: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13) CC: 1:00-4:30-8:00-11:30
Guy Ritchie's The Covenant (R) CC: 8:30
Fool's Paradise (R) CC: 7:20
Knights of the Zodiac (PG-13) CC: 5:30-11:20
Carmen (R) CC: 9:50
The Super Mario Bros. Movie 3D (PG) CC: 11:45-5:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) CC: 11:15-2:45-6:15-9:45
Book Club: The Next Chapter - Early Access Event (PG-13) CC: 11:00-1:40-4:20-7:00-9:40
Fast X (PG-13) CC: 11:00-11:30-12:30-1:30-2:30-3:00-4:00-6:00-6:30-7:30-9:00-9:30-10:00-11:00
Carmen (R) OC: 2:10
Fast X (PG-13) OC: 5:00; 8:30

AMC Shirlington 7
2772 South Randolph St.

Fast X (PG-13) CC: 11:00-12:20-1:40-3:40-4:50-7:00-8:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) CC: 12:00-3:30-7:00
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) CC: 11:30-1:50-4:10-6:40
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) CC: 10:55-2:00-4:40-7:20
Air (R) CC: 11:20-5:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) CC: 1:30-7:40
Book Club: The Next Chapter - Early Access Event (PG-13) CC: 11:10-2:10-4:50-7:30

AMC Tysons Corner 16
7850e Tysons Corner Center

Simhadri (NR) 7:10-10:50
Fast X (PG-13) CC: 10:10-1:30-4:45-8:00-11:15
Dungeons & Dragons: Honor Among Thieves (PG-13) CC: 10:15-4:15-7:25-10:40
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) CC: 11:00-3:05-7:00-10:45
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) CC: 10:25-12:15-1:15-2:15-4:00-5:00-6:10-7:30-8:30-10:00-11:00
Hypnotic (R) CC: 6:35-10:55
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) CC: 11:20-1:50-4:20-6:50-9:20
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) CC: 10:30-5:35-8:15
It Ain't Over (PG) CC: 10:20-4:40-7:35
Evil Dead Rise (R) CC: 11:05-1:45-4:30-7:20-9:55
Fast X: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13) CC: 12:30-3:45-7:00-10:25
Sisu (R) CC: 1:45
Fool's Paradise (R) CC: 10:10
Knights of the Zodiac (PG-13) CC: 10:05-1:00-4:05
The Super Mario Bros. Movie 3D (PG) CC: 10:00-12:35-3:10
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) CC: 11:15-3:00-9:15
Book Club: The Next Chapter - Early Access Event (PG-13) CC: 10:35-1:20-4:10-7:05-9:50
Fast X (PG-13) CC: 10:40-11:30-2:05-2:45-5:25-8:50-9:35; 6:00

AMC Worldgate 9
13025 Worldgate Drive

Fast X (PG-13) CC: 10:00-12:30-1:00-2:00-3:45-5:30-7:00-8:00-9:00-10:00
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) CC: 11:15-3:30-6:15-9:45
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) CC: 12:15-2:30-4:30-7:30
Hypnotic (R) CC: 3:00
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) CC: 10:30-1:10-5:00-6:45-9:15
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) CC: 10:30-1:10-3:40-7:15
Ponniyin Selvan - Part Two (Tamil) 10:15-2:00-6:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) CC: 10:45-9:30
Book Club: The Next Chapter - Early Access Event (PG-13) CC: 11:30-3:45-6:30-9:30

Alamo Drafthouse Cinema - One Loudoun
20575 East Hampton Plaza

Fast X (PG-13) OC: 3:45
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 9:10
Fast X (PG-13) 12:30-4:15-5:15-7:20-8:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:20-12:00-1:15-3:15-4:30-7:00-8:20-9:00
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) 10:45-1:00
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 10:30AM
BlackBerry (R) 6:40
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 12:45-1:45-3:30-4:00-6:20
Fast X (PG-13) 10:40-2:20-6:00-9:40
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 10:30-1:30-4:45-7:40-9:55

Angelika Film Center Mosaic
2911 District Ave

Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 10:30-12:30-2:15-3:45-7:05-8:30
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 1:45-4:15-6:30-8:45
The Eight Mountains 10:55AM
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) OC: 1:30
Master Gardener (R) 11:15-1:50-4:30-7:10
Air (R) 2:10-7:35
Knights of the Zodiac (PG-13) 9:15
Jackie I Am 21 4:45
Fast X (PG-13) 11:00-1:00-4:00-5:25-7:00
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 10:50-4:10-6:45
The Starling Girl (R) 11:20-2:05-4:45-7:30

CMX Village 14
1600 Village Market Boulevard

Mamma Mia! (2008) (PG-13) 3:30
Hypnotic (R) 6:20
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) 1:25-4:20-7:20
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:45-12:40-1:35-3:10-4:05-6:30-7:30
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 12:10-2:05-4:40-7:10
Rally Road Racers (PG) 12:50
Air (R) 2:40-5:25-8:10
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 1:05-3:55-6:50
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) 5:15
Fast X (PG-13) 11:50-12:30-1:15-1:50-2:30-3:00-3:45-4:30-5:05-5:45-6:15-7:00-7:45-8:20

Cinema Arts Theatre
9650 Unit 14 Main St.

Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) 9:50-12:25-2:45-7:15
Somewhere in Queens (R) 10:00-12:15-7:20
It Ain't Over (PG) 9:55-12:20-2:20-7:00
The Eight Mountains 4:35
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 9:40-7:30
BlackBerry (R) 9:45-2:35-7:40
Master Gardener (R) 9:45-12:10-2:30-4:50-7:10
It Ain't Over (PG) 4:40
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 12:00-2:30-4:50
BlackBerry (R) 5:05

Cinemark Centreville 12
6201 Multiplex Drive

Simhadri (NR) 5:30-9:30
Fast X (PG-13) OC: 2:20
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) OC: 2:00
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) OC: 3:10
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) OC: 1:30
Anni Manchi Sakunamule 10:55-6:00-9:35
The Kerala Story (Hindi) 2:10
Bichagadu 2 2:30
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) 4:00
2018 (Malayalam) 10:15
Fast X (PG-13) 10:00-11:05-12:10-12:35-1:15-3:25-3:50-4:30-5:35-6:40-6:55-7:10-7:45-8:50-9:55-10:30-11:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 10:25-11:30-12:20-3:00-6:30-7:30-10:00
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 10:05-11:20-12:40-1:50-4:20-5:40-8:10-10:40
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 10:45-4:15-7:00-9:45
Evil Dead Rise (R) 10:00-11:35-5:25-8:00-10:35

Cinemark Fairfax Corner and XD
11900 Palace Way

Simhadri (NR) 5:30
Fast X (PG-13) XD: 12:30-3:45-7:00-10:15
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) XD: 11:40-3:10-6:40-10:10
Hypnotic (R) 12:20-3:00-9:30
Anni Manchi Sakunamule 2:50-6:25-10:00
Sisu (R) 10:25
Bichagadu 2 2:40-9:45
Pichaikkaran 2 11:10-6:15
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 10:40-11:35-1:20-2:10-3:50-4:40-7:10-9:40
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 1:35-4:20-7:05-10:05
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) 11:05-1:50-4:35-7:25
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) 2:05
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 10:35-12:25-4:00-5:35-7:30-9:05
Fast X (PG-13) 10:45-11:25-1:15-2:00-2:45-4:30-5:15-6:05-6:35-7:45-8:30-9:25-9:55

Regal Ballston Quarter
671 North Glebe Road

Fast X (PG-13) 11:00-11:30-12:30-1:30-2:50-3:50-4:50-5:30-6:10-7:10-8:10-8:40-9:30-10:30
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) 10:50-2:40-6:30
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:10-12:40-1:10-2:30-3:20-4:20-5:00-6:00-8:00-8:30-9:20-10:20
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 12:10-3:10-6:20-9:10
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) 11:20-2:00-4:40-7:20-10:00
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 12:20-3:30-6:40-9:40
Sisu (R) 10:10
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) 11:40-7:00
Fast X (PG-13) OC: 2:20

Regal Dulles Town Center
21100 Dulles Town Circle

Fast X (PG-13) 11:30-12:30-1:30-2:00-2:45-3:45-4:45-5:15-6:00-7:00-8:00-9:15-10:15
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) 12:15-6:30
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:00-12:00-1:00-3:30-4:30-6:15-7:15-8:15-9:30
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 11:15-1:45-4:15-6:45
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 11:40-2:15-5:00-7:45
Evil Dead Rise (R) 4:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) 2:30-10:00
Fast X (PG-13) OC: 8:30

Regal Fairfax Towne Center
4110 West Ox Road

Dungeons & Dragons: Honor Among Thieves (PG-13) 1:40-7:10
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) 12:10-2:30-6:00-9:40
Fast X (PG-13) 11:10-12:00-12:50-2:00-4:00-4:30-5:10-6:20-7:20-8:20-9:30-10:00
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 11:40-3:50-6:40-9:20
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:30-12:20-3:00-4:10-6:30-7:30-9:00-9:50
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 11:20-11:50-2:10-4:50-7:40
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) 2:20-5:40
Fast X (PG-13) OC: 3:10

Regal Fox & IMAX
22875 Brambleton Plaza

Fast X (PG-13) 11:30-2:45-6:00-9:15
Jodi (Punjabi) (NR) 2:10-9:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 10:00-1:40-5:10-8:45
Hypnotic (R) 11:00-2:30-7:40
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 10:10-11:20-1:50-4:30-7:10-9:40
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 9:55-12:40-3:30-6:20-9:10
Anni Manchi Sakunamule 11:40-3:10-6:40-10:10
Fast X: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13) 12:30-3:45-7:00-10:15
Custody (Telugu) 10:40-5:30
Fool's Paradise (R) 5:00
Knights of the Zodiac (PG-13) 10:30
Pichaikkaran 2 2:40-9:50
Fast X (PG-13) 10:45-12:00-2:00-3:15-5:15-6:30-8:30-9:45
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:50-12:50-3:20-4:20-6:50-7:50-10:20
Pichaikkaran 2 11:10-6:10
Fast X (PG-13) 9:45-10:15-1:00-1:30-4:15-4:45-7:30-8:00-10:45
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) 10:50-2:20-5:50-9:20

Regal Kingstowne & RPX
5910 Kingstowne Towne Center

Fast X (PG-13) 12:30-3:45-7:00-10:15
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) 10:50-1:20-4:05
Love Again (PG-13) 10:20AM
Dungeons & Dragons: Honor Among Thieves (PG-13) 6:40-10:00
Hypnotic (R) 5:05-10:20
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 10:05-11:50-12:40-2:10-3:05-5:25-7:50-10:10
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 11:15-1:50-4:25-7:05-9:40
Evil Dead Rise (R) 6:10-8:40-10:40
Fool's Paradise (R) 12:50
Knights of the Zodiac (PG-13) 10:10-3:20-7:40
Fast X (PG-13) 11:30-2:45-6:00-9:15
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) 1:15-7:45
Fast X (PG-13) 10:15-10:45-12:00-1:00-1:30-2:00-4:15-4:45-5:15-6:30-7:30-8:00-8:30-9:45
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 10:00-10:30-11:00-11:45-12:45-1:45-2:15-3:00-4:00-4:30-5:00-5:30-6:15-7:15-8:15-8:45-9:30-10:30
Fast X (PG-13) OC: 3:15

Regal Manassas & IMAX
11380 Bulloch Drive

Fast X (PG-13) 1:00-2:00-4:00-5:00-5:30-7:30-8:00-9:00
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) 1:20-5:20-9:30
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:10-12:10-1:10-3:40-4:40-5:40-7:10-8:10-9:10
Hypnotic (R) 3:20-5:50-8:20
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 11:20-1:50-4:20-6:50-9:20
Love Again (PG-13) 11:50AM
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 11:00-2:20-5:15-8:15
Evil Dead Rise (R) 2:30-5:10-7:50
Fast X: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13) 11:30-3:00-6:30-9:50
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) 2:40-9:40
Fool's Paradise (R) 12:40
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) OC: 2:10-6:10
Fast X (PG-13) OC: 1:30-4:30-8:30

Regal Springfield Town Center
6859 Springfield Mall

Fast X (PG-13) 11:00-11:30-12:30-1:30-2:15-2:45-3:45-4:45-5:30-6:00-7:00-8:00-8:45-9:15-10:15-11:20
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) 6:20-10:30
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:20-11:50-1:00-2:50-3:20-3:50-4:30-6:40-7:10-8:10-10:10-10:40-11:10
Hypnotic (R) 12:40-3:10-6:10
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 11:10-2:00-4:40-7:20-9:30-9:50
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) 12:00-3:00
Book Club: The Next Chapter (PG-13) 12:50-3:40-6:30
Evil Dead Rise (R) 9:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 3D (PG-13) 12:20-7:40

Regal Virginia Gateway & RPX
8001 Gateway Promenade Place

Fast X (PG-13) 12:30-3:50-7:00-10:20
John Wick: Chapter 4 (R) 6:30-10:10
Hypnotic (R) 11:10-1:50-4:20-7:20-9:50
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 11:40-2:20-4:45-7:15-9:40
Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret. (PG-13) 12:00-3:00
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Knights of the Zodiac (PG-13) 3:50-7:10
Fast X (PG-13) 10:50-11:30-1:00-1:30-2:00-2:50-4:15-4:50-5:10-6:00-7:30-8:00-8:30-9:10-10:45-11:10
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 11:00-11:50-12:20-12:50-2:30-3:30-4:00-4:30-5:50-6:50-7:40-8:10-9:30-10:30-11:00

Smithsonian - Airbus IMAX Theater
14390 Air and Space Museum Parkway

Secrets of the Universe (G) 12:00

University Mall Theatres
10659-A Braddock Road

Fast X (PG-13) OC: 4:00
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) OC: 4:15
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) OC: 4:40
Fast X (PG-13) 1:00-7:30
Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 3 (PG-13) 1:15-7:15
The Super Mario Bros. Movie (PG) 12:20-2:30-7:00



sweater or **tank top?**

Stay one step ahead of the weather with the
Capital Weather Gang

washingtonpost.com/news/capital-weather-gang
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S0141 6x5



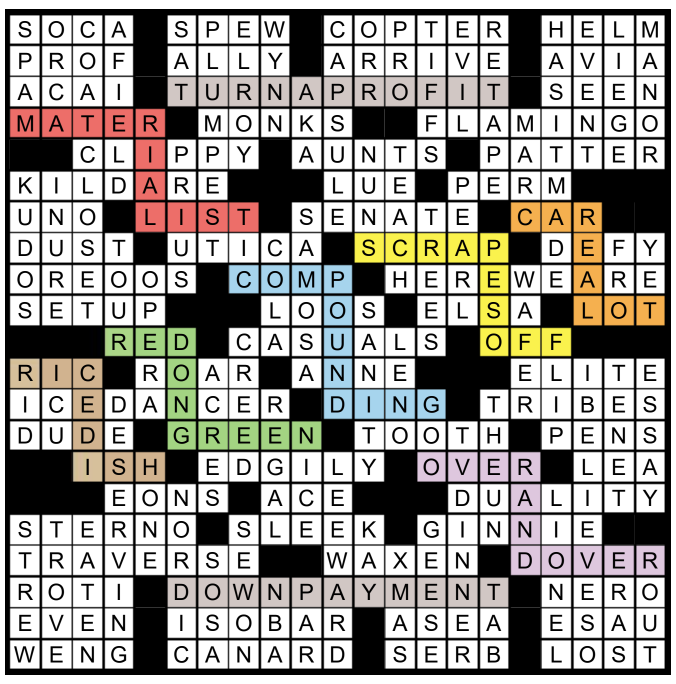
What's for dinner?

Search our database of tested recipes by ingredient or name.
washingtonpost.com/recipes
The Washington Post

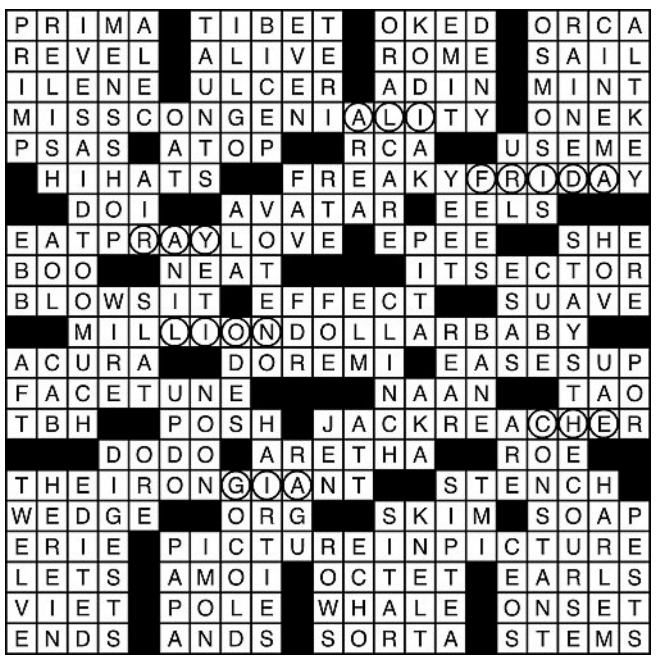
S0115 6x1

DIVERSIONS

Answers to last week's puzzle.



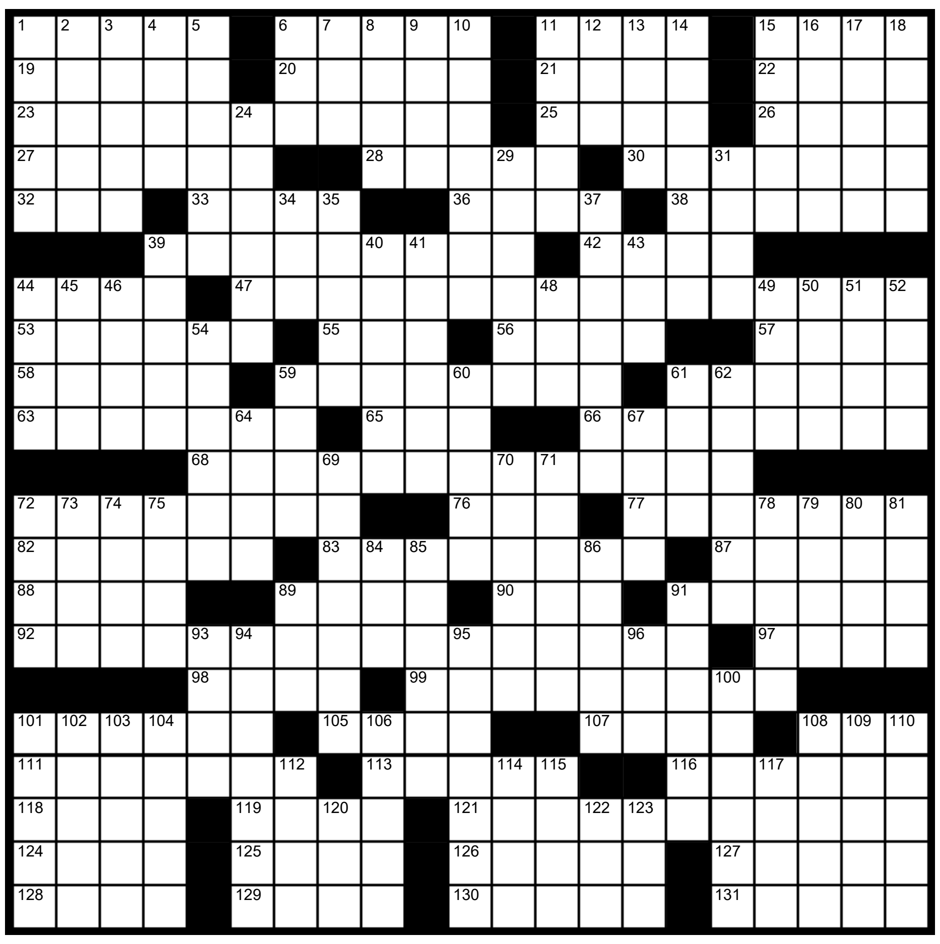
Answers to last week's L.A. Times Sunday puzzle.



5/14/23

CROSSWORD

"IN PAIRS" BY EVAN BIRNHOLZ



ACROSS

1 Unlocks or unblocks
6 Show set at a SoCal firm
11 End-of-class sound
15 Number of alumni?
19 Toni Morrison's given name at birth
20 Citizen of Muscat
21 Gannon University city
22 Locale of the Throne of Jahangir in India
23 Discount vouchers one receives for overthrowing the government?
25 Integral calculation
26 Bothers persistently
27 Reanimated, in horror films
28 Appears to be
30 Honest path ... or what's been added to a word at 23 Across
32 "Marble" bread
33 National ____ Children's Society (charity supporting kids with hearing loss)
36 Bravery
38 Ocular rings
39 Like free-solo climbing
42 Hawaiian coffee coast
44 What Tazorac treats
47 Buffalo relative that's achy from spin class?
53 Serve as a go-between
55 On the nose
56 Insects found on scalps
57 Act brazenly
58 Osamu Tezuka's art
59 Pretrial negotiation
61 Beethoven masterwork
63 Unspecified person ... or what's been added to a phrase at 47 Across
65 "DMZ" director DuVernay
66 Capital of D.C. or NYC
68 Achievements with at least 10 points and 10 rebounds, for example ... and an alternate title for this puzzle
72 Intensify
76 TV promos
77 Endlessly ... or what's been added to a phrase at 92 Across
82 Phyllis who won an American Comedy Award for lifetime achievement
83 Reaches first by singling, say
87 "The Bostonians" actor Christopher
88 Scrapbook substance
89 Spanish class greeting
90 Ran into
91 Boot hole
92 Computerized version of comedian Johnny?
97 Disruptive noises
98 Native American participants in the Powamu ceremony
99 "There Is a Light That Never Goes Out" band
101 Adage, and not a rusted tool as its name might suggest
105 "Don Carlos" highlight
107 Director Kazan or Suleiman
108 "Leaving ____ Vegas"
111 Before long ... or what's been added to a word at 121 Across
113 Meadowland units
116 Garment loaded into a cannon
118 Duncan in the 101 Down cabinet
119 Kick out, as a king
121 Nickname for a dirty spouse?
124 Furry scurriers
125 Plant whose gel has medicinal properties
126 Remark-able host?
127 ____ Spence Jr. (welterweight boxing champion)
128 Maker of Nitro laptops
129 Top scores, at times
130 Cleared, as a yard
131 Take a long look (at)

DOWN

1 Take place
2 Fraudulent
3 Evade
4 "Not a chance!"
5 "Just Another Day" singer Jon
6 "Skip to My ____"
7 Sound-boosting box
8 Prince Souphanouvong was its first president
9 "Archie Bunker's Place" actress Meara
10 Source of sarcasm
11 "Unleash the ____!"
12 Make a mistake
13 In ____ of (instead of)
14 Getting off the ground
15 Musician who composed "Felitsa" for his mother Felitsa Chryssomallis
16 Exclamation similar to "Merlin's beard!"
17 Take part in a debate
18 Hoarse vocal qualities
24 Site of the Hans Christian Andersen Museum in Denmark
29 It's built in a gym
31 United ____ Emirates
34 "A Long Long Long Time ____" (song by the Proclaimers)
35 Wild, like some cats
37 Group going downhill fast?
39 Stoop (to)
40 Abrogate, as legislation
41 A-to-A interval, say
43 Number of runs scored on a solo homer
44 Donations for the poor
45 Vowel-rich farewell
46 Grandmother, informally
48 ____ Thomas, swimmer who became the first openly transgender athlete to win an NCAA Division I championship
49 Many an invitee to the Met Gala
50 Make use of one's craft?
51 Whale-watching sighting
52 In the ____ future (soon)
54 Piece of equestrian equipment
59 Display a sulky attitude
60 Babies' fathers
61 Serpent's garden
62 Beads in Catholicism
64 Rise like a jet
67 Keycard insertion point
69 Flowering plant with rex and wax varieties
70 Psychic played by Whoopi in "Ghost"
71 Program distributors
72 Furthest point
73 Flowerpot spot
74 This one has five words
75 Judd's role in "St. Elmo's Fire"
78 Obligatory things
79 Cold turkey site
80 Hot turkey site
81 Beach volleyball barriers
84 Yale student
85 Rope-a-dope in boxing, e.g.
86 English translation of "c'est moi"
89 Move like a frog
91 It's a thing
93 Jazz trumpeter Jones
94 Fishing vessel, maybe
95 Energy storage device
96 Fuel for some lamps
100 Plans, with "out"
101 "A Promised Land" author
102 Words from a band
103 Do the twist or the robot, e.g.
104 Mocking expression
106 Consultant's quotes
108 Late September birth
109 Alcove covered in vines
110 Method
112 December celebration
114 "At Wit's End" author Bombeck
115 Pull through a straw
117 "It can't ____"
120 "Wayward ____" (2019 novel by Rainbow Rowell)
122 Petal visitor
123 Mattress spot

L.A. TIMES SUNDAY PUZZLE

EDITED BY PATTI VAROL AND JOYCE NICHOLS LEWIS

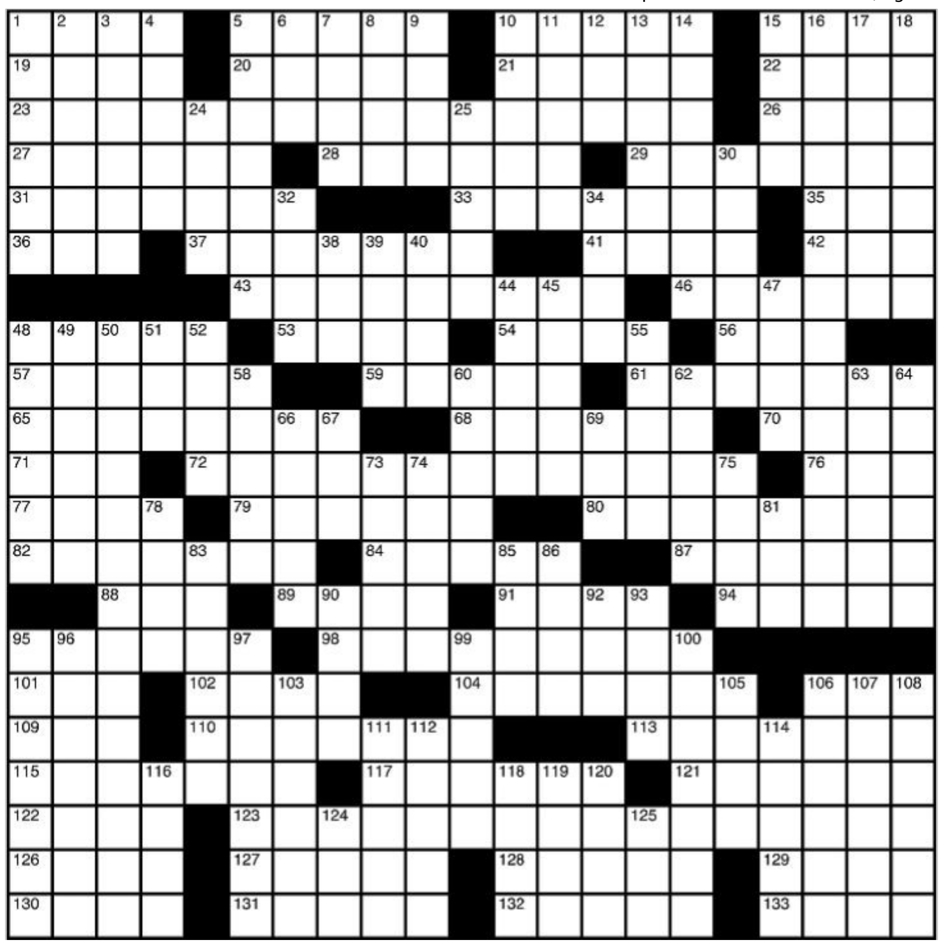
"PERFORMANCE REVIEWS" BY MARYELLEN UTHLAUT

ACROSS

1 Chow __: noodle dish
5 Sp. girls
10 USDA Choice, e.g.
15 Vinegar, chemically
19 Peak near Catania
20 Economical with words
21 Collar extension
22 Support staff?
23 The lazy housekeeper ...
26 Rootless water plant
27 "Lost in transit" inquiry
28 Natural gas component
29 Sent through a network
31 Charm
33 Like some inscriptions
35 WSW reversal
36 Police dept. title
37 John Bunyan, notably
41 Await decision
42 Dull brown
43 The disruptive hairstylist ...
46 Leaning
48 Hoops player
53 First name in Renaissance painting
54 Singles
56 "Can't help ya"
57 Breakdown of social norms
59 Former capital of Japan
61 Big cat voiced by Angelina Jolie in "Kung Fu Panda"
65 Domed halls
68 Nibbled (at)
70 Rush-order letters
71 Scrap
72 The fashionable archaeologist ...
76 Color gradation
77 "The Wizard of Oz" actor
79 New __, Connecticut
80 Part of a wedding toast, maybe
82 Summer pest, informally
84 Workbench grips
87 Moved suddenly
88 "His Dark Materials" cable network
89 Arctic native
91 Math points
94 "One Minute Man" rapper Elliott
95 Salt, say
98 The overzealous electrician ...
101 System of connected PCs, for short
102 Fast-food option
104 For all __ and purposes
106 Air traffic org.
109 Unit of energy
110 Showed plainly
113 Behind, in a way
115 Lumbered
117 Playing fields
121 Farm
122 Vegan protein
123 The absent-minded dentist ...
126 Footnote note
127 "100 years of improvement" retailer
128 Burrowing bug
129 Mineral no longer used in baby powder
130 Woven fish traps
131 Fashion journalist __ Leon Talley
132 FaceTime alternative
133 Smite, as a dragon

DOWN

1 Like cheese in a fondue pot
2 Timeless, poetically
3 Still together
4 Super casual "Sure!"
5 Breastbone
6 Wine choice
7 Factual
8 Support staff member: Abbr.
9 "The Orville" star MacFarlane
10 Mercury Seven astronaut John
11 Had status
12 Fitting
13 Take out
14 Periodic-table entry
15 Berry native to the Amazon rainforest
16 The psychic bartender ...
17 Unworldly young woman
18 Maze setback
24 Messy stack
25 Steam room
30 Calculating, in a way
32 Theme park shuttle
34 Sanctuary section
38 Words from a promising couple?
39 6.2 miles, roughly
40 Like the White Sox at Fenway Park
44 Election Day figure
45 Patriarch who "walked with God"
47 Spencer of "Good Morning America"
48 Holiday songs
49 Iditarod wear
50 The fearless trapeze artist ...
51 Bird that can run 30 mph
52 Outer layer
55 Dutch painter Jan
58 Draw forth
60 Starts operating, as a store
62 Sat in traffic, e.g.
63 Fries in a little butter
64 Quick
66 Lab gelatins
67 Wrongdoing
69 Hawaii's Mauna __
73 __ academy
74 Selassie of Ethiopia
75 Fast one
78 WNBA stat
81 Nike's __-fit fabric
83 Honked
85 Flair
86 Like fluffy towels
90 Deep black
92 Prompt
93 Stevie Wonder's "__ She Lovely"
95 Skipped an early appointment, maybe
96 Piercing place
97 Short work of fiction
99 Broaden
100 Curio stand
103 Name seen in many hotels
105 Gentlemen
106 Curtain rod decoration
107 Zambia neighbor
108 Bureau
111 Do lunch?
112 Wipe clean
114 Has legs, so to speak
116 Clothing
118 Pen points
119 Every which way
120 Moving with ease
124 Start of some subj. lines
125 N.Y.'s AOC, e.g.



5/21/23

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HOROSCOPE

BY GEORGIA NICOLS

Happy Birthday | May 21: You are independent and creative and will take control of a situation. You can look tough, but you are very sensitive inside. This is a year of service for you, which means it's important to take care of yourself so that you can be a resource to others. Is it time for a makeover?

Moon Alert: Avoid shopping or important decisions from 6 to 11:45 p.m. After that, the Moon moves from Gemini into Cancer.

ARIES (March 21-April 19)
You have lots of mental energy for financial negotiations or ways to handle your money, your wealth or to deal with your possessions. Not only is your mind energetic, but you're also very resourceful today.

TAURUS (April 20-May 20)
You feel an urge to improve your immediate surroundings. Or perhaps you want to improve your appearance and the image you create on your world. (You never get a second chance to make a first impression.)

GEMINI (May 21-June 20)
You might be more emotional than usual because the Moon is in your sign. Nevertheless, your ability to research and discover solutions to old problems is excellent. Don't hesitate to dig deep and keep searching for what you want.

CANCER (June 21-July 22)
You're in the zone when it comes to dealing with friends or members of groups. Others will follow your lead because you're energetic, proactive and keen to introduce improvements into the situation around you.

LEO (July 23-Aug. 22)
This is a powerful day for you. People admire you because you appear to be successful and competent. Meanwhile, you personally have strong energy to use in a positive way to improve whatever you're involved in.

VIRGO (Aug. 23-Sept. 22)
You have lots of drive and energy to travel and explore. You also might use this energy to study, learn or take advantage of opportunities in medicine, the law, publishing or the media.

LIBRA (Sept. 23-Oct. 22)
This is a good day to get to the bottom of issues related to shared property, taxes, debt, inheritances or anything that you own jointly with someone else. You have the mental energy to deal with these matters. Stick up for yourself and protect your own interests.

SCORPIO (Oct. 23-Nov. 21)
You might be dealing with someone who comes on pretty strong. They know what they want, and they intend to get it. Why not enlist their help in making improvements at your home or promoting your reputation?

SAGITTARIUS (Nov. 22-Dec. 21)
You can get a lot done. You're energetic and motivated to make improvements in your work, your health and how you deal with your pet. This proactive energy can also be used to solve old problems.

CAPRICORN (Dec. 22-Jan. 19)
Those of you who are involved in sports will be high energy and active today. Ditto if working with children. Those involved in the arts, especially the entertainment world or the hospitality industry, will get stuff done.

AQUARIUS (Jan. 20-Feb. 18)
This is the perfect day to do something to make home improvements or to improve where you live. This same energy might even improve family relationships. You have lots of drive and motivation to get things done today.

PISCES (Feb. 19-March 20)
Your communication skills are tops, which is why you'll be persuasive. Obviously, that makes this a great day for those who teach, sell, market, act or write. Your energy is strong and positive, and your words are like gold.

The Washington Post
TRAVEL
SUNDAY, MAY 21, 2023 · SECTION F
EZ EE



A melting glacier's chilling warning

Communities near Peru's Pastoruri sound the alarm on climate change with tourism | F4

ANGELA PONCE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

A detail of the Pastoruri glacier in the Peruvian Andes in May 2022. Rising temperatures have steadily eaten away at the Pastoruri, which is one of more than 100,000 glaciers destined to vanish this century.

DISNEY
The company's feud with DeSantis has punctured fans' pixie-dust-sprinkled bubble. F2

GRAND CANYON
Take in this natural wonder by trying the lesser-known Grand Canyon Railway. F3

THE UPGRADE
Want to bring the best gift back to loved ones? Look no further than tinned fish. F5

FESTIVALS
Southeast Asian communities in the U.S. South share culture through temple events. F6

Bubble begins to burst for 'most magical place on earth'

BY HANNAH SAMPSON

On most days, Disney fan site Laughing Place usually covers breaking news such as updated theme-park signage, construction statuses and the latest Star Wars merchandise.

But on May 1, the site's Twitter account was delivering real-world news about political and legal battles, sprinkled in with posts about Little Mermaid-themed coffee and potential new Lego sets. The website's homepage noted the most popular story: a piece about the judge set to preside over the Disney lawsuit against Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis (R).

Sites such as the Disney Food Blog, BlogMickey, WDWMagic and AllEars are better known as a place for fans to get updates and weigh in on menus, merchandise and character greetings. Recently, they've been wading into choppier waters as the battle between DeSantis and the company has intensified, and writers and commenters have turned into armchair legal correspondents.

The online Disney bubble, that pixie-dust-sprinkled atmosphere surrounding the world's most popular theme parks, hasn't quite burst. But amid culture wars, occasional fan squabbles and escalating legal maneuvers, it has been pierced.

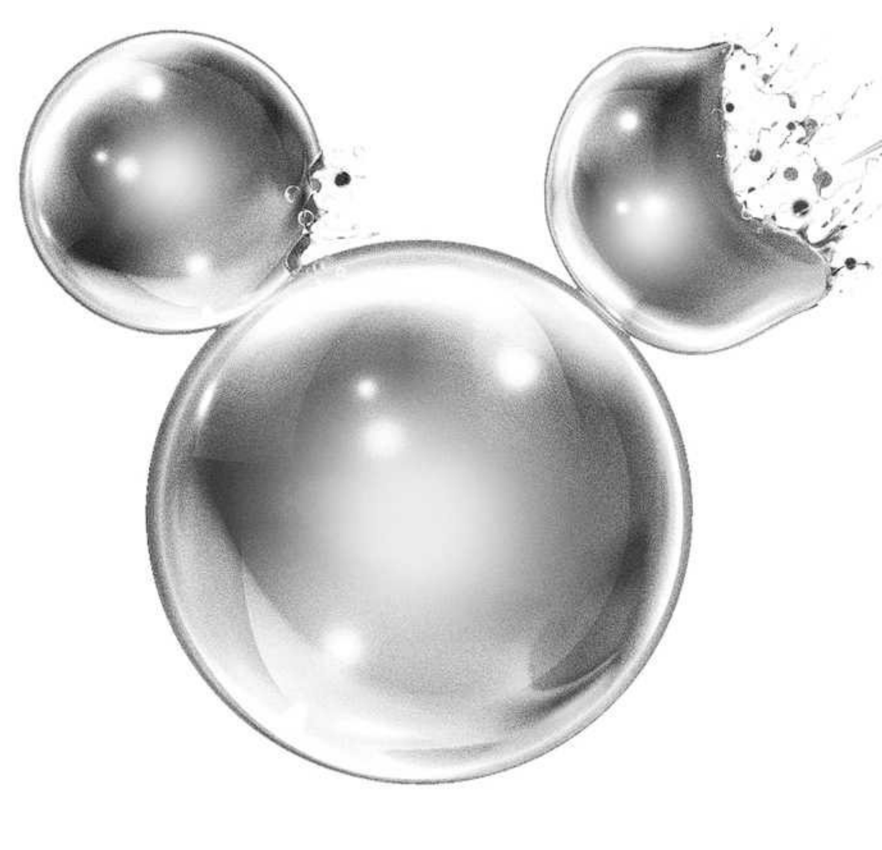


ILLUSTRATION BY KATTY HUERTAS/THE WASHINGTON POST; ISTOCK

A year after the Florida legislature voted to strip Disney of its long-standing self-governing power, the theme park operator sued the state's Republican governor in federal court last month, alleging political retaliation. A DeSantis-appointed board overseeing the property on May 1 filed its own suit in state court — twists that have been dutifully covered by outlets throughout the broad landscape of Disney-centric news sites.

"It's bizarre, isn't it?" said Steve Frearson, the U.K.-based owner of WDWMagic, where a carousel of stories earlier this month featured the Disney-DeSantis battle, updated lighting on the Haunted Mansion ride and the 25th anniversary of Animal Kingdom. "I do sometimes look at this front page and go, 'What the heck is happening here?'"

For podcast listeners, political news is also baked in. On the weekly "DIS Unplugged" podcast, a show devoted to vacation planning and Disney park reviews, panelists discussed the ongoing dispute last month. Also on the agenda: hotel upgrades, the Splash Mountain re-theme and a Pride Nite at Disneyland in California.

"If you are just kind of like, 'I don't care either way, I just go there for vacation,' it's very important, because this will lay the groundwork for what happens in other states and other major corporations," one of the hosts said.

And on the April 28 edition of "WDW News Today," host Tom Corless dug into DeSantis's response to Disney's lawsuit, fact-checking and providing historical context.

"I will give you my usual disclaimer that I have no political agenda," he said.

Site editors and owners interviewed by The Washington Post say they are dedicated to coverage of the topic because it interests readers — and could directly affect their vacations. DeSantis has tossed around the idea of examining hotel taxes, adding toll roads around the resort and even building a new prison near the "most magical place on earth." A new bill to require state inspections of Disney's monorail system recently got approved by lawmakers.

"If you try to put your head in the sand and say it's not happening, you're not giving the full story," said Benji Breitbart, assignment editor for Laughing Place. "Our audience wants to know what's going on."

Many of the sites say they try to avoid alienating readers and keep their coverage neutral with a just-the-facts approach. AJ Wolfe, owner of Disney Food Blog and AllEars, said two former lawyers are writers on staff and have legal contacts who can help with analysis.

"It is so controversial, especially with our audience, that you just have to be really careful to get all bias out of there," she said. Editors will often do extra reads to scan for anything that could be viewed as opinionated — even if just a turn of phrase.

Pete Werner, whose Disney media holdings includes the "DIS Unplugged" podcast, DISboards discussion forums and WDW Info, said that, as a gay man, he was urged to speak up about the legislation restricting discussion of sexual orientation and gender identity in elementary school grades that sparked the conflict last year. It cost him subscribers, he said, and he tries to make sure opinions stay out of any coverage of the continuing saga.

"Even people's passion for Disney doesn't impact where they stand on the political spectrum," he said.

Breitbart, of Laughing Place, said it's also important for his site, which launched in 1999, to provide the context that is often missing from more mainstream news coverage.

"It's not our purview to say how this will impact Governor DeSantis's presidential chances, but we are curious as to how it will impact a Disney vacation," he said.

The fight is not these sites' first encounter with legal or political realities. Breitbart recalls covering old disputes between Disneyland Resort and the Anaheim City Council. Internal drama involving the ouster of former CEO Bob Chapek and return of his predecessor, Bob Iger, dominated news late last year. And other lawsuits against Disney — including actress Scarlett Johansson's in 2021 — have earned headlines on fan sites.

"We've covered less-than-magical stuff in the past," Breitbart said. But he said the recent battles have been different as politicians in Florida have knowingly gone after the very mechanism that allowed the company to grow into a tourism behemoth there.

"This is bigger in that there's a concerted effort to punish the Walt Disney Company in a way that goes at one of the foundational principles of Walt Disney World, which was that, in comparison to Disneyland, [it] would have the blessing of size and freedom to dream bigger than you can in the middle of Anaheim," he said.

Frearson said the pandemic, which forced a shutdown of all parks globally for various lengths of time, was a prime example of the real world forcing its way into Disney fandom.

"All of a sudden it wasn't just about what rides are coming, what's the latest cupcake," said Frearson, a software developer who runs WDWMagic as a hobby. "It became: We've got bigger fish to fry."

The topic provided a preview of how political and heated fans could get, which continues now in the community forums on Frearson's site.

"It's been pretty rough going actually, particularly on the forum side," he said. "There's a lot of arguing; a lot of people have left."

Wolfe has also seen people unsubscribe and email her directly when her sites cover controversial political topics.

"This is not what I associate with Disney, and I don't want to see it," is the reaction, she said. "I don't want this to mix with what I consider my happy place."

While the online world now includes more nods to reality, experts say the park experience in Florida — cocooned in a world of Disney hotels, restaurants, transportation and miles of roadways — is still largely spared.

Frearson, who spoke to The Post earlier this month during a visit to Disney World, said he overhears people discussing the drama occasionally, but usually sarcastically, like, "Oh, if DeSantis *lets* us have a new fireworks show."

Werner said there's a more pressing issue at the theme parks these days: fans who are upset about the escalating cost of a Disney vacation.

"The political issue is not the problem in the parks," he said. "The money issue is the problem in the parks."

There's more to estimating the duration of flights than you might think

BY ANDREA SACHS

On a recent Wednesday morning, passengers on a flight from D.C. to Hartford settled in for the 90-minute journey, the travel time on the reservation. Forty-five minutes later, the plane pulled into the gate at the Connecticut airport. On the return trip, the aircraft beat the published arrival time by more than 15 minutes.

An early arrival is always appreciated and, considering the recent air travel pandemonium, surprising. But the skeptical traveler might wonder: Why is my flight so early, even when it seems late? Are airlines padding their schedules to goose their on-time arrival rating, or are more pragmatic factors at play?

"They are not gaming on-time statistics," said Gary Leff, founder of the View from the Wing blog. "We are seeing more variance now, and there is an increased likelihood of the flight taking longer."

All airplane reservations list departure and arrival times, a calculation based on more than just mileage and air speed. The timer starts when the aircraft pushes back from the gate at the outbound airport and stops once it parks at the inbound airport. A slew of obstacles can pop up between these two goal posts and interrupt the clock. The industry's scheduling system not only anticipates these hiccups, but it can also often accommodate them, too.

"The reality is you can't fix every single potential problem that could occur on a given day of travel, but you can build a little bit of padding into the schedule," said Max Barrus, vice president of planning and revenue at Breeze Airways. "If you didn't do that, nobody would ever be on time."



ILLUSTRATION BY KATTY HUERTAS/THE WASHINGTON POST; ISTOCK

Flight times are getting longer

Over the years, flight times have increased. The main culprit: busier airports and skies.

"It takes longer to complete a flight, especially in the Northeast," said Brett Snyder, president of Cranky Flier. "There's more air and ground congestion."

Barrus said block times — the time it takes from departing gate to arriving gate — have grown by 8 or 9 percent on average over the past decade. He said a flight previously scheduled for two hours might now be published as roughly 2 hours and 25 minutes.

"It sounds crazy, because the airplanes didn't slow down," he said, "but there are a lot of inefficiencies in the system."

According to Barrus, who previously worked at Allegiant as director of planning, airlines typically consider three components when formulating flight times: taxiing out, flying and taxiing in. Each segment is littered with pitfalls. For instance, at the departure airport, your plane might have to sit in a long queue of aircraft waiting to take off. Storms, heavy turbulence or congested airspace can force the pilot to divert to a smoother but slower route. Air traffic control, which is suffering from a staffing shortage, might request a plane circles overhead until the runway clears. After landing, the gate might not be ready.

"So many things can impact just getting into the air or to your gate," Snyder said.

Airlines devise their own block times, which can vary for the same route. For example, Delta lists a nonstop from New York to Los Angeles as a six-hour flight, nearly a half-hour quicker than JetBlue's itinerary. There are a multitude of reasons for this discrepancy, such as crew hours, aircraft type, connections and even the carrier's philosophy on scheduling.

"Some airlines will schedule more buffer," Snyder said. "Others will go tighter on the schedule."

Each approach comes with risks: Too much wiggle room means the plane may sit around between flights, a waste of resources and money. Too little time can trigger an avalanche of delays and upend an entire day of flying.

Keeping the airlines honest

Since 1987, the Transportation Department has been keeping the airlines honest, or at least transparent. The agency requires major domestic carriers to share monthly data on its on-time performance and late arrivals. DOT, which publishes this information on its Air Travel Consumer Report, defines tardy as arriving 15 minutes or more after the published time.

"Air travelers can use this dashboard to select the minimum length of arrival delay that is most significant to them, whether it be one minute, one hour or more, to see how each airline stacks up," a DOT spokesperson said by email.

For the first two months of 2023, the most current figures available, the Bureau of Transportation Statistics reported that more than 860,000 planes arrived on time, or about 78 percent. Delta ranked first in punctuality, with about 81 percent. Frontier took last place, with about 66 percent.

"You can't really know if the flight is going to be on time, because they put in this fudge time," said Roland T. Rust, a distinguished university professor at the University of Maryland's business school. "But if the plane takes off on time, it's definitely going to be on time."

By law, airlines can't excessively pad their schedules. An agency spokesperson said DOT prohibits "unrealistic or deceptive scheduling of flights by airlines" and could impose "substantial civil penalties" on the transgressor.

How to fly faster

Though many elements are out of our control — weather, airport construction, alligators on the runway — passengers can reduce their travel time with a few smart booking decisions.

Some airports are notorious for their traffic snarls and delays, such as New York's JFK, Chicago O'Hare and Dallas-Fort Worth. If possible, choose a secondary airport, such as Chicago Midway or Dallas Love Field. Also avoid peak flight periods, when more planes are jockeying for space. Barrus recommends flying midweek rather than on a Friday and preferably in the morning, before the delays have a chance to stack up.

Knowing some meteorology can help, too. Flying west to east is often quicker than the reverse direction because of the jet stream, which can shorten the trip by an hour. Winter travel can take longer because of stronger winds. A tail wind is a generous push in the right direction, a claim that head winds can't make.

Drake Castañeda, a Delta spokesman, said one-off occurrences can also affect flight times, such as a volcanic eruption that spews ash into the air, a NASA launch or the U.S. president moving around the country in Air Force One.

"We have to account for these events and make accommodations for everything that can come into play," he said.

The truth behind 'making up time in the air'

If you only care about how long you will be airborne, pay attention to the pilot's announcement right before takeoff. This flight time is typically the most accurate and up-to-date, barring any midstream route changes or emergencies.

However, don't take everything the pilot says as gospel, especially if your plane departed late. If the captain proclaims that they will make up time in the air and still arrive on schedule, feel free to snort. Because you know the truth.

"This is my favorite phrase," Barrus said with a chuckle. "They're not going faster necessarily. Usually it means that somebody like me built the block times in order for them to be on time."

TRAVEL

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A delicates dance: How much underwear to pack

BY NATALIE B. COMPTON

With a two-week trip to Europe approaching, gynecologist Jen Gunter needed some underwear advice.

How much carry-on space did she want to devote to underwear? How much dirty laundry did she want to lug around? She was torn between three options: packing a pair per day; packing less and washing once; or packing the bare minimum and washing several times. So she decided to bring the topic to her more than 300,000 followers on Twitter.

It turns out people are passionate about the amount of underwear they pack.

"I asked the question in an open ended way … because I wanted to hear all the suggestions and ideas," the doctor and author said in an email. Commenters shared concerns such as menstruation and incontinence, and the "pack and release" idea to only pack old underwear, so you could toss it during the trip.

The tweet has more than 1,000 replies. Gunter's commenters swore by specific numbers — or just packing no underwear at all.

The questions inspired emotionally charged responses, much like the right time to arrive at the airport or whether it's okay to recline on a plane. In the comments of viral TikToks, we see what is "exactly the correct number" to some may be considered "borderline criminal" to others.

Perhaps the topic brings out so much passion because underwear is one of our most personal belongings, says Seth Miller, editor of airline-industry news site PaxEx.Aero.

"The style, the color, the material, all those things people feel pretty strongly about for comfort," Miller said. If you run out during a trip, having to buy something different on the fly is disorienting, he said.

Before a trip, I consult with travel companions about what they're packing, factoring in weather, restaurant dress codes and more, but never get into delicates. It's never taken up much real estate in my brain as someone who's happy to do laundry on the road. I'm a "grab some and see what happens" traveler. But the more heated debates I saw and videos I watched, the more I wondered whether there was a right answer. I posed the question to social media and got more responses than ever before.



ILLUSTRATION BY JUNGMIN RYU FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

The different types of packers

Gunter found there were two main camps: those who bring a pair for every day of their trip, and the minimalists who think five is plenty for a 14-day stretch.

I came to a similar conclusion after conducting an unscientific survey consulting with dozens of people. Even with our varied personal style and travel preferences, we're more alike than we are different when it comes to packing strategies. We fall into three patterns, going by either highly specific math, blind fear or chaotic vibes. I heard from those who decide by calculations such as doubling underwear by the days of their trip or multiplying the number of days times 1.3; others who went with my loose handful approach; and panic packers who throw entire underwear drawers into their suitcases, fearing the worst.

When in doubt, do the math

If you can't decide on your packing style, follow the lead of the left-brained travelers who go by math and previous experience.

"I do not feel emotional about this topic. … I have set and tried-and-true views," said Ashley Parker, senior national political correspondent for The Washington Post who spent years on the road covering presidents. Her formula is among the most popular opinions I heard: Pack a pair for each day you're gone, plus an extra pair or two. If it's a seven-day trip, she'll bring nine pairs.

For Miller, the formula is N+2, where N is the number of days until he has access to clean laundry. A carry-on-only traveler, Miller used to pack less.

"One pair a day is theoretically enough, but things happen," he said. In the era of flight delays and cancellations, he added that plus-two to his calculations. "Maybe at some point I'll cut back a little bit."

Phil Dengler, co-founder of the Vacationer, bases his underwear math on his trip length, plus estimated number of showers, and always brings an emergency pair. It's a strategy that accounts for physical activity, climate and environmental factors, such as whether he's going on a hike or hitting the beach. For a 10-day trip with limited activity, that's 11 pairs. For a seven-day beach trip, when he may be taking multiple showers a day, that could mean 13 pairs: one per day, plus five for extra showers, and that emergency pair.

Can you just re-wear a pair?

Although you can safely wear underwear more than once, Mark Gendreau, a physician and chief medical officer of BILH Beverly and Addison Gilbert hospitals in Massachusetts, says going more than two days can increase your risk for yeast or urinary tract infections. He recommends washing in the sink if hotel laundry or nearby laundromats aren't an option. (But please, do not use the hotel coffee maker.)

"I have no issue with rewashing underwear in the sink," said Gunter, the gynecologist. "I also don't find it a hassle, but sometimes the waiting for things to dry can be a minor issue."

In her Twitter call-out, Gunter learned about small travel-friendly washboards that upgrade your sink laundry. You can also buy travel laundry detergent that's TSA compliant, as well as mini-dryers.

Matt Berna of Intrepid Travel, who calls himself a "one a day guy plus one pair," packs with the intention of doing laundry in a sink along the way. He's learned to do that washing with enough time for garments to get completely dry before shoving them back in your luggage.

The lowest-lift option comes from travel writer Jenn Rice: Don't pack any to begin with. "I stopped wearing them two summers ago and never looked back."

Want a lesser-known way to observe the Grand Canyon? Try its railway.

BY SARAH CHAVERA EDWARDS

WILLIAMS, ARIZ. — Standing on a small rear train platform appreciating the Southwest scenery, I'm thankful I took the Grand Canyon Railway to visit one of the seven natural Wonders of the World. It's the first time I'd taken the train to the Grand Canyon since I was a kid. When I was younger, my family would take trips to a sleepy Williams, Ariz., which is about 120 miles from Phoenix, where I live.

The Grand Canyon Railway, which runs daily from Williams to the Grand Canyon, is a less common mode of transportation to see the national park. My parents and I would take the train instead of driving, and I saw it as an adventure. They even took me on the train during the winter, when it magically transformed into the Polar Express. At 6 years old, I was filled with wonder when we ended up at the North Pole and Santa came on the train to give out little presents. The Grand Canyon Railway still keeps up this Christmas tradition.

The first passengers traveled on the Grand Canyon Railway in 1901, and the train became the most innovative mode of travel to the Grand Canyon. It's had various purposes throughout the years, including transporting supplies to build the Grand Canyon Village's restaurants, hotels and shops. The railway also had ties to local lumberjacks and ranchers who used it to move livestock.

The train leaves Williams every day (except Christmas) at 9:30 a.m. and arrives at the canyon's South Rim at 11:45 a.m. It allows visitors some three hours to explore the canyon and exhibits before departing, with an arrival back in Williams at 5:45 p.m. In November and December, the schedule moves an hour earlier.

It's unique, because it lets you relax on the journey and take in parts of Arizona beyond the Sonoran Desert, such as high desert, prairie and pine forests. Also, by taking the train to the historical landmark, tourists keep approximately 50,000 cars away from the Canyon.

Here's what to know to plan your own Grand Canyon Railway trip.



PHOTOS BY XANTERRA TRAVEL COLLECTION





CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: The Grand Canyon Railway runs daily from Williams, Ariz., to the Grand Canyon, excluding Christmas. Each morning before the Grand Canyon Railway leaves the depot, the Cataract Creek Gang and the marshal square off in a performance at the Williams Depot. The railway keeps two fully restored vintage steam locomotives in service to pull the train on select dates throughout the year.

How to book

The Grand Canyon Railway is separated into six car classes. They include the Pullman class (starting at $67 for adults; $32 for kids), with bench-style seating and windows that open to take in the fresh air, and the Luxury Parlor, which features couches, carpeted floors and a private bar, and which makes you feel like you're a baron in the Old West ($226; children are not permitted).

If you choose to stay overnight near the Grand Canyon, the railway has made it easy to combine hotels and trains with discount packages. Some include a night at a hotel just steps away from the rim. They also come with an itinerary if you want to take planning out of the equation.

The train experience

The train depot in Williams is easy to navigate, with a ticket booth and gift and coffee shop. Because I was traveling in the winter, I waited for the train in the warmth of the indoors and sat down with a fresh cup of coffee. There's a Wild West shootout show before the train ride, which I opted out of, but it would be fun for kids and families.

Before the 9:30 a.m. departure, a whistle signaled that it was time to board. There were plenty of staff to help me find which train car I was riding in; I was in coach on the way to the Grand Canyon but was riding back in the Luxury Dome. Coach mostly had families who wanted the best value, and the seating was cramped but manageable. Meanwhile, the Luxury Dome was all adults. The seating was spacious, with extra-cushioned seats and a mini table next to the window.

The train car hostesses appeared at the front of the train to provide necessary information, such as where the bathrooms were and how long the ride would be. The hosts and hostesses are essential parts of the train, because they provide vital information while riding, and they also point out wildlife and share history about the railway and the Grand Canyon. The ride itself is smooth, with transitional views of the landscape during the two-hour trip.

The different car classes offer different experiences, such as complimentary snacks and beverages in the luxury cars along with alcoholic drinks for purchase. The Luxury Dome had a Champagne toast on the way back to Williams. I also bought a signature cocktail.

One of the perks of being in one of the luxury cars is that you can move between the different cars if you want to stretch your legs. You can also step outside on the platform at the end of the moving train to take in the view rushing past you. It's definitely a thrill, although I was nervous I was going to drop my phone as I snapped photos.

There's entertainment on the train ride, including singing cowboys, a state marshal and "robbers." Cliff Hall, who played the state marshal, explained: "I think [the train] is great, because you get to meet people from across the country and outside the country. You got some from Alberta, England, El Salvador, just in this little space of the train."

Curious about what international visitors thought about the Grand Canyon Railway, I asked British traveler Sarah Morton about what motivated her and her partner to ride the train.

"I was looking up cool ways to do the Grand Canyon, and the Grand Canyon Railway came up. I loved the idea of traveling in an old-fashioned way," Morton said.

Where to go from the train

I traveled on the Grand Canyon Railway in February, so there was plenty of snow on the ground at the Grand Canyon, as well as in Williams. Once you arrive near the park, it's a straight route to the Grand Canyon, dropping passengers about a three-minute walk from the South Rim of the canyon.

There's about a three-hour stay at the Grand Canyon Village at the South Rim after the train reaches its destination. This is enough time to explore and take in the nearby shops, restaurants, lodges and views. There are bus routes, but I recommend staying in the area, because there's plenty to do. The walking path in the village follows the rim of the Grand Canyon, so you can see different views of it while exploring. Some highlights include the Hopi House, a shop selling Indigenous-made gifts; Bright Angel Lodge; and Lookout Studio, which offers one of the best views of the South Rim.

Sarah Chavera Edwards is a writer based in Phoenix. You can follow her on Twitter: @chaveraedwards.



PHOTOS BY ANGELA PONCE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Tourists visit the path of the retreating Pastoruri glacier in Huaraz, Peru, on May 25, 2022. "Seeing the proof [of climate change] on this route will not only help to raise awareness ... but will also communicate how the world can have an effect on climate change," says Melvin Grimaldo Rodriguez Minchola, the director of natural resources and environmental management for the regional government.

How a dying glacier in Peru became a tourist attraction

Route aims to provide an up-close look at climate change's effects

BY SARAH KAPLAN





LEFT: The Pastoruri snow-capped mountain. As ice melt sends the Pastoruri glacier retreating into the mountains, last-chance tourism has emerged, with visitors eager to see a landscape they are unlikely to see again in their lifetimes. RIGHT: Part of a lagoon formed by the melting of the Pastoruri glacier.

HUASCARÁN NATIONAL PARK, PERU — The path to the Pastoruri glacier is grueling. At more than 15,000 feet above sea level, the wind is fierce and the sun unforgiving. Although the trail isn't steep, I find myself gasping for breath in the thin mountain air. The dry, bitter cold makes my nose bleed.

And the trek becomes longer every year. With each ton of carbon dioxide emitted, with each increment of temperature rise, the ice mass dwindles, and reaching its frozen base takes a few more steps.

Pastoruri is one of more than 100,000 glaciers around the world that are destined to vanish this century, even if humanity does its utmost to halt climate change. For countless communities, the melting ice signals the loss of drinking water, the demise of ecosystems and the end of the ecotourism trade that had long sustained them.

But in Peru, officials have sought to turn the tragedy of ice melt into opportunity. A decade ago, the country relabeled this trek "La Ruta del Cambio Climático" — "The Route of Climate Change." A museum was built at the park entrance; signs explaining the glacier's retreat were installed along the path.

As a climate reporter, I'd been to many parks with exhibits on global warming. I'd heard of communities holding funerals for glaciers and building monuments to extinct species. I'd written about people going on therapy walks near fire-ravaged forests to cope with their climate grief. But this was the first time I'd heard of a landmark rebranding itself as a destination to witness climate change up close.

What would it look like, I wondered, for a tourist site to embrace the transformation wrought by warming? Could it persuade visitors to look more closely at the consequences of our altered world?

Vanishing ice

Mauro Olaza, a local adventure guide who grew up in the nearby city of Huaraz, remembers when tourists flocked to Pastoruri by the thousands. Ski festivals were held on the vast, frozen slopes. Climbers raced each other to scale the ancient ice wall.

"It was the best place to see the snow, and everyone wants to play in the snow," Olaza tells me on our drive to Huascarán National Park, home to Pastoruri and more than 600 other glaciers. "I have really good memories."

Yet rising temperatures steadily ate away at Pastoruri, cutting its volume by about a third in just a few decades. The ice vanished so fast, Pastoruri technically no longer qualifies as a glacier. A true glacier adds bulk from snowfall each winter, but Pastoruri gets smaller every season.

And visitor numbers have declined in proportion to the ice. For guides, including Olaza, business became a struggle. Some vendors who sold food and trinkets by the trailhead abandoned their stalls to search for jobs in the city. In a 2010 survey of two nearby communities, every respondent said glacier retreat was harming the local tourism industry.

Officials grappled for a solution. They temporarily closed the site to visitors. They covered Pastoruri in a protective sawdust coating. That wasn't enough. The only way to halt the melting was to stop the planet from becoming warmer.

"Seeing the proof [of climate change] on this route will not only help to raise awareness ... but will also communicate how the world can have an effect on climate change," the director of natural resources and environmental management for the regional government, Melvin Grimaldo Rodriguez Minchola, told me before my visit.

Yet the museum that opened to fanfare nine years ago is empty on the morning I arrive. Despite the "climate route" marketing push, most estimates suggest visitor numbers remain far below the levels of Pastoruri's heyday. Now, my footsteps echo as I walk through the small exhibit hall.

I learn that Huascarán boasts the world's largest concentration of tropical glaciers and that many species living among these white-capped mountains are found almost nowhere else on Earth. There are towering *Puya raimondii* plants — strange relatives of the pineapple that resemble giant bottlebrushes wearing spiky-leaf skirts. Graceful, alpaca-like creatures called vicuñas graze on the grassy lower slopes.

Climate change threatens it all. Average temperatures in the region have increased by more than a degree Celsius since the preindustrial era — mostly because of greenhouse gas emissions from the burning of fossil fuels. Vicuñas are losing their habitat, and the puya struggle to reproduce. Glaciers are retreating by as much as 75 feet per year, the exhibit says, creating dangerous lagoons that could collapse at any time and unleash flooding.

"It is urgent to educate our population about the new challenges climate change brings," one sign says in Spanish. "It is urgent to take action."

Yet, the emptiness of the room makes the message feel tragic. Pastoruri is sounding a vital warning — but who is listening?

'Last-chance tourism'

When we arrive at the trailhead an hour later, several large tour buses are already in the parking lot. Along with my colleagues — photographer Angela Ponce and interpreter Kevin Ylan Zacarías Zumaeta — Olaza and I join the stream of hikers trudging along the paved glacier path.

The landscape is breathtakingly vast. Snow-dusted granite peaks ring a plateau ribboned by silvery streams. Just a few patches of lichen and tufts of hardy grass have managed to get a toehold in the dark bedrock that has been exposed in recent years by the glacier's retreat.

A weather-beaten sign explains that the ice shrank by more than 570 meters (about 1,800 feet) between 1980 and 2013. By now, the glacier is even smaller.

"Muy triste," says Jonas Perez, a visitor from Lima. "So sad."

The 25-year-old made this trek at a friend's recommendation. "I wanted to know the glacier before it is gone," he tells me.

There's a term for this mentality: "last-chance tourism." Re-

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PHOTOS BY ANGELA PONCE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

ABOVE: As Andean glaciers including the Pastoruri melt away, so have the robust flows of tourists that were a feature of the region only a few years ago. BELOW: Tourists at the Pastoruri glacier after passing a sign declaring: "Forbidden to go into the snow." "Being here makes you more conscious," said one visitor, while another mentioned that she "thought it would last longer."

search shows that as rising temperatures imperil ecosystems and push species to the brink of extinction, tourists are rushing for a glimpse of the Great Barrier Reef, the Arctic and other landscapes they fear may soon be destroyed.

Although many communities, including those around Pastoruri, embrace the additional revenue generated by last-chance tourism, the influx comes at a price. More visitors can add to the stress on already fragile environments, experts say. And studies of last-chance tourists have found that few considered how their travel contributed to carbon pollution and other ecological threats.

Part of me worries that the premise of the route is a bit like encouraging rubbernecking at a car accident. "It's like saying, 'Come see the disaster,'" I tell Olaza. "'Look at nature dying, and people losing water and culture.'"

"It's difficult," he agrees. But then he stops at a place on the path that he remembers seeing blanketed by ice. Now it's just barren rock.

"What they really did was make an opportunity of what happened here, to make it touristic," he says. "I think that's right, because they are teaching the few people who come, so they understand what's happening."

Olaza's words make me think of an interview I'd read about the 2014 opening of the Climate Change Route. Pointing at the mosses and lichens that had adapted to grow in puddles of meltwater, park official Selwyn Valverde told Reuters that the route was also a form of adaptation. It was a way for the park, and for surrounding communities, to secure their futures in a warmer world.



'We can change the future'

At last we round a bend in the trail and see Pastoruri for the first time. The edge of the glacier is as tall as a house and streaked with dark clay. Beneath it, a pool of meltwater reflects the pale ice and deep-blue sky.

I weave between clusters of teenagers and hikers wielding selfie sticks to inspect a dark cave at the base of the ice. Water drips rapidly from frozen stalactites. A trickling sound can be heard as liquid funnels through the glacier's crevasses.

Even knowing this is just a fraction of what used to be here, standing before this frozen behemoth makes me feel impossibly small. It seems incredible that something this beautiful exists in the same world as the one in which I go to work and file my taxes and puzzle over socks lost in the laundry.

Suddenly, I hear shouts. A couple disregarded the rope barrier around the edge of the glacier and are clambering on its surface. Immediately, other visitors begin to shout at them. "Why are you not respecting nature?" they say in Spanish.

"Being here makes you more conscious," explains Fiorella Alejandría, 28.

She and her cousin Estelle Arce, 33, traveled from northern Peru on a family vacation. They didn't realize the site had been labeled the Climate Change Route, but after viewing the glacier, they aren't surprised. It is a much diminished version of the ice mass Arce saw on her first visit, in 2016.

Both women echo my feelings of mingled sorrow and awe. Perhaps this is the power of a place like Pastoruri: It reminds us of the rare beauty of this planet, even as it underscores the dangers human actions have created. It asks us to honor the loss of places we once treasured by rededicating ourselves to everything we can still save.

"I thought it would last longer," Arce says. "When I go home, I will tell my relatives about this."

Alejandría nods. "I would like people to be more conscious about the climate," she says. "There is no reversing the damage that has already occurred here. "But we can change the future."

THE UPGRADE

The best travel gift is something fishy, literally

BY RAFAEL TONON

To submit a travel hack to The Upgrade, visit wapo.st/upgrade.



ILLUSTRATION BY MIN HEO FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Edible souvenirs are my love language. When I come back from a trip, my friends and family members can expect to receive extra-virgin olive oil, bottles of wine, dried chiles, sea salt and chocolate I buy last-minute from expensive airport shops.

When I bring back culinary souvenirs, I'm providing a sample of a place's history, whether it be in a jar, a plastic bag or a fancy cork container. Since I moved to Portugal four years ago, cans with fish, octopus, mussels and clams have become my gift of choice.

Tinned fish is great for home cooks or outdoorsy people eager for oily protein, friends with children or that confirmed bachelor buddy who barely knows how to prepare pasta. Their diversity of brines, seasonings and garnishes, such as jewel-like baby squids with thyme and garlic or silvery, tail-on sardines lying in a bed of spicy tomato sauce, fits all tastes. Open the can, and dinner is served. (Just add toast, cold cuts and a handful of olives.)

What appeals to me most about tinned fish is the idea of giving someone the best the ocean has to offer under the pull of a lid. The canning process was established in Europe from the 18th century onward to capture — then preserve — a product from a specific place (terroir) in its peak moment (seasonality).

There is another tremendous advantage to cans as gifts: They are already "wrapped" — on papers with vintage artwork of Greek deities, on cans engraved in beautifully patterned silk screens, on boxes boasting colored metallic-ink logos, on artsy illustrations that make you want to collect all of them. The visual appeal alone is enough to have your friends coveting what's inside your suitcase.

You don't need to step into the charming conserveiras (old preserve shops) in downtown Lisbon or the trendy grocery stores in Paris to find the best cans. In many supermarkets in southern European countries, the offer of cans is so diverse that I can spend hours scanning the shelves in search of products that I have yet to try and that may surprise my friends.

My favorite corner of the world for this activity is Galicia, in northwest Spain, with the best benefit-to-cost ratio for tinned fish. In New York, you could go to Despaña Gourmet in Queens, Maiden Lane in the East Village or Mercado Little Spain in Hudson Yards. In D.C., try Grand Cata or Nido.

When traveling abroad or even visiting stores close to my place in Porto, I refuse to buy any of the trendy brands. I look for companies remaining faithful to the traditional methods, with the fish laid into cans by hand to keep them intact.

From Portugal, Pinhais is a good brand in that matter. Ortiz, from the Basque region of Spain, is also a company adopting artisanal techniques. Sicilian Agostino Recca is one of the world's famous producers of anchovies.

Of all of the canned fish in the sea, including vintage sardines (aged for a year or more) and new staples (razor clams, squids and mussels now flying off the shelves), I keep piling in my cupboard cans and cans that, shortly, will find a new home in the hands of friends or relatives.

Every time I pack, I put more than a couple of them in my bag. It is always worth the extra weight.

Rafael Tonon is a journalist who lives in Brazil and Portugal. Follow him on Instagram: @tononrafa.

At temple festivals, sticky rice meets Southern hospitality

Asians in the South are sharing their food and culture with neighbors

BY KRIS MARTINS



WILLIAM DESHAZER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Chonburi Muay Thai of Nashville puts on a demonstration for people during the Thai-Lao Food Fair at the Wat Amphawan of America temple in Murfreesboro, Tenn.

Growing up in Georgia, Molli Voraotsady would regularly look forward to the Lao New Year festival at Wat Lao Buddhamoongcoon. In April, the Buddhist temple in Riverdale, Ga., would fill up with community-staffed food tents, greeting Voraotsady with the smells of grilling meat and sticky rice steaming in bamboo baskets. Her uncle would boil crawfish and serve it the Lao way, with a side of jeow som, a spicy condiment full of citrus and fish sauce.

After meeting up with her cousins, eating was first on her to-do list. Then they might participate in new year traditions such as water fights or shaving cream battles, symbolizing the washing away of the old year and the purification for the new one. It was the one time of year that she saw everyone in the Lao community come together.

"It's just sort of comforting being around your elders," Voraotsady said. "Most [Lao grandmothers] are really, really loud, they usually love to cook, and they all call you 'luk,' which means child. So it's just one big, happy family, it sort of feels like."

Similar gatherings take place at temples across the country with the arrival of Thai, Lao and Cambodian new years in April, but they're particularly important in the American South. U.S. Census numbers report that the region has some of the smallest Asian populations in the country, and states in the South rank among the lowest in the country in religious diversity.

Buddhist temples attract locals and travelers alike for the festivals. As these temple gatherings get more popular, they play a key role in helping the rapidly growing Thai and Lao populations in the South connect with each other and share their culture with the larger community.

Today, Voraotsady, 32, serves her own Lao food as the chef of Atlanta pop-up So So Fed. But she makes sure to take a break from serving larb and papaya salad to celebrate the New Year by sampling the home cooking at Wat Lao Buddha Khanti, a temple in Snellville, Ga. This year, she took the So So Fed team to the temple's annual festival to try some of the same food they serve, but from aunties and grandmas.

On April 23, the second day of the weekend festival, grills sizzled, and the temple grounds thrummed with the bass of live music. The festivities kicked off with prayers and a blessing, continuing through the afternoon with ceremonies, a parade and dancing. In between, visitors stopped by different vendor tents, which sold such things as water guns, fresh-pressed sugar cane juice and traditional Lao dishes marked by fragrant herbs and spicy chiles.

"It was really sweet going with people who had never been before, especially the crew who's been serving Lao food with us at So So Fed. It was a huge learning experience for everyone — really immersive," Voraotsady said. "I was like, 'Now you get to see how other people's families make Lao food, not just mine.'"

Lamai Begue, 43, immigrated to New Orleans from Thailand in 2002 and only knew a few people before she found Wat Wimuttayaram Buddhist Temple of Louisiana.

There she started to build a community and eventually volunteered as a food vendor for the temple's biannual celebrations: one for Songkran, or Thai New Year, in April and another for Loy Krathong, the Thai festival of lights, in the fall. A line usually snakes behind her booth as she serves spicy papaya salad and bamboo shoot salad, a crowd favorite.

"[People] try everything, and I've heard they like everything," she said. "I think that's the reason why we get bigger and bigger too."

When the temple began hosting food fairs in 2018, they were small, mainly serving the Thai community, but over time, they've attracted people from across the area. The Songkran festival this year featured about 10 to 15 volunteer vendors serving a range of Thai street food, including appetizers such as Begue's salads and Thai sausage, as well as classic desserts such as mango and sticky rice. People could also observe traditional Thai dance, enter raffles and participate in the water festival portion of the event.

"When other people or other religions or other cultures come, we want to share," said temple secretary Luksamee Dyer. "It's nice to promote our country, our community, our temple."



EMILY KASK FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Terry Cuskelly serves bone noodle soup, a delicacy she says you can only find in Thailand, but she makes it once a year as a pop-up at Wat Wimuttayaram, a Thai Buddhist temple in New Orleans.



WILLIAM DESHAZER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Susan Vangvongsavanh fries chicken egg rolls during the Thai-Lao Food Fair, Vangvongsavanh's third year of cooking for the event.



KRIS MARTINS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

A sign that reads "Happy Lao New Year" sits in front of the temple at Wat Lao Buddha Khanti in Snellville, Ga.



KRIS MARTINS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Laotian American Society members Jaesen Khounthalangsy, left, and Clark Frederick celebrate during the Nang Sangkhan parade at Wat Lao Buddha Khanti of Atlanta's celebration in Snellville.

"Buddhist temples have been organized around making sure that they are connected to the communities in which they are located, so I think that kind of ethos has also been transferred to their lives here in the U.S."

C.N. Le, director of the Asian & Asian American Studies Certificate program at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst

Southeast Asian immigrants arrived in the United States in large numbers in the 1970s and '80s as refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos fled communist regimes following the end of the Vietnam War. Refugees from the first wave were often sponsored by individuals or religious organizations such as churches or synagogues, which determined where in the United States they would initially settle.

Social networks and word of mouth later drove migration to the American South. In the '80s, manufacturing jobs brought more Lao people to Southern communities. According to Kimberly Khounthalangsy and Justin Settah Rodriguez of the Laotian American Society, manufacturing plants in places such as Habersham and Gwinnett counties in Georgia were willing to hire immigrants despite language barriers.

Today, Asian Americans are the fastest-growing racial or ethnic group in the United States. And although the South has some of the smallest Asian populations in the States, it also has some of the fastest-growing Asian communities in the country.

C.N. Le, the director of the Asian & Asian American Studies Certificate program at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, said job opportunities, more affordable real estate, a lower cost of living and more are driving Southeast Asian immigrants to relocate to the South from "traditional gateway destinations" such as Los Angeles, New York and San Francisco.

Moukdavanh Ngonephetsy moved from Rockford, Ill., to Tennessee and joined Wat Amphawan of America in Murfreesboro four years ago. There, she sees broad interest in the Thai-Lao food fairs the temple holds twice a year. People travel from all over the area to get a taste of Southeast Asian food from one of the many volunteer cooks.

"We have all kinds of people walking in here," Ngonephetsy said. "Any culture, they just walk in and they're all welcome."

Preeda Momungkun, a monk at the Murfreesboro temple, enjoys seeing the city come together, especially families.

"I love the city, and I love the people, and we have the best neighbors in this area," he said through Ngonephetsy, who interpreted on his behalf. And although temple festivals often serve as fundraisers, Momungkun said the money is not important: "[What's] important is to see the people and friendly faces."

In April, the food fair had a $30 all-you-can-eat entry fee and 30 different dishes on the roster, including stir-fried beef and Ngonephetsy's homemade egg rolls. Although food is the main attraction, Ngonephetsy also sees the events as a chance for the temple community to share its religion and culture. The fair features traditional dances and music, and the temple always makes sure there's a monk present for attendees who may have questions about the temple or traditions.

The New Orleans temple only charges for food, and proceeds go to maintaining and expanding the property. Each event raises between $3,000 and $5,000. This growth, Begue said, helps the temple make a bigger impact, as it did for her. Around 2017, during a difficult time in her life, the temple was a place for comfort and refuge.

For other locals and visitors from around the area, these kinds of events can be an entry point for learning about Southeast Asian culture and Buddhist perspectives on community. Le said there's a long tradition of Buddhist temples welcoming visitors of other faiths.

"Buddhist temples have been organized around making sure that they are connected to the communities in which they are located," Le said, "so I think that kind of ethos has also been transferred to their lives here in the U.S."

Kris Martins is a food writer based in the South. Follow her on Twitter (@bykrism) and Instagram (@thekrism).

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ILLUSTRATION BY ELENA LACEY/THE WASHINGTON POST; ERIC LEE/BLOOMBERG NEWS; JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST; MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

7 DOOMSDAY DEBT CEILING SCENARIOS

Economists warn of worst-case outcomes should Congress fail to raise the federal borrowing limit by the 'X-date'

BY JEFF STEIN

Federal workers furloughed. Social Security checks for seniors on hold. Soaring mortgage rates. A global financial system sent reeling.

Leaders from Congress and the White House are trying to forge an agreement to lift the federal debt ceiling, with only a short time remaining before the Treasury Department may no longer be able to avert an unprecedented U.S. default. If they fail, and the government can't meet its payment obligations, economists and financial experts predict chaos.

"It would be a lethal combination," said Mark Zandi, chief economist at Moody's. "You can see how this thing could really metastasize and take down the entire financial system, which would ultimately take out the economy."

Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen has said the agency may only be able to sustain operations until June 1 before running out of money if the government can't borrow more. That specific deadline — known as the "X-date" — depends on tax revenue and spending, which can fluctuate dramatically from week to week.

What happens next is also hard to predict.

The cascading impacts of default would probably compound — a pause in federal payments would hurt the economy, which would hurt the stock market, which would in turn hurt the economy even more, and so on. The interactions between collapsing home values, rising interest rates and a destabilized global financial system are hard to calculate. Some estimates suggest that more than 8 million jobs could be wiped out.

Mortgage rates might soar by more than 20 percent, according

SEE **DEBT CEILING** ON **G3**

'Anti-woke' attacks cool BlackRock climate efforts

CEO has dialed back calls for corporate change since conservatives targeted him

BY EVAN HALPER

Just after Thanksgiving, dozens of state lawmakers packed into a hotel ballroom in downtown Washington to plan their next assault on a movement that pushes companies to confront global warming and social injustice. Their attacks on "woke investing" were already sticking in red-state capitols and on Fox News, but the group wanted a target with a human face.

"Every big problem needs a face and a name," the speaker said at the private event hosted by the conservative American Legislative Exchange Council. "The worst offender out there is BlackRock and Larry Fink."

Since then, the attacks have been unrelenting. And Fink, founder of the world's largest investment and risk-management firm, has throttled back on the urgency with which he pushes companies to confront climate change. The resolute language in public letters to CEOs is gone. And BlackRock executives have begun waving away the climate targets they once committed to helping the world meet as irrelevant to the current moment.

"The conversation with clients has moved away from . . . 2050 targets," said Mark Wiedman, who heads global client business at BlackRock, referring to the U.N. goal of zeroing out emissions by 2050 to stop catastrophic warming. "It's moved away from [climate] alliances. It's moved toward actually putting money to work that will profit from and drive the transition."

BlackRock frames this as an obvious evolution. Climate-focused regulators in blue states and D.C., however, see a dangerous abandonment.

BlackRock sits on $9 trillion in assets from pension funds, governments, universities and companies. It is bigger than better-known rivals Vanguard and Fidelity. Its billionaire leader has unparalleled influence over the direction of the economy's largest companies and used his position to pioneer investing that factors in the environmental and social footprint of businesses. He is not accustomed to losing control of the narrative.

Yet Fink's once-robust warnings to CEOs about the peril of ignoring climate risk — emphasized by BlackRock in its pursuit of what is called environmental, social, governance, or ESG — now have BlackRock rivaling Disney and Anheuser-Busch as the favored target of a conservative "anti-woke" movement shaping the 2024 election campaign.

"If you told me two years ago that there would be a political movement focused on attacking critical race theory, gas stove bans and ESG investing, I would have said you are standing too close to your gas stove," said Brad Lander, the comptroller of New York City. "But they have made ESG investing part of the culture war. How clever to make Wall Street the target with their pretend populism, when they are really doing the bidding of fossil fuel companies."

SEE **BLACKROCK** ON **G5**

Bud Light has united the left, right in anger

Sales are down 3% for the year after the PR fallout from its Mulvaney partnership

BY TAYLOR TELFORD

Bud Light, the most popular beer in America, has managed to anger just about everybody. Belinda Mendoza manages Dragster, a queer bar in Seattle that caters to the kind of customer Bud Light was hoping to court with its recent partnership with trans actress and influencer Dylan Mulvaney.

But when the brand failed to stick up for Mulvaney after her Instagram ad provoked calls from conservatives for a boycott, Mendoza says it was an easy decision to stop carrying products from Anheuser-Busch InBev, the parent company of Bud Light. AB InBev beers had not been all that popular with her customers, she said, and the company "has never really aligned with what I believe in."

AB InBev is in damage-control mode as it seeks to squash the backlash from the Mulvaney partnership. The company is planning to triple its marketing spending in the United States over the summer, according to reporting from Ad Age. It is also offering free cases of Bud Light to wholesale employees, according to reporting from the Wall Street Journal, and is assuring consumers it "never intended to be part of a



NAM HUH/AP

AB InBev, parent company of Bud Light, is in damage-control mode over ties to trans actress Dylan Mulvaney and its handling of the ensuing backlash.

discussion that divides people" according to a letter from chief executive Brendan Whitworth.

Its bid for inclusion has barely dented its market dominance. AB InBev said on a recent earnings call that declines during the first three weeks of April, as uproar mounted, represented only a 1 percent drop in its global sales volumes. But the magnitude of backlash shows the risk brands face in trying to expand their customer base, especially when doing so puts them in the crossfire of the culture wars.

Todd Evans, chief executive of Riven-

SEE **BUD LIGHT** ON **G5**

A direct-file tax return system run by the IRS: It can happen



Michelle Singletary
THE COLOR OF MONEY

For years, people have wondered why the IRS, which already has a lot of our tax information, can't generate a pre-filled return, making it easy and free for all taxpayers to file electronically.

After all, individual taxpayers spend about eight hours and $140 preparing their taxes each year, according to the IRS.

Dare we dream that one day there might be an option to direct-file your federal return, saving you time and money?

That time may soon come.

What if the IRS created a robust, intuitive, free file system for everyone, regardless of income?

The agency has released a report detailing the feasibility of a free, voluntary, IRS-run electronic filing system. Dubbed "Direct File," the platform could allow taxpayers to bypass commercial taxpayer companies. The Inflation Reduction Act authorized the agency to investigate the implementation of such a program, and a pilot run is planned during next year's tax season.

Don't get excited yet.

While the idea is long overdue, there's a lot that has to fall into place before a direct-filing system is implemented and adopted by taxpayers.

As part of a task-force examination of the potential for such a system, the agency asked taxpayers what they wanted. A significant majority (72 percent) said they were very or somewhat interested in using a free IRS-provided tool to prepare and file

SEE **SINGLETARY** ON **G3**

TECH IN YOUR LIFE
Not everything posted online will live forever. Here's how to save what you love. **G2**

DEPARTMENT OF DATA
The U.S. nonprofit sector is growing rapidly. Why and where is this happening? **G4**

TECH IN YOUR LIFE

The internet's memory is fading in front of us. Preserve what you can.

BY CHRIS VELAZCO

I signed up for Facebook in my senior year of high school, just as the service was branching out from its college campus confines. And even then, in those early days, the message from my teachers, my parents, and those talking heads on TV was the same: Don't put anything on the internet that you don't want floating around forever.

To this day, that's good advice. But it's also clear the internet's memory isn't exactly the steel trap we were all told it was.

In (what else?) a recent tweet, Twitter CEO Elon Musk said the social media service would be "purging" user accounts if they lie dormant for long enough.

The period of inactivity that would prompt an account deletion is pretty long — Musk said that the move would apply to accounts that have gone unused for "several years" and that accounts would be "archived" in some way. But the lack of clarity around what "archiving" means is little comfort to, say, people who continue to seek a sense of closeness with Twitter-using friends and loved ones who have died or are incarcerated.

Elsewhere on the internet, a brigade of digital archivists and historians were preparing for what feels like yet another extinction-level event.

About a month ago, a popular image host called Imgur said it was changing its terms of service. Under those newly revised terms — which went into effect May 15 — the service will begin removing "old, unused and inactive content that is not tied to a user account from our platform as well as nudity, pornography, & sexually explicit content."

Imgur's crackdown is concerning but not much of a surprise. What's more immediately troubling to me is the idea that image embeds and links to Imgur content across the internet could stop working entirely if those images weren't specifically uploaded by a user with an account, and if they haven't been accessed frequently enough.

One impassioned Twitter user even likened the change to burning the Library of Alexandria, which may be more apt a comparison than many realize. Sure, Imgur helped memes and visual jokes proliferate across the web. But it also housed (and continues to house) handy, user-made guides that unpacked everything from different forms of cognitive bias to the best ways to safeguard a chicken coop.

While many of those helpful images will survive, others — the forgotten ones — are headed for deletion, deprived of a chance to be rediscovered and shared again for our benefit.

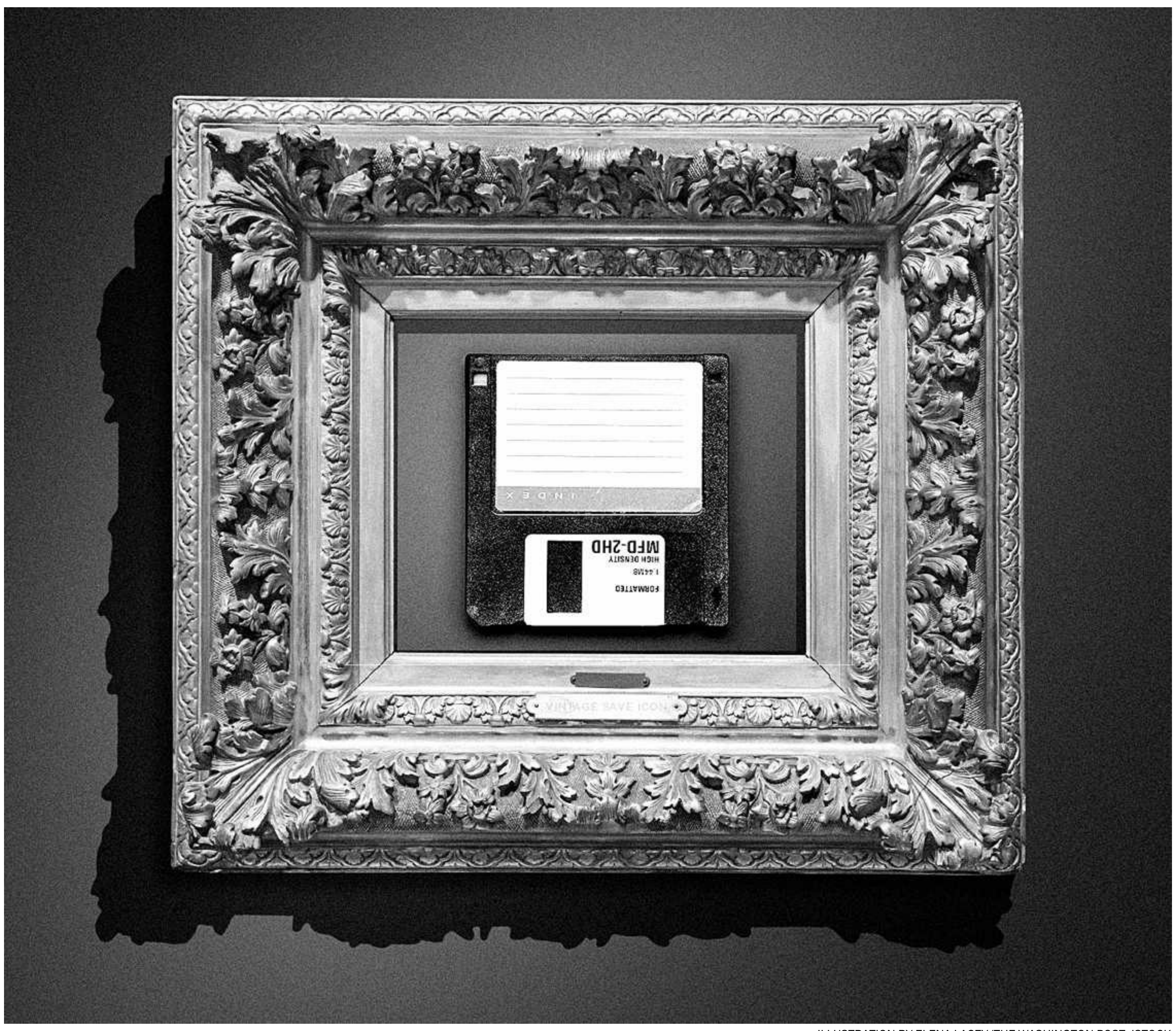


ILLUSTRATION BY ELENA LACEY/THE WASHINGTON POST; ISTOCK

Granted, this isn't a new problem. While jotting down thoughts for this edition of the newsletter, I opened up my web browser's bookmark folder and started clicking through saved items to see which bits of the internet I loved still existed. The results were … pretty grim.

Long, self-indulgent essays from a writer I idolized, a gorgeous online portfolio of photos taken by a photographer in Japan, a repository of old State Department language-learning resources, all gone. Link rot is real, folks, and with it comes a slow, steady sloughing-off of things on the internet we once loved — or still love, in absentia.

Even things you've chosen to save online for your own use or convenience can come with an expiration date. Last week, Google announced a new policy under which personal Google accounts — not ones you may use for work — that haven't been accessed for two years will be deleted. That includes "content within Google Workspace (Gmail, Docs, Drive, Meet, Calendar), YouTube and Google Photos."

Google's clarity here is somewhat comforting; it won't start deleting accounts until December at the earliest, and says it'll send multiple messages to affected accounts before they get purged. Still, the message is clear: Online, most things won't last forever.

Link rot is real, folks, and with it comes a slow, steady sloughing-off of things on the internet we once loved — or still love, in absentia.

Preserve your digital history

The lesson? Don't just wait for the worst-case scenario. Preserve those fragments of your digital life that really matter to you. If you're not exactly sure where to start, here are a few suggestions.

1. Save bits of the web: If you've landed on a website with an image you'd like to hang on to, right-click it — or long-press, if you're using your phone — and save it. (Since not all websites allow this, you may need to take a screenshot instead.)

If preserving individual webpages is more your concern, there are some easy options: On your computer, you could save the page as a PDF, or use a browser extension such as SingleFile to produce a near-perfect copy you can view in Chrome, Firefox, and Safari. And if you're trying to save full versions of entire websites, tools such as WAIL and ArchiveBox can help — they're not for the faint of heart, but their results would make an internet preservationist proud.

2. Back up your devices: Between messages, photos, documents, emails, and downloads, gadgets like your smartphone and tablet contain loads of information you'll probably want to hang on to. We've made some quick visual guides for backing up most of this data at *https://wapo.st/3Irrrz0*.

3. Don't just rely on the cloud: Sure, Apple and Google probably aren't in danger of imminent collapse. But that doesn't mean you should trust your personal content to live on in just one place. It's much better to embrace redundancies, so keep any important files or documents in the cloud and locally, say, on an external drive you can safely store at home.

4. Download those tweets: It's not entirely clear when — or even if — Twitter will really start deleting people's old, unused profiles. If the idea of someone's profile vanishing fills you with dread, there are steps you can take to make sure those tweets and images continue to live on somewhere. Find them at *https://wapo.st/3McYFTu*.

5. Archive voice mails: There are a few ways to do this, like exporting high-quality audio files from your smartphone, or recording from a more basic phone with a speaker feature and computer with a microphone. Either way, don't let the sound of someone's voice disappear before you're ready.

One tiny win

Earlier, I mentioned a trip down memory lane by way of my browser's collection of bookmarks. What I didn't mention in that moment is how my attitude toward those links has changed over time — many of them are so old that they're more an archaeological monument to the person I used to be, and I kind of like it that way.

These days, I've come to rely on Raindrop.io, a free service I can easily tap into from whatever phone or computer I'm using. Saving bookmarks is a breeze, as is categorizing and tagging those links so none of it mingles unnecessarily. (Recipes I like shouldn't live anywhere near tantalizing fashion suggestions from Instagram, after all.) And while you can pay for extra features and niceties, the free tier is clever and usable enough that you could easily get by if you won't or can't pay for software.

Readers' diverse working styles: From chatty collaboration to quiet autonomy

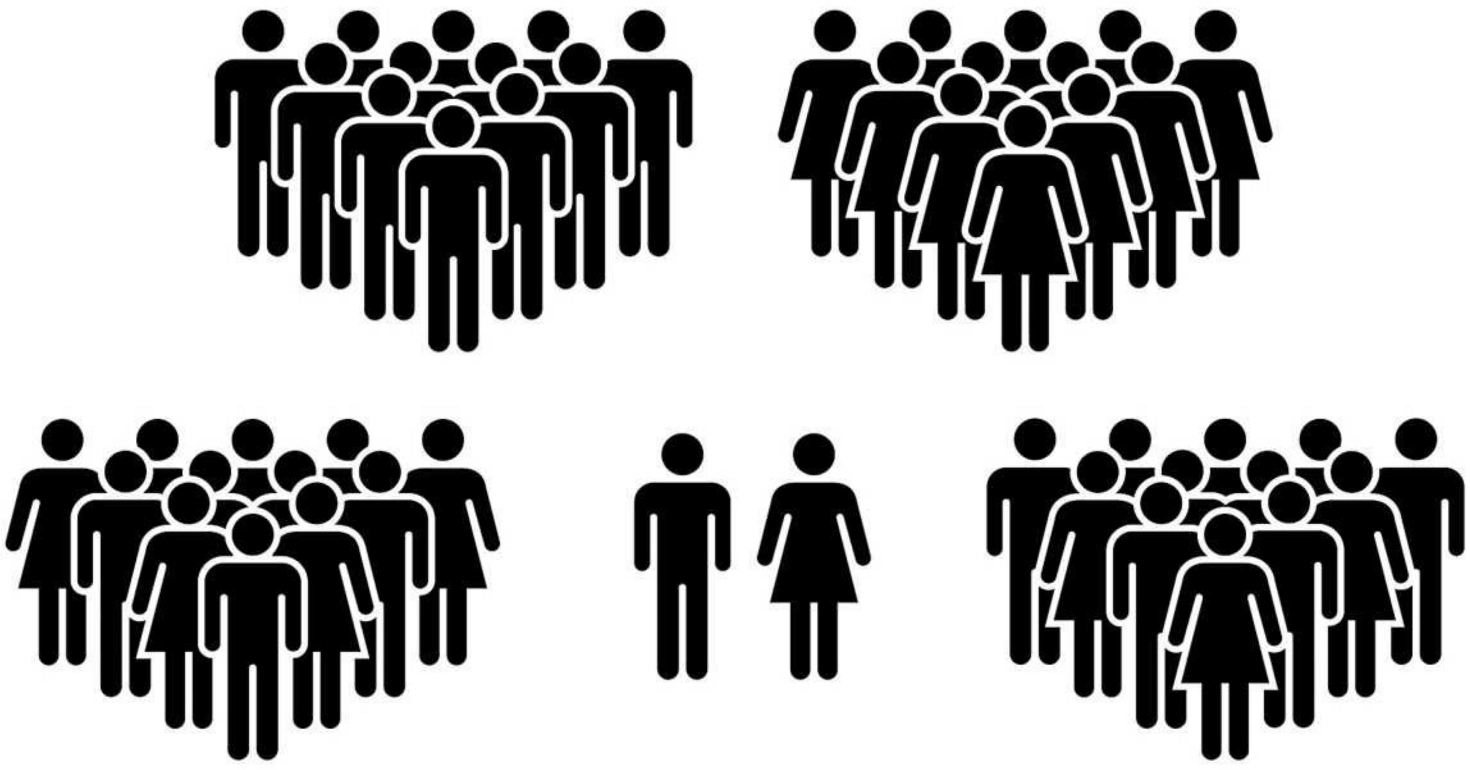


Work Advice
KARLA L. MILLER

In a recent column about a boss who felt the need to over-explain every task to a worker who just wanted to get on with it, I asked readers to weigh-in with their own preferred working style.

One professional at the "chatty collaborator" end of the spectrum is Ashley Herd, an HR leader and lawyer who produces hilarious HR-themed TikToks under the handle @managermethod. "I think loneliness is so prevalent, so I love when people can build genuine connection at work," she replied in a Twitter thread.

Many other readers said that they prefer to just carry out their marching orders. Jody Carlson, a D.C. paralegal with nearly four decades of experience, said in an email that one of her best experiences was working for a former Marine captain who she said "treated me pretty much the way he'd treated his junior officer or sergeants — gave me the request and left me alone."



ISTOCK

Of course, many of us have worked with (or, ahem, been) know-it-all newbies who plunge headlong into assignments without fully understanding the goals, context and pitfalls involved, leading to corrections and do-overs that consume even more time than the initial explanation would have.

And I hear often from workers whose bosses dump tasks on them with minimal explanation, only to look at the results and say, "That's not what I meant." A little advance discussion to set expectations can not only save time down the road but also — if properly documented in emails, notes or contracts — show where the communication breakdown occurred if the final product is unsatisfactory.

And the definition of "a little advance discussion" can be tweaked over time as colleagues get to know and trust one another.

It helps if both parties enter the discussion with a touch of humility and a solid sense of their own experience level relative to their colleague's.

For the most part, new attorneys working with Carlson learn quickly that she's been in the game long enough to anticipate what they need from her. Once, when an attorney asked Carlson to draft a letter and then proceeded to tell her exactly what to say, Carlson offered her the notepad and suggested that she write out what she wanted.

The attorney realized Carlson knew as well as she did what needed to be said, and dictating it to her was wasting everyone's time.

Different management styles

I suggested in my earlier column that workers frustrated by overly talkative bosses might consider whether the boss has a processing difference or memory hitch or other personal quirk that compels them to overthink and repeat themselves. That way, the worker takes it less personally and can adapt their response to accommodate — and perhaps head off — whatever is driving the boss's volubility.

Maria, a Virginia reader who wanted her last name withheld, said that a former boss's approach to "collaboration" — grilling Maria in advance on how she planned to handle an assignment, then contradicting the answers — was driven by severe anxiety. "She treated an empty stapler with the same panic as the building burning down. Talking things to death was supposed to make her feel better, but that never worked," Maria said in an email. She no longer works for that boss, and she makes sure to ask prospective bosses questions about their management style during interviews: "You'd be surprised how open micromanagers are without realizing they've got a bad approach."

Communication conflicts

Seeing things from the other side can help smooth out communication conflicts.

Karen from Great Falls, Va., who also asked to withhold her last name, learned to modify her tone and timing after her habit of interrupting redundant discussions got her barked at by colleagues and sparked fights with her spouse. Now she waits for the speaker to fully pause before politely interjecting, "I get it, let me get back to you."

Herd, the pro-collaboration lawyer and HR professional, tweaked her approach after a colleague said she hated talking in front of people and just wanted to focus on her work. "She was terrific at her job, and it made me realize that people truly are built differently," Herd told me in a direct message.

Because of that feedback, Herd canceled an icebreaker activity that she had planned for the next meeting in favor of inviting people to speak up voluntarily. "There wasn't pressure to [speak up], so it created more natural engagement," she concluded.

Finally, Karen Moore of Madison, Wis., has the best of all worlds: supervisors who not only trust people to get their work done independently but also know how to collaborate just enough when a project exceeds one person's capacity.

"My supervisor and my director . . . do a great job of ensuring that each of us has a reasonable amount to contribute, usually in a particular area that plays to the individual strengths that each team member brings to the table," Moore explained in an email. Because her supervisors have a strong sense of their team's abilities and challenges, the collaboration process is lean and efficient — and, most important, everyone comes away with a clear, unified understanding of the work to be done.

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TERADAT SANTIVIVUT/GETTY IMAGES

Wall Street would probably be the first trouble spot in the event of a default, as stocks would likely plummet.



AL DRAGO/BLOOMBERG NEWS

Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen has said the agency may only be able to sustain operations until June 1 before running out of money.



SARAH PABST/BLOOMBERG NEWS

More than half of the world's foreign currency reserves are held in U.S. dollars, according to the Council on Foreign Relations.

Experts worry a default would trigger a recession, affect Medicare and Social Security, and more

DEBT CEILING FROM **G1**

to some projections, and the economy would contract by as much as it did during the 2008 Great Recession.

But what economists stress above all else is the unpredictability — particularly if the breach lasts for weeks or months. Experts stress that the worst-case scenarios are unlikely if lawmakers only narrowly miss the deadline, perhaps by hours or even a few days, but that the risks rise dramatically should the standoff persist.

"We do not know: This has never happened," said Claudia Sahm, a liberal economist who worked at the Federal Reserve. "What makes me so concerned is I can't sketch out, and I don't think anyone can, is: What happens at X+1?"

Here are some outcomes that experts worry about most.

Stocks crash

Wall Street would probably be the first trouble spot.

So far, financial markets haven't swung much over the debt ceiling standoff. The price to hedge against a U.S. government default has risen, as has the cost of government bonds due around the debt ceiling deadline — reflecting doubt about repayment. But those tremors are not noticeable for most households.

That is expected to change the closer the government gets to a default. The shock of a missed payment would ripple across the financial system — stocks, bonds, mutual funds, derivatives — before spilling out into the broader economy, experts say.

Stocks would likely plummet on the expectation of a wider economic downturn, as interest rates rise and investors pull funds out of the market to preserve their access to short-term cash. A banking sector already wary of making new loans could tighten up further.

The last time the U.S. government neared default, stocks took a bruising. In 2011, the X-date was less than a week away during a standoff between President Barack Obama and Republicans in Congress. Major indexes fell by roughly 20 percent.

Moody's Analytics has estimated that stock prices could fall by roughly one-fifth, wiping out $10 trillion in household wealth and devastating the retirement accounts of millions of Americans. The White House has estimated that the decline could be closer to 45 percent.

The $46 trillion bond market would also tremble, as the values of existing Treasury bonds collapse due to higher yields on new ones. And businesses would likely halt expansion — driving stocks down even more.

A sudden recession

If the standoff persists, the impact would quickly spread from financial markets to the broader economy.

A drop in household wealth across the country, caused by a sell-off on Wall Street, would reduce consumer spending, which would hurt businesses, too.

And a spike in interest rates would make it harder to get a loan or start a small business. That could also crash the already cooling housing market. A recent report from Zillow projected that a default would drive mortgage rates above 8 percent and push housing sales down by a startling 23 percent. The construction industry and other sectors would feel the pain, too.

The most drastic impact might be a pause in regular federal payments to tens of millions of American families, including seniors on Medicare and Social Security and people relying on food stamps. The federal government is projected to spend roughly $6 trillion this year, which translates into roughly $16 billion per day. Not all of that goes directly to households, of course, but it's a huge amount of money to vanish from the economy overnight.

A 2013 report by the Treasury Department found the 2011 debt ceiling standoff caused a $2.4 trillion decline in total household wealth. The broader economy, the White House Council of Economic Advisers said, could contract by as much as 6 percent, similar to the 2008 Great Recession.

Federal workers in limbo

The U.S. government has a process for shutting down when Congress fails to approve a new budget: Agencies whose spending hasn't been approved prepare workers for furloughs, instructing certain "essential" staff that they will keep working without pay. There have been three shutdowns that lasted at least a full day over the past decade. Workers are all typically repaid afterward.

But hitting the debt ceiling might look nothing like that, experts say. The White House Office of Management and Budget has not yet disseminated instructions for a debt-related shutdown, which some budget analysts say would be difficult because there is no way of knowing which payments the government won't be able to make. That could change as the deadline nears, but as of now, there is no playbook for keeping even essential federal employees on the job.

The uncertainty could affect U.S. military personnel as well as food safety inspectors, air traffic controllers and workers in other vital jobs. The federal government is the largest employer in the country, with roughly 4.2 million full-time employees, according to the Congressional Research Service. The National Association of Government Employees, which represents nearly 75,000 federal workers, sued to challenge the constitutionality of the debt limit earlier this month, citing its potential impact on federal workers.

Social Security and Medicare miss payments

More than 60 million people receive monthly Social Security payments, mostly seniors. A similar number depend on Medicare for their health insurance.

Some Republicans have claimed that the federal government can continue making these payments even without borrowing by redirecting incoming tax revenue. But budget experts are skeptical the Treasury Department will have the ability to send seniors these benefits on time, particularly if the breach lasts for weeks or months.

If the government can still make some payments with incoming tax revenue, the administration might have to pick between sending checks to seniors and making interest payments on the debt. But forgoing those interest payments to keep Social Security and Medicare functioning could exacerbate what would likely be an already severe financial crisis in that doomsday scenario.

U.S. borrowing costs soar

The federal government is able to borrow money relatively cheaply because it's seen as a very safe credit risk — no one, in normal circumstances, expects that it might miss any payments.

The safety of U.S. government bonds has made them an essential building block in the world financial system. Serving as reserves for everything from foreign nations' central banks to money market funds, U.S. Treasurys are widely recognized as one of the most secure and liquid investments available, backed by the full faith and credit of the U.S. government. Any financial instrument whose value is based on Treasury bonds could be thrown out of whack after a debt ceiling breach, with a sharp drop in prices leading to volatility and uncertainty worldwide.

Economists say the discount the United States has enjoyed for decades on borrowing could end. One estimate by the Brookings Institution, a D.C.-based think tank, found that breaching the debt limit could increase federal borrowing costs by $750 billion over the next decade.

Economic problems spread worldwide

Many nations safeguard their finances by buying large amounts of U.S. government debt, widely regarded as one of the safest assets in the world. But breaching the debt ceiling could drive the value of those bonds down, hurting reserves for many nations.

Economists fear that would dramatically increase the ranks of countries drowning in debt, such as Sri Lanka and Pakistan, with a potential rise in protests and global geopolitical instability. The Federal Reserve's push to raise interest rates over the past year to curb inflation has already eroded the value of U.S. bond holdings for many nations. And according to the Council on Foreign Relations, more than half of the world's foreign currency reserves are held in U.S. dollars — roughly three times as much as any other currency.

The dollar drops, along with U.S. prestige

A default could hurt U.S. standing on the world stage, experts say, by revealing the depth of the country's internal political dysfunction.

Already, financial experts have been following some early signs that the world economy is beginning to shed its dependence on the dollar, with countries such as Brazil and Malaysia calling for nations to trade more frequently in other currencies. Roughly 60 percent of foreign currency exchanges still happen in dollars, but a default on U.S. debt — which could send the value of the greenback reeling — could change that.

As Yellen, in Japan this month, said to reporters about a default: "It would also risk undermining U.S. global economic leadership and raise questions about our ability to defend our national security interests."

Something more fundamental may also be at stake. Governments' credibility is tied in part to their ability to respond to a crisis. A debt ceiling breach would cast doubt on the federal government's capacity not only to respond to an emergency but also to fulfill one of its most elementary functions — paying the bills. If the United States can't do that, citizens and leaders in other countries might wonder, what else can't it manage anymore?

"It would erode global confidence in our political system, because part of our standing in the world is based on international confidence that our political system is basically functional," said Daniel Bergstresser, associate professor of finance at Brandeis University's International Business School. "And this would show it isn't."

MICHELLE SINGLETARY

'Direct File' will be failed dream without funding

SINGLETARY FROM **G1**

their returns.

People want to deal directly with the IRS. And they want an easier process.

"I am a big believer in paying taxes, but the enormous stress I'm incurring with my family, it's not worth it, right?" said one survey participant. "I really wish things were much simpler."

People also want a free service.

To be sure, there are already two basic, free filing options.

There's the agency's Free File Fillable Forms. But that electronic interface is so rudimentary that it's unusable for many people trying to navigate tortuous tax rules. It's designed to be the electronic equivalent of paper forms, so you need to be comfortable filling out tax forms and schedules without software help. There are limited basic calculations and no step-by-step guidance, and it doesn't support state tax filing.

In addition, taxpayers whose incomes fall below a certain threshold can use the Free File program provided by the IRS and delivered by private companies. But that program is woefully underutilized. Although about 70 percent of taxpayers are eligible for Free File, less than 3 percent use it, according to the Government Accountability Office.

What the agency is proposing now is more substantial than what's currently available.

"No one should have to pay for the privilege of preparing and filing their tax returns," Nina E. Olson, executive director of the Center for Taxpayer Rights, said in a recent blog post.

Olson served as the independent national taxpayer advocate for 18 years and has long pushed for a direct-file system. She quips that returns shouldn't be "a commercial product like potato chips or an airline ticket."

"I don't care how much or how little taxable income you report," Olson wrote. "The government has an obligation to provide a method for you to prepare and file your tax returns without having to pay someone to help you."

When asked how important it is for an IRS-run e-file system to be user-friendly, the overwhelming majority (75 percent) said very important.

As much as taxpayers loathe having to pay to prepare their tax returns, any attempt by the government to take over this herculean task needs a ramped-up customer service component, especially tech support, Olson said in an interview.

IRS Commissioner Danny Werfel agrees on that point, telling Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen in a recent letter that the "IRS is technically capable of delivering Direct File, but . . . doing so would require additional resources and add complexity to IRS operations."

In its study of a direct-file program, the IRS produced some annual cost estimates that are likely to create a battle in Congress.

The report pointed out that customer support — which "would be critical to the success of any Direct File option" — is "a major cost driver."

The annual costs "may range from $64 million (assuming 5 million users and a narrow scope of covered tax situations) to $249 million (assuming 25 million users and a broad scope of covered tax situations)," according to the IRS report.

"That's chump change," Olson said.

The hopes are high for better customer service with a direct-file program. The task force estimated certain tasks might be outsourced to minimize the impact on existing IRS call-center agents. But complex calls would be routed to existing IRS agents.

"For Direct File to be viable in the long term, it would require continued funding to meet these service goals while maintaining resources for other valuable IRS services and programs," the IRS report said.

Another challenge is incorporating the filing of state income taxes. People want to file their federal and state returns at the same time.

The direct-file system shouldn't be a matter of whether it should happen but how soon. But it has to come with the technology and commitment to superior customer service, or it will fail.

"IRS already knows your tax information," one survey participant said. "So why wouldn't I be able to log in, put in, say, my [Social Security number], and then half this information is already filled, and then I just need to put in corrections, you know?"

That's an ideal tax world.

If you have a personal finance question for Michelle, please call 1-855-ASK-POST (1-855-275-7678). Her award-winning column "The Color of Money" is syndicated by The Washington Post News Service and Syndicate and carried in dozens of newspapers.



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DEPARTMENT OF DATA

The real reason America's nonprofit sector is seeing massive growth

BY ANDREW VAN DAM

Leslie Wolken wrote from Colorado Springs — the 1.2-mile-high city — to ask how the nonprofit sector has changed in America. She also wanted to know which parts of the United States have the most nonprofit jobs.

Fascinating questions, Leslie! And they're timely. Because it turns out that nonprofits have never been a bigger part of the U.S. economy, according to our analysis of the Census Bureau's American Community Survey.

Over the past 15 years, nonprofit employment has grown 33 percent, dwarfing the 9 percent job growth enjoyed by the for-profit private sector over that time. Nonprofits have passed local government to become the second-largest source of employment in the country, behind the for-profit sector.

The top five states for nonprofit employment are all in the Northeast, with Vermont leading a New England sweep of the podium, along with Maine and Massachusetts. Pennsylvania and Rhode Island round out the top five. (D.C., that inveterate outlier, would beat out every state for first place — but it may not be fair to compare a dense urban core that is also the nation's capital with the sprawl of your average American state.)

At the bottom of the rankings are Texas, that bastion of privatization, self-reliant Nevada and the storm-battered territory of Puerto Rico.

Women are about twice as likely to work at nonprofits as their male peers, and nonprofits have the smallest wage gaps of any sector. The typical woman at a nonprofit makes about 88 percent as much each hour as her male counterpart, a huge improvement over the 80 percent she'd earn in the for-profit sector, and effectively tied with the 87 percent she'd make in the federal government.

As a rule, the more educated and older you are, the more likely you are to have a nonprofit job. Having an advanced degree makes you three times likelier to do nonprofit work than your friends who didn't make it past high school.

That's partly because medicine has swallowed much of the nonprofit sector. When you think of nonprofits, you think of scrappy do-gooders running on donations. But 1 in every 5 nonprofit jobs are in hospitals, and 1 in 3 are in the health sector more broadly. About 2 in 5 hospital jobs in the entire country are in nonprofits. Nonprofit hospitals employ more than twice as many people as colleges, private schools or religious organizations — the next largest nonprofit industries.

The South's lack of nonprofits largely reflects a lack of nonprofit medicine. Other types of nonprofits tend to be more equitably distributed. As readers Tim Carter in Seattle and Joe Bogucki in Newnan, Ga., pointed out when we looked into credit scores, the South's surfeit of for-profit hospitals might be another reason that region has such high medical debt.

Why are glasses more common than hearing aids?

In a previous column, we examined the ubiquity of eyeglasses. But we didn't have time to address a follow-up question from reader Brenda Philips, who wanted to know why so many people wear glasses as opposed to hearing aids.

Another great question, Brenda! We owe you a bonus button.

For the record, yes: Glasses far outpace hearing aids. Only 3 percent of American adults wear hearing aids, while almost two-thirds of us wear glasses, according to our analysis of the National Health Interview Survey, conducted by the Census Bureau on behalf of the National Center for Health Statistics. And as with glasses, use of hearing aids ascends with age.

About 16 percent of Americans age 70 or older wear hearing aids, which are more prevalent among men (21 percent) than among women (12 percent). More educated folks are more likely to wear hearing aids, as are folks who earn more.

But the biggest gaps are racial. Among the 70-plus crowd, Whites are about twice as likely to have hearing aids as everybody else, and nearly four times as likely as Black Americans — 18 percent versus 5 percent.

But is it that Whites are more likely to lose their hearing, or just that they're more likely to correct that loss? Both, actually!

Whites are twice as likely as their Black friends to say they're having "moderate trouble" or "a lot of trouble" with their hearing — 22 percent versus 11 percent. And they're almost twice as likely to get hearing aids — 57 percent versus 32 percent of those with hearing trouble.

Overall, hearing-aid use has risen in the past decade. Kristen Conners, audiologist and owner of Prescription Hearing in the sylvan suburb of Palos Park, south of Chicago, tells us that's likely due to major technological advances that have made the devices far more comfortable and effective — and far less visible.

Age-related hearing loss (presbycusis) appears to be less prevalent than age-related vision loss (presbyopia). But both are pervasive. It's just that hearing loss will affect most of us while vision loss will affect basically all of us.

Which brings us back to Brenda's question: Why aren't hearing aids more common?

When we asked Conners, she spoke with the weary, battle-scarred perspective of a professional who has spent three decades convincing people that, yes, their spouse is right: You really do have hearing difficulties. And, yes, hearing aids would help.

"It's not an impairment or disability that you see or feel," Conners said. When your eyes start to go, you can perceive what you're missing. A battery of blobs swim placidly where the menu used to be. But when your ears go — usually around age 65 — there's little to cue you in to all the noises popping off around you.

"Your brain and body just adapts or adjusts," Conners told us. "The person who has the hearing loss doesn't realize it at first." It often takes the outside perspective of a spouse or child to point out they're missing anything at all.

Hearing aids are also freighted with stigma, Conners said. About half of young adults wear spectacles, which can imbue some frames with an aura of hipness. But despite their recent high-tech makeover, hearing aids retain an only-for-old-folks aura.

The best question we can't answer

What is the combined weight of all the bar code stickers on fruits and vegetables, annually? Every time I peel one off, and make sure they don't end up in my compost pile, I wonder about this!

— Tamsen McGinley in San Jose

Is it too late to change our name to "Department of We Don't Have Data, but We Did Some Back-of-the-Envelope Math?" Because it kills us that we can't answer hilarious and all-important questions like these. Maybe an alert reader with connections to the produce-packing industry can help us out?

For now, we can tell you that Americans spent about $114 billion in the past year on fresh fruits and vegetables, according to the Bureau of Economic Analysis. Produce ate up about 10 percent of our grocery and liquor-store spending, just behind bakery products and just ahead of the category that includes mineral waters, soft drinks and vegetable juices.

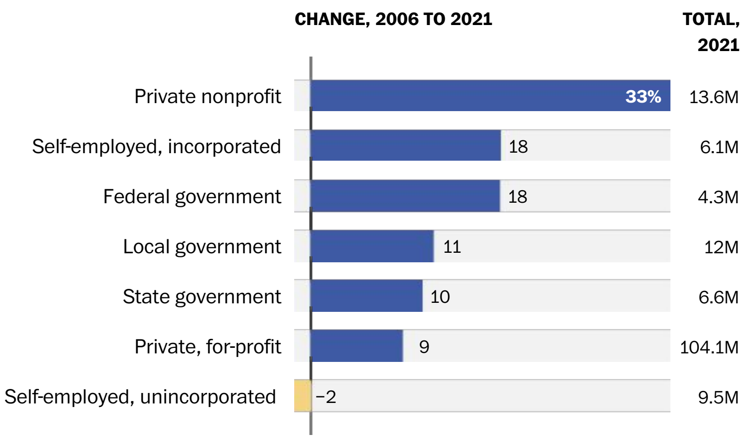
While grocery spending has fallen as superstores and technology have driven down prices, our loyalty to fresh fruit and vegetables remains. They make up about as much of our food budget as they did in 1960 — although there was a wild time in the 1970s and '80s when processed and canned produce almost passed the real deal, and spending on sweets actually passed spending on fresh produce for much of the Carter administration before we came to our senses.

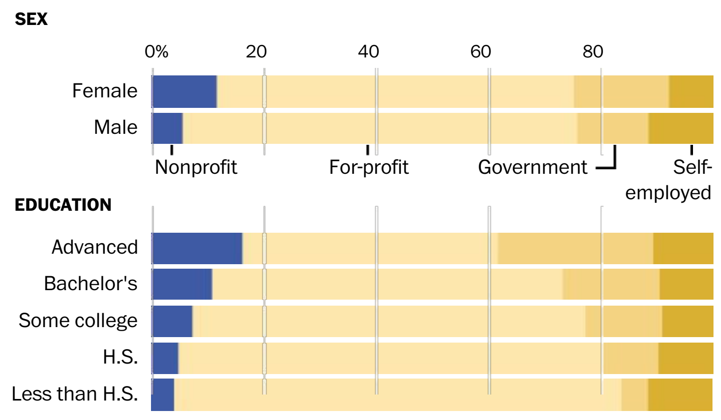
We should note that our figures for processed produce do not include wine, which has swallowed up more and more of our food budget. Since the turn of the millennium, the average American has spent more on fermented fruit than on the fresh variety — which is one way to get your fruit without those perfidious produce stickers.

Greetings! Here at The Department of Data, we depend on your quantitative questions. What do you wonder about: Who works the longest hours? How have commuting patterns changed since the pandemic? Where was child care (probably) most expensive in 2018? Just ask!

If your question inspires a column, we'll send an official Department of Data button and ID card. This week's buttons go to Brenda, again, as well as Tamsen, Tim, Joe and Leslie.

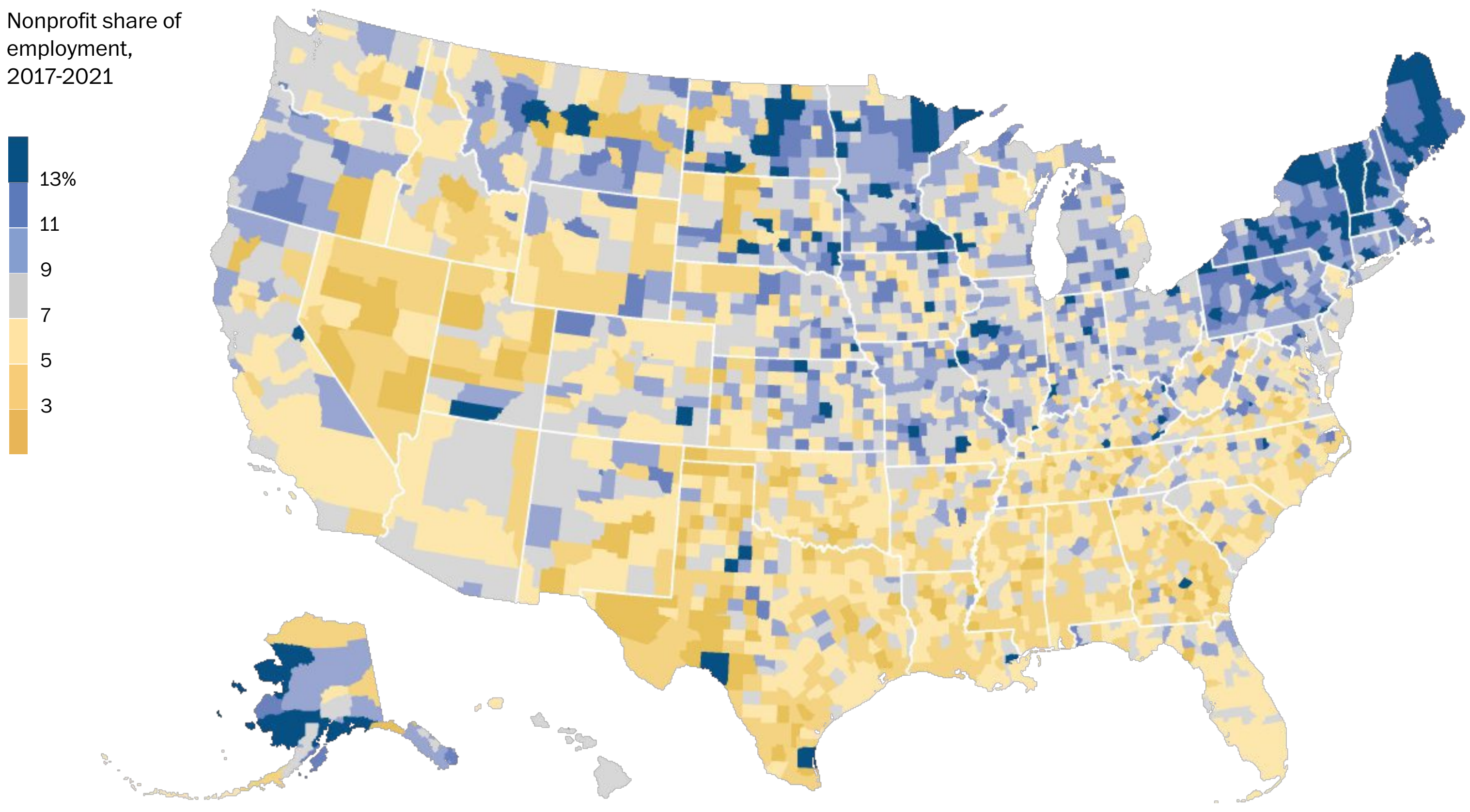
Nonprofits have grown far faster than any other segment, and tend to employ twice as many women as men





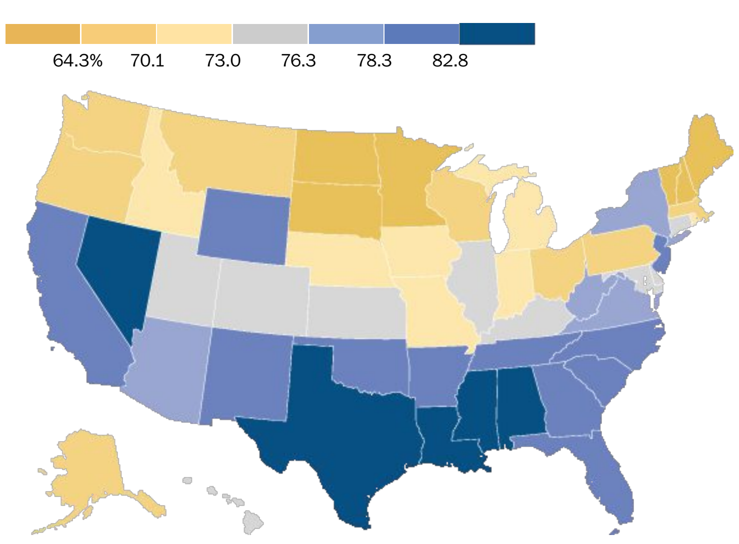
Source: Census Bureau's American Community Survey

America's nonprofit heartland is centered on the Northeast but stretches into the Midwest and Great Plains



Source: Census Bureau's American Community Survey

In part, that's due to nonprofit hospitals; where nonprofit employment is low, for-profit hospitals dominate

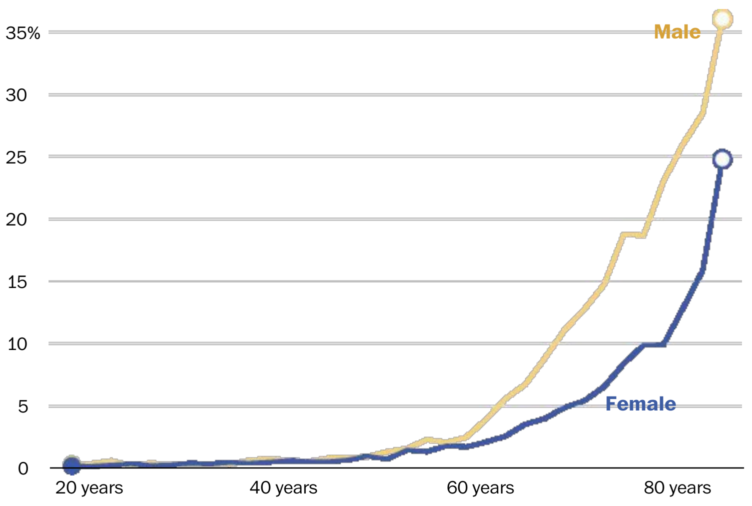


Source: Census Bureau's American Community Survey via IPUMS

Nonprofit employment by industry, 2017-2021

INDUSTRY	NONPROFIT EMPLOYMENT	SHARE OF SECTOR IN NONPROFITS
Hospitals	2,741,627	38.1%
Colleges and universities	1,182,749	26.8
Elementary and secondary schools	1,140,108	12.8
Religious organizations	1,099,810	96.7
Other membership organizations	987,309	98.2
Other health services	856,015	17.6
Other social services	754,394	40.2
Child day-care services	323,605	21.7
Nursing and personal care facilities	280,880	16.9
Residential care, sans nursing	276,872	26.0
Offices and clinics of physicians	226,405	12.4

Hearing aid usage starts climbing around age 70, with men and White folks being much more likely to wear them

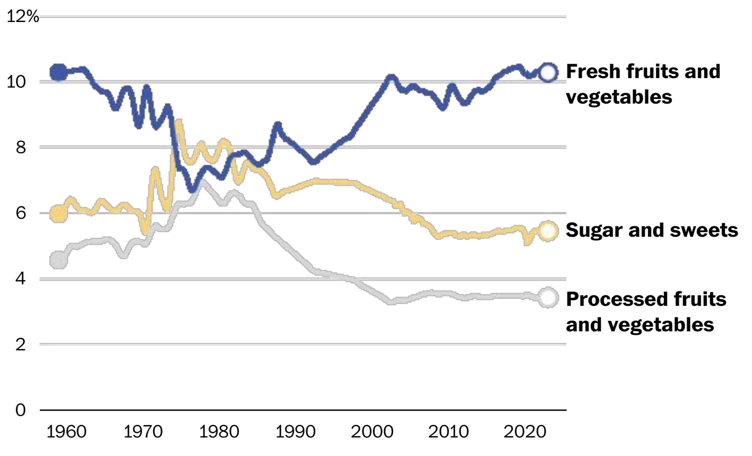


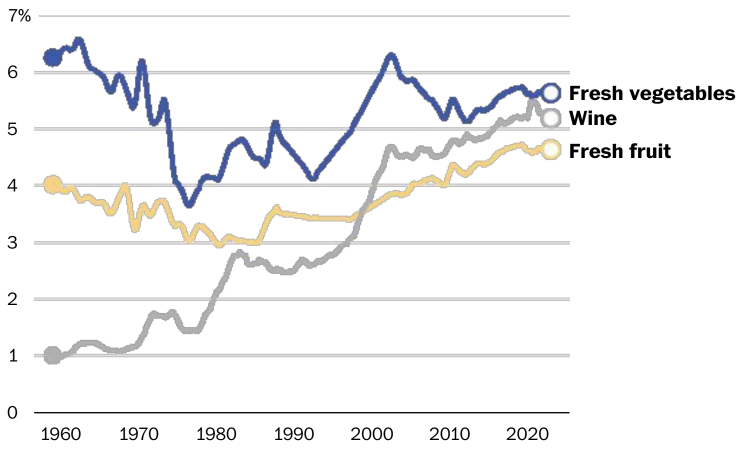
Hearing aid usage among those age 70 or older, 2012 to 2018

	HAS HEARING AID	HAS MODERATE OR SERIOUS HEARING LOSS	SHARE OF THOSE WITH LOSS WHO HAVE HEARING AIDS
All	16%	20	54
SEX			
Male	21	26	55
Female	12	16	52
RACE AND ETHNICITY			
White	18	22	57
Asian	10	14	46
Hispanic	9	14	34
Black	5	11	32

Note: We used averages for two-year age groups beginning in the year shown, except for 84, which includes everyone 84 and older.
Source: National Health Interview Survey via IPUMS

Relative to the rest of our grocery budget, we're buying fresh produce at rates not seen since the 1960s





Note: Seasonally adjusted
Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis

DEPARTMENT OF DATA/THE WASHINGTON POST

In a storm of conservative attacks, BlackRock's Fink pulls back from climate

BLACKROCK FROM **G1**

It is questionable whether haranguing corporate policies will help the GOP retake the White House. But what is clear is that the way Fink navigates this storm could determine whether the world achieves its goal of limiting the most disastrous effects of climate change. Lander is among many who say he is flailing.

Fink says nothing has changed. But the company's portfolio these days does not reflect the ambitions he laid out when BlackRock launched its climate crusade in 2019. BlackRock is the world's second-biggest investor in fossil energy, according to the German NGO Urgewald, which also reports that no financial firm invests more in coal developers. BlackRock argues that its investments are consistent with a commitment to a responsible and orderly — rather than recklessly rushed — energy transition, as well as the realities of global energy needs after Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

"Larry can't come out and say, 'We were wrong. We should not have gone so far over our skis, even as BlackRock is regressing,'" another financial industry leader with clout rivaling that of Fink said, speaking on the condition of anonymity to be candid. "He has to publicly defend his business model. But at the end of the day, BlackRock's objective is to be the biggest asset manager in the world. That means he needs to be selling people the products they want, not social policy."

"We are now seeing the pendulum swing back to the reality of unintended consequences for companies like BlackRock making big, bold, definitive statements," the executive said.

This is much bigger, though, than one firm's quest to dominate the financial industry. Decades into the effort to contain global warming, America is more dependent than ever on companies like BlackRock for solutions. Without a national policy requiring industry to embrace a carbon-free future, the country is left with a patchwork of regulations and voluntary programs often reliant on Wall Street pressure.

Banks and giant fund managers have landed in the role of de facto climate regulators amid their worries that warming threatens to destabilize the firms they invest in.

Fink, who declined several interview requests, initially seemed to relish his role in the ESG movement. The company is the most prominent member of a key U.N. initiative to reach net zero emissions by 2050 called the Net Zero Asset Managers Initiative, a consortium of big financial firms representing tens of trillions of dollars.

Fink mentioned climate 29 times in a 2020 letter to CEOs. "Climate risk is investment risk," he wrote. "In the near future – and sooner than most anticipate – there will be a significant reallocation of capital" because of it.

"Larry was clearly saying if government is not going to fix this problem, we will help push them in the right direction," said Peter McKillop, a former managing director in the communications division of BlackRock. "It was considered exciting and morale-boosting. Who wouldn't want to work there?"

Some senior executives inside the company, though, worried Fink was setting very public targets for ESG impossible for a firm of its size to meet without alienating clients and diminishing investment returns.

"There was this naive assumption that if Larry Fink and a couple of others would get out there and talk all this ESG and demand all these requirements, the oil industry just would go along," McKillop said. "Instead, he poked the bear. The oil industry is going to fight this to the death. And it has a war chest of tens of billions to do it."

Vanguard, another big financial company that had signed on to the Net Zero alliance, bailed on the effort as the conservative backlash mounted. Large investment banks threatened to bolt from a parallel U.N. effort, forcing a compromise that scrapped a requirement that members quickly phase out fossil fuel investments.

But Fink's moves are what Wall Street and Washington are watching most closely, as he is, in the words of one executive, the financial industry's "800-pound gorilla."

The billionaire's clout was solidified during the Obama administration, which leaned on him heavily as it sought a path out of the mortgage crisis. The Trump White House would later call on Fink for help stemming the economic meltdown that accompanied the onset of the pandemic. Trump praised Fink at a 2017 White House meeting for doing "a great job for me. He managed a lot of my money, and, I have to tell you, he got me great returns."

By the time President Biden took office, Fink had consolidated considerable power in Washington. His company had secured major government contracts and persuaded regulators not to impose on it the Great Recession-era restrictions and constraints that now apply to other "too big to fail" financial institutions. It pushed prominent liberals to demand that BlackRock executives be blacklisted from White House jobs. They were ignored. Biden would appoint one BlackRock executive to be his top economic adviser and another to be deputy secretary of the Treasury. A BlackRock alumnus would also become the vice president's top economic adviser.

The son of a shoe store owner and English professor in California's San Fernando Valley, Fink has mostly been on a rocket ship of success since the mid-1970s, when he drifted into a job at the firm First Boston trading mortgage-backed bonds. Within two years, he was running the department. He would become the youngest member of the firm's management committee by age 31.

Fink joined Blackstone in the 1980s but parted ways with the equity firm to form BlackRock, and the new company's savvy at gauging and navigating risk propelled it into a breakout star following the financial meltdown of 2008. BlackRock was put in charge of managing tens of billions of dollars in toxic assets that had come under federal control, including the entire portfolio of the failed institution Bear Stearns.

The firm has spent millions of dollars on lobbying and campaign contributions to both major parties. By the time a 2013 Treasury Department report noted that BlackRock had grown so big that it could present a risk to the U.S. financial system absent more intense regulatory scrutiny, the firm had influential allies on Capitol Hill steering the Obama administration away from taking action.

BlackRock is now so large, according to a paper published in the Boston University Law Review, that it and just two other companies could control more than a third of shareholder votes in the S&P 500 within five years. Its formidable size made its embrace of ESG all the more significant.

Even champions of ESG say it is an imperfect vehicle: amorphous, misunderstood and easy to attack. The term was conceived two decades ago at the United Nations and has since come to encompass everything including promoting diversity in boardrooms and confronting corporate environmental impacts.

"The problem is it is a mash-up of so many issues," said Doug Chia, a fellow at the Center for Corporate Law and Governance at Rutgers Law School in New Jersey. "Not all of them apply to every company. But it became a perfect pretext for politicians who want to talk about the culture war and woke agendas."

Tariq Fancy, BlackRock's former chief investment officer for sustainable investing, said the irony is that ESG had been largely hollowed out before the right latched onto it, with firms slapping the label onto run-of-the-mill funds to mislead liberal investors. He compared ESG to the lifeless body in the movie "Weekend at Bernie's," with conservative activists propping it up to give the appearance that it was a living menace.

As the culture wars drifted increasingly toward corporate policies, it was perhaps inevitable Fink would wind up in the political crosshairs.

"It is not business the way they are doing it," Fink said of the campaign against him, speaking this year from the stage of the annual World Economic Forum meeting in Davos, Switzerland — a platform preferred by the billionaire who brands himself a globalist. "In the first time in my professional career, the attacks are now personal."

The group Consumers' Research has spent more than $4 million attacking BlackRock. Its ominous ads accuse Fink of using his clout to lock Americans into a hellscape of high energy costs while he endangers the nation with his own lucrative business deals in China. It's a familiar playbook, similar to the one the right uses against progressive billionaires George Soros and Mike Bloomberg: Elitist globalists expand their power by taking away your freedom. Like Fink, those two men are Jewish.

Will Hild, executive director of Consumers' Research, calls charges the campaign feeds into antisemitic tropes "completely baseless," noting that his wife and two sons are Jewish. Hild confirmed to The Washington Post that he promoted the targeting of Fink at the private event in Washington, captured on a recording given to The Post by the investigative journalism project Documented.

"Larry Fink is running a massive scam against the American consumer," Hild said in an interview, "We didn't think it was fair for him to get away with that simply because no one knew his name. We are working hard to make sure every American household knows that the reason prices are going up is because of Larry Fink and BlackRock."

BlackRock is accused by critics on the right of a fervor for green energy that pushed corporations into costly initiatives, and an obsession with ESG that played into its clients losing $1.7 trillion when the markets slid in early 2022. The points are in dispute. BlackRock clients were not the only ones who took such a hit in 2022, and the extent to which ESG policies help or hurt returns — or impact the cost of products companies manufacture — is a matter of intense debate among experts.

The attacks are revealing how unprepared BlackRock was for this battle. When BlackRock announced that it was launching a major marketing push — called About BlackRock — to counter the narrative of the anti-woke activists, it neglected to register that domain name. Hild grabbed it. AboutBlackRock.com now houses videos and writings that savage Fink.

Hild's nonprofit is part of a well-funded network of conservative advocacy groups taking aim at climate-conscious investing, including the Heritage Foundation, the American Legislative Exchange Council and the State Financial Officers Foundation. A central figure in the movement is Leonard Leo, the co-chairman of the Federalist Society whose decades-long effort was foundational to the sharp right turn of America's judiciary. Its most visible spokesman is author and investment manager Vivek Ramaswamy, a relentless BlackRock critic who has made the evils of ESG the centerpiece of his recently launched presidential campaign.

It has created an unprecedented public relations menace for Fink. The firm is now a target of state and federal antitrust investigations, and red-state leaders are vowing to divest as much from it as they can. They have so far moved $4 billion out.

Fink is a creature of Wall Street, where success is judged by the numbers. Every dollar BlackRock lost in red-state government money over the past year has already been replaced by many more dollars of new investment from other clients. "The reality is we are winning more share wallet than any company in the world right now," Fink told CNBC last month. "Our clients are speaking loudly by the amount of money they are awarding us."

But the broader battle over climate change is bigger than the financial gains of one company, and Fink has stopped being a reliable leader on that front.

"He is not using his voice in a way young people will thank him for 40 years from now," Fancy said. "The problem is that he can't solve this crisis, but he is leaving the impression that he can. He is not being honest about how the system works. If he were being honest, it would lead to regulations that are not in his interest and more taxes that would lessen the income of billionaires like him. He's engaged in an intellectual fantasy."

BlackRock's Wiedman counters that Fink has long been calling for government to engage more aggressively, as it is not the role of an asset manager to set policy. "We can't use our clients' money to commit to goals they have not given us," he said.

By 2021, BlackRock supported nearly half the shareholder proposals pushing for lower emissions at public companies, including playing a major role in propelling more climate-conscious directors onto the board of ExxonMobil. But it backed less than a quarter of such shareholder measures last year, and it has signaled that it will take an even more selective approach this year. The company says what changed is the quality of the proposals, which have become too "prescriptive and constraining on management" and often ignore how the war in Ukraine has reshaped energy needs.

BlackRock is among at least a dozen big financial firms that warned investors in their latest annual reports that the backlash against sustainable investing has become a business risk. Fink no longer talks about the issue with the bravado of a change agent.

"It is not the role of an asset manager like BlackRock to engineer a particular outcome in the economy, and we don't know the ultimate path and timing of the transition," he wrote in his latest public letter to shareholders, released in March.

"They are walking severely back from recognizing climate risk is financial risk because a few red-state treasurers and attorneys general doing the bidding of their fossil fuel donors have launched a culture war and are using BlackRock as a target," Lander said.

There is one point, though, on which Lander, BlackRock and even Consumers' Research agree: Leaving climate policy to the whims of a billionaire is a fraught path.

"It would be far better if government stepped up to set clear expectations for the transition to net zero," Lander said. "What is expected of banks? What is expected of investors? What is expected of financial companies?"

"Unfortunately," he said, "there is no reason to be optimistic that is going to happen."



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CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: BlackRock CEO Larry Fink, center, in New York. Tariq Fancy, BlackRock's former chief investment officer for sustainable investing, speaks in Chipping Norton, England. Brad Lander, the comptroller of New York City, is among those who say Fink is flailing in the face of attacks on BlackRock and ESG — environmental, social, governance — investing.

Bud Light made key mistakes, experts say

BUD LIGHT FROM **G1**

dell Media, which specializes in queer marketing, said the about-face from Bud Light in its partnership with Mulvaney made the situation worse, creating a case study of "what not to do." Its first mistake, Evans said, was kicking off the effort to expand its audience "in an open digital environment where anything can go anywhere" rather than with a traditional targeted ad.

"Bud Light remains the number one brand in the U.S. nationally in volume and dollar sales," AB InBev said in a statement to The Washington Post. On the recent earnings call, AB InBev chief executive Michel Doukeris told investors the company believes it has the "experience, the resources and the partners" to manage the controversy that has followed the Mulvaney partnership.

Other big companies such as Levi's and Disney have faced backlash in the past for courting queer markets, Evans notes, but calls for boycotts have fallen flat when the companies involved have stood by their marketing efforts. Bud Light is struggling, Evans said, because "they took a stand and did not stand behind it."

If AB InBev had said, "We stand on the side of equality," Evans said, the opposition "probably would have died there." Bud Light sales are down 3 percent for the year, compared with the same period last year, according to data from Bump Williams Consulting. Case sales slumped 8 percent in the same time frame, founder and chief executive Bump Williams said.

Bud Light has been trying to alter its image. In a podcast released in March, its vice president of marketing, Alissa Heinerscheid, said the brand is "in decline" and expressed a need to evolve its "fratty" identity into something more inclusive and appealing to younger consumers.

When Heinerscheid pondered how the brand might change, she aimed for "a campaign that is truly inclusive and feels lighter and brighter and different and appeals to women and to men," she said on the "Make Yourself at Home" podcast. Amid the uproar over the partnership with Mulvaney, Heinerscheid and her boss were placed on leave. Bud Light started that rebranding effort with a clip related to March Madness that Mulvaney posted to her Instagram, in which she showed off a can of beer bearing her likeness that AB InBev had sent her to commemorate a year since her transition to womanhood.

The blowback was swift and noisy but not altogether surprising, given how much the move departed from the traditional identity of Bud Light, according to Cary Cooper, professor of organizational psychology at the University of Manchester and a scholar with the Academy of Management. "They are trying to make sure they don't lose either of these demographics," Cooper said. "I don't know if that is going to be very effective."

In an interview with the Financial Times, Doukeris blamed the hit to Bud Light on "misinformation and confusion" online about the extent of its partnership with Mulvaney, which left some consumers under the impression that "every can would be like the one that was in that post." Others thought the can commemorating Mulvaney marked the start of an official Bud Light campaign. "We never intended to make it for general production and sale for the public," Doukeris told the Financial Times.

The Bud Light partnership with Mulvaney touched a nerve at a time when anti-transgender legislation is on the rise across the country. In 2023, Republican state legislators have advanced dozens of pieces of legislation seeking to restrict transgender people's access to health care, sports and public accommodations, and prohibit the ability to change a person's name or gender on a driver's license or birth certificate.

Transgender Americans experience stigma and systemic inequality in many aspects of their lives, according to a recent broad survey conducted by The Post and KFF. In the poll, 63 percent of transgender adults reported that they "sometimes" or "frequently" feel discriminated against because of their gender identity or expression.

Mulvaney did not respond to a request for comment. As uproar to her Bud Light ad mounted, the influencer took a break from social media. She addressed the situation for the first time in an Instagram video April 27, nearly a month after the backlash began.

Mulvaney did not mention Bud Light by name but said that recent events had practically "killed the people-pleaser" in her and expressed frustration with the ways she has been dehumanized. "I have always tried to love everyone, you know, even the people who make it really, really hard," Mulvaney said.

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Mind tricks to help you at work



In general, the secret to getting ahead at work is boring and isn't that much of a secret: Work hard, be a team player and offer great ideas. Still, one can employ a few psychological tricks to gain an office advantage. Here are six mind games to try.

Focus on roles, not on personalities

"It's just business." That can be one of the hardest lessons to learn in the workplace, as is the closely related "Don't take it personally." One of the best ways to focus on the matter at hand and not your place in the pecking order is to concentrate not on your supervisor's irritating personality or status but rather on the role they are asked to play in the company. You, too, are asked to play a role in the company. If you can create some mental and emotional space between what you are being asked to do and who is asking you to do it, you may find yourself in a calmer place.

Use body language to your advantage

The experts interviewed on TV may take it to the extreme, but body language is powerful. If you need proof, consider how much easier it is to communicate with someone in person than it is on Zoom—and that it's even easier to communicate on a video call than on the phone. The body language researcher Albert Mehrabian estimated that 55 percent of communication is nonverbal. Keep this in mind during meetings. Make eye contact with other meeting attendees to form connections. Keep your hands in an open, relaxed position. And use nodding to display comprehension and intent listening.

Split your work into mini-tasks

A huge part of getting ahead at the office is finishing your work in a timely manner without your supervisor's prodding. When you're faced with a monumental task, split it into mini-tasks that aren't as overwhelming. The writing classic "Bird by Bird" by Anne Lamott uses the example of a child assigned to write a report about several species of birds. Knowing you must write about 20 types of birds is nerve-wracking, but if you take it "bird by bird," you'll knock out those bird reports in no time.

Reward yourself along the way

Even if you generally like your job, some days and some tasks are more arduous than others. Find ways to reward yourself at key milestones as you finish up those mini-tasks. These rewards don't need to be lavish, expensive or calorie-laden. A reward could be as simple as planning your next 15-minute break complete with a scroll through Instagram after completing five mini-tasks.

Get comfortable with silence

If you went to journalism school, you probably learned that a time-tested interview trick is to leave some room for silence in between questions. People are generally uncomfortable with silence and will rush to fill it. That's true whether you're interviewing someone as a reporter or negotiating with someone. Be OK with the pause. The other person may rush to fill it with just the information you want to hear.

Use word associations to remember names

Remembering someone's name is a huge relationship-builder. And, for some of us, it can be hard to do. One tip is to use someone's name in conversation soon after you learn it. For instance, if you meet someone at a party, exchange pleasantries, and then go your separate ways, don't simply say, "Nice to meet you." Say, "Nice to meet you, Jane." Repetition helps the mind. Word association is also a good trick. Find something to associate the person's name with the circumstances in which you met them. Say you meet Warren in the buffet line. It should be easy to remember Warren's name, right?

You can find yourself sucked into all sorts of politics and intrigue at the office, but the most important person to play mind games with is yourself. Master your mind and watch yourself get ahead.

This special advertising section was prepared by independent writer Kate Johanns. The production of this section did not involve the news or editorial staff of The Washington Post.

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C JOBS

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Teacher, Asst (Rockville, MD; mult pos) Monitor kids, feed/diaper chnge, walks, reinfrce lessns, bhvior, keep records, asst w/teaching. REQ HS, frgn equiv dplma or GED& CPR/First Aid Cert or coursework, crim bkgrnd ck & verif rfrncs. FT. Mail CV: Nanda Inc., 9748 Traville Gateway Dr, Rockville, MD 20850 or mohamad.obaidy@icloud.com or 301- 294-1671.

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Housekeeper: Clean & maintain household. To Apply: Mail Contact info (Name, Address & Ph. #) to: J. Sehmi 13532 Cleveland Drive, Rockville, MD 20850

Housekeeper, Live-out (Potomac, MD) Make beds, replenish linens, clean rooms & vacuum. (9am-7pm; Mon-Fri). Send response to Irak David Herazo Romero, PO Box 61514 Potomac MD 20854.

HVAC Service Engineer: Heating and Air Conditioning Installer; repair heating units, central air condition systems in residences and commercial offices. Cleaning and replacing air ducts; removing and reinstalling duct work and replacing compressors and coils. High School Diploma or GED and 5 years exp. in HVAC services required. Travel throughout DC/MD/VA. Send resume to: izzy@cdsmechanical.net EEO

Healthcare - General

Caregiver-Carepeople Home Health in Annandale, VA seeks Caregiver; Personal care & assist w/ activities of daily living, Fluent Korean. Send resume to Eunkyung Hong, 14631 Lee Hwy #401, Centreville, VA 20121

Healthcare-Adventist Healthcare, Inc. seeks a Sr. Occupational Therapist in Rockville, Silver Spring, and Gaithersburg, MD. Req: M.S. in an accredited Occupational Therapy Program and 3 yrs. exp. Contact: BJepson@adventisthealthcare.com

I JOBS

Infant/ Toddler Teacher: Est. strong & caring relationships with infants/ toddlers. Providng warm, safe & supporting learning env. for infants/toddlers. Communicating with parents, teachers & students. Min. Rqmts: High School/GED. Min. exp. of 12 months in job offered or as assistant teacher. Knwl. of or exp. in monitor children and record observations. Verif. references. Non-smoker on worksite. Resumes to job loc: The Family Academy of Bethesda, 4324 Montgomery Avenue, Bethesda, MD-20814. Multiple openings. ATTN: Sithy Muhsin.

K JOBS

Kitchen & Bath Designer in Sterling, VA. Create designs for kitchen & bathroom remodeling projects; use CAD software to produce construction docs; review & detail shop drawings for remodeling plans. Associate's Deg (or foreign equiv) in Interior Design, Comp Science, IT, Comp Programming or Web Design + 3 months of exp in job offered or as CAD Designer req'd. Mail resume to: Sky Marble and Granite, Inc., Attn: HR, 21592 Atlantic Blvd., Suite 120, Sterling, VA 20166.

L JOBS

Landscape Laborers needed, multiple positions, La Pointe Landscapes, LLC dba River's Edge Landscapes., Berryville, VA. Mail resume to: 123 Easy Lane, Bluemont, VA 20135

Post your résumé.
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L JOBS

LIFE COACH: Responsible for assisting individuals with making decisions to improve and achieve a meaningful life, setting goals, mentoring, assisting, and coaching daily activities at job, community and home. Identify the developmental needs of individuals, coach, mentor, or help improve their knowledge and skills. Provide personal care assistance. 40hrs/wk, 7 a.m.-3 p.m. HS Diploma/GED or frgn equiv., 1 year exp. Be reliable, trustworthy and travel as needed.
Email Resumes: jwhitney@compassmaryland.org, Compass, Inc. Job Location: Silver Spring, MD

M JOBS

Marketing Specialist: Provide market statistics/related info/strategic advice to clients for product development. Send resume: Pointe Advisory, 11911 Freedom Dr, Ste 200, Reston, VA 20190.

Mechanic Helpers- assist mechanics by furnishing tools and materials + rel. duties. Reply to: Zanub Inc. US Auto Service Center. Attn: Mr. Bashir, 6705 Martin Luther King Jr Hwy, Landover, MD 20785

GMED North America, Inc Bethesda, MD
Certification Program Manager Medical Devices - Will audit and review assigned client portfolio of medical devices and manage individual EU certification and accreditation process in conformance with applicable EU standards. Requires MS Degree in Biomedical Engineering. Please contact Celeste.Gomez@lne-gmed. com

N JOBS

ComputerPackages Inc

Network Engineer
Computer Packages Inc. (CPI), a global software company based in Rockville, MD is seeking skilled Network Engineers to join our dynamic team. Knowledge of Azure cloud, Cisco network devices, firewall and/or network security management a plus. The ideal candidate will be responsible for ensuring the stability and security of our network infrastructure while providing technical support to our users. BS in Computer Science, related degree or equivalent experience. Excellent salary and benefits including H-1B sponsorship. Please send resume to **cpijobs@computerpackages.com**

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P JOBS

PARALEGAL (Washington DC), Law firm is seeking a highly skilled & motivated Paralegal fluent in Portuguese, both written & spoken, incl the meaning & spelling of words. Must have a Bach's deg in Legal Studies, Public Admin, or a reltd field or foreign equiv, as well as strong organizational skills & attn to detail. Duties incl: Conduct legal research & analysis in Portuguese; Draft legal docs & correspondence; Present info & explaining avail srvcs to prospective & current Brazilian clients of the Co; Communicate w/Brazilian clients, witnesses, & other legal professionals, who only speak Portuguese; Manage case files & organize docs & evidence; Assist attorneys in preparing for trials, hearings, & other legal proceedings; Maint confidentiality of client info & adhere to ethical standards; Perform other duties as assigned; Reqs: Bach's of Law (LLB) from Brazil. Be a licensed member of the Brazilian Bar Association (OAB) in good standing; time-mgmt skills; ability to work independently & as part of a team; knowledge of legal terminology & procedures & proficiency in Microsoft Office & legal research databases. Salary: $45,885/yr. Send CV to Leetoledo PLLC at: kris@leetoledolaw.com until 6/14/2023.

Multiple openings: Personal Care Aides - assist clients with ADLs, i.e., toileting, grooming & other personal hygiene; self-medication; emergency first aid; meals, records VS & reporting changes; arranges transportation. Some light housekeeping. 6 mos. training; eligible for caregiving cert. Job in No. VA. Send applications/resumes to ATTN: PCAs, 10300 Eaton Pl., Ste. 260, Fairfax VA 22030.

GMED North America, Inc Bethesda, MD - Certification Program Manager Pharmaceuticals Will audit and review assigned client drug portfolio and manage individual EU certification and accreditation process in conformance with applicable EU standards. Requires MS degree in Pharmaceutical Science, Material Science, or related. Please contact Celeste.Gomez@lne-gmed.com

CVS Rx Services, Inc., a CVS Health company, is hiring for the following role in Alexandria, VA: Pharmacy Manager (2444587BR) to dispense drugs prescribed by physicians and other health practitioners and provide information to patients about medications and their use. Local and/or domestic travel to work in other stores in the Washington-Arlington-Alexandria metropolitan area may be required. Aetna Resources LLC, a CVS Health company, is hiring for the following role in Chantilly, VA: Data Scientist (2444585BR) to formulate and apply mathematical and computational modeling methods towards data extraction and manipulation. Multiple openings. Related degree &/or experience &/or skills &/or license required for all positions. Apply online at: https://jobs.cvshealth.com/. Or mail resume to Attn: P. Messenger, 1 CVS Drive, Mail Code HR695, Woonsocket, RI 02895. Must reference job title, location and Req ID.

Prep Cook - food prep duties;no exp req'd 40hrs/wk Tysons Bagel Market Inc Vienna VA; hanss8137@gmail.com

Program Management Manager to work in Reston, VA. Opportunity to work from home. Apply www.saic.com, Science Applications International Corporation. Job code #2307048. EOE.

Q JOBS

QC Inspector (1 pos. avail): Dulles Geotechnical and Material Testing Services, Inc. (DGMTS)(Chantilly, VA): Read constr. docs, dtrm SPECS, test proc & instr; Insp & test concr & aspht usg concr test equip; Classif & test soil in lab; Rec & anly data; Prep insp. report; Maint, cln, calibr test equip. ACI Concrete Field Certif. req. Min. Hgh Schl/GED. +24 mo exp. Res to thamid@dulles-geotechnical.com

R JOBS

Receptionist - Fairfax, VA – F/T, 1yr of exp in job offered. An Associate's degree in any field may substitute for exp. Bil English/Spanish (fluent). Apply to Right Path Law Group, PLLC. via email: pierre@rightpathlaw.com or by fax: 703-539-6008

Research Fellow. Washington, DC. Assist w/ dvlpmnt. of ICAS' East China Sea Maritime Tracker, South China Sea Tracker, Arctic Tracker, & other maritime tracker projs.; Assist to conduct rsrch. on trade & tech. policies & U.S.-China bilateral trade & tech. engagement; Conduct rsrch. & write reports on issues rltd. to political economic relations betw. China & U.S.; Anlyz. geopolitical issues such as reg'l. security & trade in Indo-Pacific region; Provide spt. for sr. ICAS scholars & represent ICAS as scholar or reporter at conferences; Assist in coord'g. & organizing ICAS events & projs.; Assist in fundraising & grant app. Master's in Int'l. Relations, Politics, or Economics. Mail résumé & cover ;ltr. to: Institute for China-America Studies, 1919 M St. NW, Ste. 310, Washington, DC 20036

Restaurant Assistant Manager (Frederick, MD). Ordering equipment and supplies, managing payroll, and supervising staff. High School Diploma or equivalent; proficient in English and Spanish; prior experience in restaurant management or similar hospitality role. Compensation of $63,773. Email resume to jpmariachi@comcast.net or mail resume to Mariachis, Inc., ATTN: HR, 5854 Urbana Pike, Frederick, MD 21704.

RF Engineer at TeleWorld Solutions to work in Chantilly, VA or client locations across U.S. Req. master's in elect. engr., electro. engr., telecom engr., CE, CS, IT, or related, and 24 months of exp. in job offered or as RF Engineer I, RF Engineer II, Asso. RF Engineer, RF Field Engineer, RF Field Testing Engineer, RF Design Engineer, RF Performance Engineer, Design Engineer, a related occupation. In lieu of Master's + 2 yrs exp., employer will accept bach. in related field and 5 yrs of related exp. as above. Resume to HR, TeleWorld, 14850 Conference Center Dr, Ste 250, Chantilly, VA 20151

S JOBS

Salon Front Managers oversee day-to-day operations of front desk and reception. Perform administrative duties to include, client intake, appointment management, & processing payments. Reqs: HS diploma or US equiv. 1 yr work exp as a business manager, office manager, administrative asst, or closely related. Job in Vienna, VA for Demirkiran Import, LLC dba Salon O Tony. Send cover letter, CV, salary reqs & references to Salon O Tony, 130 Maple Ave West, Vienna, VA 22180.

Social & Community Service Coordinator needed in Adult Care Ctr to plan, dev, health care svs to elder community. Bachelor's degree in Biz Admin/Mgmt. CV: qli@worldshine group.com; Worldshine Care (Beltsville, MD)

T JOBS

Taekwondo Instructor wanted by taekwondo school in Centreville, VA. Reqs. HS/GED & Taekwondo 1 Dan or 1st deg as approved by the Kukkiwon Taekwondo HQ. Resume to: Taekwondo In Action Academy, Inc., 5712 Pickwick Rd., Centreville, VA 20121.

Tile Technician – Wash., DC, MD & Northern VA Area - F/T, 6 months exp in job offered or 6 months exp in a related position. Call Ms. Sines @ M & R Floors: 301-831-0302

Transportation Mechanical Engineer. F/T for Raul V. Bravo & Assoc. Reston, VA 20191. Dvlp plans, specs, evals & proposals for transp projects reltd to passenger rail incl. rail equip. facilities & systms. Email resume: careers@rvba.com. Use job code ASWP.

W JOBS

Waiter/Waitress: Greet patrons, present menu, serve foods, handle bills, etc. No exp req. Must be willing to work var shifts incl wkds, holidays, ngts. FT. Pranisa Thai LLC t/a 9 Pad Thai, 7022 B Commerce St Springfield VA 22150. ATTN: J. Poolros.

Tech Jobs

InSite, LLC has an opening for Application Developer in Washington, D.C. Candidate will make updates to InSite, LLC's current software platform and develop new applications to enhance the services the company provides to clients. Candidate will collaborate with other developers, analysts, partners, and experts on projects from conception to deployment and beyond. The job duties will involve: assisting with development of software using Agile/Scrum practices and software release cycle; building web applications using best in class languages, including Python, Django, HTML, JQuery, and others; working with engineers and client account team to develop best solutions; organizing data sets around smart building infrastructure into useable applications; writing code; designing and implementing low-latency, performant applications; integrating user-facing elements developed by front-end developers with server-side logic; facilitating requirements gathering, analysis, and development of architecture; overseeing development and implementation of cloud-based solutions; translating requests into achievable efforts; developing and delivering reports for customer needs; utilizing distributed source control systems and issue tracking (git, Jira, Slack, etc.); and collaborating in open-source communities. Candidate must have a bachelor's, or higher, degree (or a foreign educational equivalent) in Computer Science, Software Development, or closely related field and at least 12 months of experience in the position of Application Developer, Computer Programmer, or other position involving computer programming. Candidate also must have experience in Python with knowledge of at least one Python web development framework, such as Django or Flask. Offer is contingent upon Candidate passing a criminal history background check. To apply, mail résumé to Maria Utagawa, HR, InSite, LLC, 2021 L Street NW, 2nd Flr, Washington DC, 20036, or email résumé to hr-insite@insiteintelligence.com.

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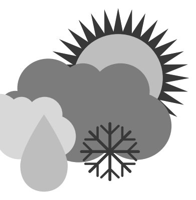
Tech Jobs

COMPUTER/IT: American Society of Clinical Oncology seeks Back-End Developer (Alexandria, VA - part-time telework permitted). Design & dvlp fault tolerant apps. Maintain exstng apps & projs across mltpl techs. Reqs: Mast's or forgn equiv in CS, Info Sys/Apps, or rel & 3 yrs in any occup. w/ progressive software dev exp. Email cvr ltr & CV to: recruit@asco.org. Reference "Back-End Developer - 3841341"

COMPUTER/IT
Institutional Shareholder Services Inc. seeks VP, Database Admin in Rockville, MD, to lead database team for projects in area of Automation, Tuning, & Architect High Availability solutions across various ISS' products. Req'mnts: Bachelor's or foreign equiv in Comp Eng'g, CS, IT or rel. field & 7 yrs of progressively responsible exp in job offered or rel. occupation: providing database admin for SQL Server, Oracle, Postgress, MariaDB, in Amazon Web Services (AWS) incl managing & optimizing Amazon Relational Database Service (RDS) instances; building & setting up new dvlpmnt tools & infrastructure for database automation utilizing Jenkins, GitLab, & Flyway; performing Database Tuning incl rewriting queries, index analysis, anlyzg performance traces, & using query store; performing database dsgn using entity relationship diagrams incl ERWIN & REDGET; & providing Database packaging & reporting w/ SQL Server Integration Services & SQL Server Reporting Services (SSIS, SSRS) & machine learning. Telecommuting &/or work from home may be permissible pursuant to company policies. When not telecommuting, must report to work site. Please email resume to charine.adams@issgovernance.com
Ref: BD050323AD.

Computer/IT
Afiniti, Inc. seeks an Associate Director, Databases in Washington, D.C. to design and deploy automation technologies and procedures to support on premise and cloud-based databases and application for use in AI based call center routing. Requires a Bachelor's degree in Information Technology, Computer Science or a related technical field plus at least 4 years of experience designing, installing, administering, and maintaining solutions for database servers for use in call center environments. This experience must include at least 2 years of creating functional requirement documents, preparing use cases, developing UAT plans, operational experience and scripts and conducting database deployments and experience utilizing MySQL, MSSQL, Greenplum, PostgreSQL, Informix, Oracle, MongoDB and Ingres. To apply, e-mail your resume to recruitment@afiniti.com

Computer/IT: ICF Incorporated, LLC: Senior Data Analytics Engineer (multiple positions) – Reston, VA. Use MS Power Platform & Azure Data stack to develop client solutions. Req's Bachelor's degree in Data Science, Comp Engg, Electric Engg, or rltd fld +3 yrs of data analytics exp. Up to 2 days/wk remote work permitted. ICF is an equal opportunity employer that values diversity at all levels. (EEO / AA – Minorities / Females / Veterans / Individuals with Disabilities). TO APPLY: Send resume identifying Job Code ICF137 to recruiting-tr@icf.com.
No calls.


snow day
or
school day?
Stay one step ahead of the weather with the
Capital Weather Gang
washingtonpost.com/news/capital-weather-gang
@capitalweather
S0141 2x2

Tech Jobs

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Business Systems Analyst in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to act as a liaison between the business function & info systs, providing tech/functional expertise in identifying, evaluating, & developing basic systs. Job req Bach of Sci in Business Analytics, Info Technology, or rel field & 5 yrs in any job title inv IT exp. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1150.

Computer/IT: ISD Engineer 2 (Navy Federal Credit Union-Vienna, VA (Part-time telecommuting permitted). Design & build pipelines, automation & Infrastructure as Code of enterprise appls. Reqs: Bachelors in CS & Eng or rel & 4 years of exp. in any ocup. involving Cloud platform Eng. Empl will accept single degr or combo degr, diplom &/or prof exp equv to Bachelors degree. Email cvr ltr & CV to: openpositions@navyfederal.org. Reference "ISD Engineer 2 – 3873539".

Computer/IT: Marriott International, Inc.: Director, Technology Product Management (multiple positions) – Bethesda, MD: manage multiple techns that drive value & work efforts for the Modern Growth Platforms from design through delivery. Req's Bachelor's degree* or frgn equiv in Comp Sci, Elec Engg or rltd tech fld +8 yrs progressively responsible exp in technology, product mngmt &/or business consulting. *Any combo of edu eval'd by reputable credentials eval service to be equiv of U.S. degree will be accepted. P/t telecommuting authorized. Background check, which may include pre-employment drug test, req'd. Apply online at careers.marriott.com (Job Number 23067524).

COMPUTER/IT
Splunk has the following openings in McLean, VA:

Performance Engineer
Build solut. & tools to drive performance. (Z1149)

Software Engineer
Working independently, des & dev sftw apps or systems. (R1126a)

To apply, please email resume to: candidates1@splunk.com. Must ref. job code above.
EEO Employer/Vet/Disabled.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Database Engineer in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to establish database management systs, standards, guidelines & qlty assurance for database deliverables, such as conceptual design, logical database, capacity planning, external data interface specification, data loading plan, data maintenance plan & security policy. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, IT, or a rel field & 3 yrs in any job title inv exp working with Oracle, Unix, Informatica, & PL/SQL. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1179.

Tech Jobs

Computer/IT
AXL GP, Inc. seeks a VP of Professional Services for a position in Ashburn, VA. Successful candidates must have a Bachelor's in Comp. Sci. or Comp. Eng. and 4 years of experience as a Computer Systems Analyst or substantially similar pos. Telecommuting from any location is permitted. E-mail resumes to: Lynda.Taniguchi@axlglobal.com.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Project Manager in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to be responsible for the day-to-day tactical duties for a technical program & overseeing results of multi-functional project teams. Job req Bach deg or equi in Comp Sci, Engg, IT or a rel field & 5 yrs in any job title inv Agile Scrum Master exp. Up to 60% telework permitted. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1169.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Developer in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to research, design, devel, &/or mod enterprise-wide syts &/or apps s/w. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, IT or rel f'ld & 3 yrs of exp in any job title involving Java s/w devel. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of background check, which may incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1165.

Computer/IT: CGI Federal Inc. seeks DevOps Engineer in Fairfax, VA to work closely with developers to facilitate coord among ops, devel, & testing functions by automating & streamlining the integration & deployment processes. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Info Systs, IT or rel f'ld & 2 yrs of exp w/ UNIX, Linux, & Windows. Up to 50% telework permitted. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of background check, which may incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1145.

Computer Systems Analyst: Test, maintain, & monitor comp progs & info sys for orders, invoicing & inventory ctrl for food product import & distribution; Dev supply chain mgmt, inventory ctrl & cost anal comp system; Prep cost-benefit rpt & invest analysis; Anal info process or computation needs; plan & design comp sys, using structured anal, data modelng, & info engineering; Expand or modify sys for work improvmnt; Maintain, & monitor comp prog & systems; Coordinate & link comp systems for info sharing compatibility; Train staff & users. M-F; FT. BS in Information Systems or Comp Science. Sig wrkng knwldg in business admin & int'l business mgmt. Database & Data Analysis comp skills req. Apply: C.P. Food Products, Inc. 7135 Minstrel Way, Ste 203, Columbia, MD 21045

Database Administrator i360 Holdings, LLC (FKA Demeter Analytics Services, LLC) in Arlington, VA, seeks a PostgresSQL Database Administrator to database capacity management and storage maintenance. To apply, send resume to: azura.gao@kochgs.com. Please include Job Number 132479 in the subject line.

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Tech Jobs

Data Engineer (Openings available in Reston, VA & unanticipated client locs throughout the US) Dsgn d/bases to support business applics, ensure system scalability, security, performance, & reliability. Create Data Pipelines & Data Flows & maintain them. Implmt the technology solutions by using ETL, SQL, Data Modeling, Star Schema & RDBMS. Collab w/ Data Architects, Business SMEs, & Data Scientists to dsgn & dvlp end-to-end data pipelines. Travel & relocation possible to unanticipated client locs throughout the U.S. To apply: Please mail resume to: CloudBc Labs., 1920 Association Dr, Ste 501, Reston, VA 20191 & email to chethan@cloudbclabs.com

Director, Data and Analytics, PricewaterhouseCoopers Advisory Services LLC, Washington, DC
Asst clnts to uncvr entrprs insight & drv bus rslts thru smrtr data anlytcs. Req Bach's deg or foreign equiv in Comp Sci, Engg, Info Mgmnt Sys, Bus Anlytcs, or rel + 7 yrs rel exp (of whch 5 yrs mst be post-bach's prgrssv rel wrk exp); OR Master's deg or foreign equiv in Comp Sci, Engg, Info Mgmnt Sys, Bus Anlytcs, or rel + 5 yrs rel wrk exp. 80% telecommtng prmttd. Mst be able to commute to designtd local office. Trvl up to 80% req. Apply by email at US_PwC_Career_Recruitment@pwc.com referencing Job Code DC3748

Distinguished Engineer
Capital One Services, LLC in Northern VA; Mult pos avail: Lead the dvlpmnt & implementation of highly technical broad strat plans w/respect to overall tech design, dvlpmnt, modification, & implementation of comp apps using existing & emerging tech platforms. To apply, visit https://capitalone.wd1.myworkdayjobs.com/Capital_One and search "Distinguished Engineer" or " R166173".

Eng, Entrpris Data & Anlytcs – Comcast Cable Comm, LLC, Wash, DC. Supprt TPX teams w/ data & anlysis to measr perfrmnc of prdcts & featrs & undrstnd how cx use prdcts; Reqs: Master in Stats, Data Sci, App Math, or rel + 3 yrs exp (or Bach in above flds + 5yrs exp) creat event schemas & trnsfrm data; 3 yrs must incl: use Python, C++, Java, Scala, R, SQL, Splunk, LookML, Hadoop, Hive, &Spark; prfrm ETL procss; use Databricks for data model, DB dsgn, dev data pipelin, & prfrm QA; use AWS, GCP, & Microsoft Azure cloud svcs; creat & maintain Redshift, Athena, MySQL, BigQuery, & MongoDB DBs; use Looker, Tableau, & PowerBI for data visulizatn; 1 yr exp wrk w/i Agile dev environ. Apply to: Jacquelin_Branks@comcast.com Ref Job ID# 2622

Engineers III-Systems
Hughes Network Systems LLC in Germantown, MD. Install & administer satellite based data networks for enterprise users. LAN/WAN, VPN, Virtual Networks, Cisco routers/switches, BGP, OSPF, IPSec, SSL. Req's: Masters in a Comp Sci, Comp Eng, Telecoms field & 6 months exp or Bach's & 5 yrs exp. To view & apply visit www.echostarcareers.com enter job # R0003837 in the Search Field & follow instructions.

Exercise Physiologists: Greenbelt Oral & Facial Surgery of Greenbelt, MD seeks qualified exercise physiologists to work full time in Greenbelt, MD. Email resumes to aelyassi@gmail.com

IT (mltpl openings); Esvee Technologies Inc; Chantilly, VA, **Software Developer:** Anlyz, Devel, Involve, Support, Guide & Work in agile environ to ID backlogs.
Systems Analyst: Devel, Doc, Ens, Perf, ID, Promote & Participate in architectural reviews. All pos req trav/relo to var unanticpted client locations throughout the U.S w/ the expenses paid by the employer. Mail resume & position to Vice President, Esvee Technologies INC, 14101 Sullyfield Circle, Suite #400D, Chantilly, VA, 20151.

Tech Jobs

Network Service Engineer III
Equinix, Inc. Network Service Engineer III. Ashburn, Virginia. Perform network design and planning, capacity management, vendor evaluation, activation and deactivation of customer services. Mail resume to Randi Colello at One Lagoon Drive, Redwood City, CA 94065 and indicate applying for 23-VA-513.

Performance Consultants
Riverbed Technology is hiring for Performance Consultants (Computer Network Architect). Desgn & dvlp solutions to complex apps probs, sys admin issues, or ntwrk concerns. Telecommute from greater D.C. metro area avail for this pos. This pos based in Co's Bethesda, MD ofc. Co is solely considering applicants residing anywhere in greater D.C. metro area. Gen'l slry rnge for pos is $165,859 to $215,859. Indv's partic comp determined by Co, in its sole discretion, in light of the indv's geo loc, edu, training, and/or exp. Send resume ref title & job loc to Randy Shelton by emailing randy.shelton@riverbed.com

Principal Associate, Data Science – Capital One Services, LLC in Northern VA; Mult pos avail: Lead application & validation of stat & other math methods to collect, organize, interpret, & sum econ data to assist in decision-making & spprt the dvlpmnt of bus strat. To apply, visit https://capitalone.wd1.myworkdayjobs.com/Capital_One and search "Principal Associate, Data Science" or "R166381".

Prncpl Eng, Prdct Dev Eng
Comcast Cable Comm, LLC, Reston, VA. Prov tech lead w/i team resp for archtct, eng, & dev SW pltfrms for commercial & resdntl intrnet, NW & data rel svcs; Reqs: Bach in CS, Eng or rel; 7 yrs exp archtct lrg-scale SW infrstrctr; use Python, Unix OS, & Bash; 5 yrs work w/ public cloud infrstrctrs, incl AWS, & private cloud infrstrctrs, incl OpenStack & VMWare; prfrm CI/CD processes; use Prometheus & Grafana; deploy apps use Ansible; & use Terraform for infrstrctr automtn.
Apply to: Jacquelin_Branks@comcast.com Ref Job ID# 1055

QA Analyst at TeleWorld Solutions to work in Chantilly, VA or client locations across U.S. Req. master's elect. engr., electro. engr., CE, CS, or related and 12 months of exp. in job offered or as QA Tester, SWE Test Engineer, Test Engineer, Sr. Test Engineer, or related. Resume to HR, TeleWorld Solutions, 14850 Conference Center Dr, Ste 250, Chantilly, VA 20151

Quantitative Analytics Manager
Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation has multiple openings for the f/t position of Quantitative Analytics Manager in McLean, VA to write programs to clean, coordinate & analyze large volumes of data. Req's Master's or frgn eqv deg* in Eng., Stats, Data Science or closely rltd quantitative fl. & 6 yrs of exp. applying predictive modeling techniques from data science, stats, machine learning, & econometrics to large data sets; or Ph.D. or frgn eqv deg* in Eng. Stats, Data Science, or closely rltd quantitative fl. & 3 yrs of exp. applying predictive modeling techniques from data science, stats, machine learning, & econometrics to large data sets. If interested, submit resume/cv via email to: im_jobs@freddiemac.com & reference #21-302.

RF Engineer (multiple positions) at TeleWorld Solutions to work in Chantilly, VA or client locations across U.S. Req. bachelor's elect. engr., electro. engr., telecom engr., CE, CS, IT, Instrumentation engr., or related, and 6 months of exp. in job offered or as RF Engr I, RF Field Engr, RF Design Engr, Asso. RF Engr, RF Engr Intern, or related. Resume to HR, TeleWorld Solutions, 14850 Conference Center Dr, Ste 250, Chantilly, VA 20151

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Tech Jobs

RF Engineer (multiple positions) at TeleWorld Solutions to work in Chantilly, VA or client locations across U.S. Req. bachelor's elect. engr., electro. engr., telecom engr., CE, CS, IT, or related, and 48 months of exp. in job offered or as RF Network Engineer, 4G/5G RF Engr, WL RF Engr, or related. Resume to HR, TeleWorld Solutions, 14850 Conference Center Dr, Ste 250, Chantilly, VA 20151

Senior Analyst (CDS)
Afiniti, Inc. seeks a Senior Analyst (CDS) in Washington, D.C. to communicate data requirements and secure data assets from clients for use in designing algorithms for use in AI based call center routing technology. Requires a Bachelor's degree in Computer Science, Engineering or a related technical field plus at least two (2) years of experience with end to end data delivery to apply in AI based call center revenue optimization. This experience must include identifying attributes to predict optimization metrics for AI models, translating generic ETL procedures from MySQL to Greenplum database for benchmarking, developing Python scripts to use port data for AI models, and utilizing quantitative methods to write scripts in SQL and R Programming Language. To apply, e-mail your resume to recruitment@afiniti.com

Senior Associate, Data Science – Capital One, National Association in Northern VA; Mult pos avail: Lead application & validation of stat & other math methods to collect, organize, interpret, & sum econ data to assist in decision-making & spprt the dvlpmnt of bus strat.
To apply, visit https://capitalone.wd1.myworkdayjobs.com/Capital_One and search "Senior Associate, Data Science" or "R165844".

Senior Oracle Database Administrator
The U.S. Pharmacopeial Convention has multiple openings for Senior Oracle Database Administrator in Rockville, Maryland. Job Description includes: Serve as primary technical expert for Oracle database and Oracle 11i E-business suite management owning accountability for optimization including EBS security, performance tuning, troubleshooting, including leading and coordinating efforts with IT teams as needed for internal and external systems. Please send resume or CV to Sundar.Nagarajan@USP.org and reference SODA1 / 20421.3.11.

SENIOR RUBY ON RAILS ENGINEER
Environmental Working Group (Washington, DC) to be rspnsbl for prgrmming & implmnting features w/in an exsting Rails app. Prfrming Ruby on Rails, version cntrl, dbgging; applyng SQL databases, bckgrnd jobs, HTML, CSS, JavaScript & Jquery, monolithic & microsrvces archtctre, tsting tools, such as Rspec & Cucumber, REST API services. Bachelor's in Cmptr Scnce, Tchnlgy, or Tchnlgy Engnring or rel. field w/5 yrs of prev. prgrssvly rspnsbl wrk exp. in the pos. off. or rel. building & maintaining web-based sftwre systms at scale, spec. Ruby on Rails. Must know (thru acad training or wrk exp.) Ruby on Rails & version cntrl; intgrting w/third-party (APIs) and/or cntrbting to Machine Learning algrthms; data structures; & cloud tchnlgies. Resumes to employment@ewg.org.

SOFTWARE DEVELOPER
Booz Allen Hamilton Inc. seeks Software Developer – Software Sustainment in Herndon, VA (and various unanticipated locations throughout the U.S.): Create and test modules and components for compliance to software design specifications. Develop and test interfaces between software products and products of other vendors. Telecommuting permitted: work may be performed from anywhere in the US. Travel up to 25% may be required. M/F/D/V. Mail resume to Cali Hammer & Jessica Gibson, Booz Allen Hamilton Inc., 8283 Greensboro Drive, McLean, VA 22102. Ref job code R0171076 or Req.#: 22-17190 w/application

Tech Jobs

Puyenpa Services, LLC has an opening for F/T perm. Sr. Software Engineer pos'n. Pos'n req: Mstr degree or equivlt in Comp Science/Comp Info Sys/Buss Admin/Engg (any field) + 1 yr exp in job offered/ Devlpng Buss Solut'ns. Job Locat'n: Gaithersburg, MD & various unanticipated locations in U.S. Reloc'n Poss. Mail Resumes to: HR, at 600 N Frederick Ave #102, Gaithersburg, MD 20877 or email: kimferullo@puyenpa.com

Software Developer at TeleWorld to work in Chantilly, VA or client locations across U.S. Req. bachelor's in CS, CE, IT and Computing, elect. engr., or related, and 12 months of exp. in job offered, SWE Engineer, or related. Past exp. must include 6 months of exp. in analyzing and reporting KPI for various field-testing logs such as VoLTE; preparing automated LTE parameters; and performing UAT Pre and Post of deployment operations. Resume to HR, TeleWorld Solutions, 14850 Conference CTR Dr, Ste 250, Chantilly, VA 20151

SOFTWARE DEVELOPER
Booz Allen Hamilton Inc. seeks Software Developer - Content Management in Bethesda, MD (and various unanticipated locations throughout the U.S.): Create and test modules and components for compliance to software design specifications. Develop and test interfaces between software products and products of other vendors. Partial telecommuting permitted. M/F/D/V. Mail resume to Cali Hammer & Jessica Gibson, Booz Allen Hamilton Inc., 8283 Greensboro Drive, McLean, VA 22102. Ref job code R0171112 or Req.#: 21-13180 w/application

SDK Tech Corporation has multiple openings in Sterling, VA, **Software Developer**: Analyze, Review, Plan, Prep, Design, Work & Track all coding changes. **Software Engineer:** Involve, Perform, Work, Dev & Maintain web services test scripts. All pos req travel/relocation to various unanticipated client locations t/o the U.S w/ the expenses paid by the employer. To apply mail res & pos to President, SDK Tech Corporation, 43676 Trade Center Place, Unit 135, #209, Sterling, VA, 20166

Sr. Software Engineer (Master's w/ 3 yrs exp or Bach w/ 5 yrs exp; Major: CS or equiv) – Sterling, VA. Job entails working w/ & reqs exp incl: Salesforce (incl Developer Console, Data Loader), Java, Tableau CRM, DocuSign, Python, RESTful, SOAP, AWS, HighCharts, Apache ANT, Heroku, Conga Composer, JavaScript, MS TFS, Copado, ClickDeploy, Github, VS Code, MS Visio, Postman, JIRA, Shell, & Squish. Must have exp in designing & developing applications. Exceptional benefits pkg. Send resumes to REI Systems Inc., Attn: HR, 14325 Willard Road, Suite 200, Chantilly, VA 20151. REI Systems Inc. is an EOE (Minority/Female/Disability/Vet).

(Technology Hub Inc has openings in Sterling, VA):
Software Developer: Design & develop comp. apps. software & specialized utility programs. Req. BS in Comp. Sci., Engr., or related & 2 yrs exp.
Senior Software Developer: Oversee & guide the design and development of comp. apps. software & specialized utility programs. Req. MS in Comp. Sci., Engr., or related & 1 yr exp.
Salesforce Analyst: Document system requirements & analytical data requirements to meet business needs. Req. BS in Comp. Sci., Engr., or related & 2 yrs exp.
Salesforce Developer: Perform app. configuration, development, data integrations, testing, & evaluation of the Salesforce platform to ensure quality & consistency. Req. MS in Comp. Sci., Engr., or related & 1 yr exp.
Full Stack Developer: Develop software apps. & algorithms w/ Python Programming language. Req. MS in Comp. Sci., Engr., or related & 1 yr exp.
All Positions: Will work in unanticipated locations. Send resume & refer to job title to hr@technologyhub.net.

Tech Jobs

Multiple openings in Herndon, VA.Travel not reqd. but must be willing to relocate to unanticipated locs across US. Mail resume ref. job code# to HR Dept, ERP Cloud Technologies, LLC, 2551 Dulles View Dr, Ste 350,Herndon,VA 20171.
Software Developer [#SD04102023ERP]
Dsgn, dev, impl, anlyz, troubleshoot apps using .Net Framework, RESTful Services, C#, VB.Net, jQuery, ASP.Net, WCF, MS SQL Server, SSRS,SSIS.

Software Developer
Analyze and evaluate clients existing software, integrate object server systems and information technology needs. May need to work in other locations as required. Master's in Comp Sci./App., Electronics, Eng., IS, or related. Mail resume to HR- Sapphire Software Solutions, Inc., 20130 Lakeview Center Plaza, Suite 400, Ashburn, VA 20147

Software Developer. Multiple positions available in Reston, VA & unanticipated client locs throughout the US: Gather & analyze user reqmts, dsgn & develop new s/ware, modify & test applics. Provide ongoing support for system modification, maintenance, & optimization utilizing skills such as Oracle, Informatica Power Center, Autosys, Guidewire Studio & PL/SQL. Responsible for envrmtl setup for the dvlpmt activity & verify & review the coding stds using Code Review Checklist. Travel & relocation is possible to unanticipated client locs throughout the US. To apply: Please mail resume to: CloudBc Labs., 1920 Association Dr, Ste 501, Reston, VA 20191. Attn: Human Resources, email to: chethan@cloudbclabs.com

SOFTWARE ENGINEERS
Sterling, VA & other unanticipated locns nationwide. Duties: Design, dev, create, modify, customize, test, & validate sftwr apps using UI/UX, UAT, CSS 3, HTML 5, JQuery, Javascript, Ajax, Adobe Flash, Photoshop & Bootstrap. Req'ts: Mstr's deg or equiv in Computer Sci, Info Tech Mgmt or related field w/min 1 yr exp in job offered or related occup such as Sftwr Dvlpr or UI Dvlpr. Any suitable combo of educ, training, or exp is ok. Travel/reloc may be req'd. Mail resume w/proof of work elig to: Attn: HR, Ekin Solutions Inc, 22375 Broderick Dr, Ste 200, Sterling, VA 20166

Solution Architect - Multiple positions available in Reston, VA & unanticipated client locs throughout the US. Analyze the business use cases to determine feasibility of the best dsgn w/in time & cost constraints. Dsgn & dvlp data models using IBM Data Power, IBM Web Sphere Portal Tool, Axway, Python, AWS, & Kubernets. Dsgn d/base objects, different stage layers & integrations to ensure scalable & reliable applics in cloud. Travel & relocation is possible to unanticipated client locs throughout the US. To apply: Please mail resume to: CloudBc Labs., 1920 Association Dr, Ste 501, Reston, VA 20191. Attn: Human Resources, email to: chethan@cloudbclabs.com

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Tech Jobs

Sr. Database Administrator
Candidate must analyze, design, develop, identify, test and implement user provisioning protocol for applications, infrastructure and Cloudera Cluster in Role-Based Authorization models (RBAC), Single Sign-On(SSO) and Active Directory, perform ongoing administration and implementation of Hadoop infrastructure by configuring, maintaining, monitoring and troubleshooting Hadoop Cluster health and Map routines to maximize performance in Development, UAT and Production environments, diagnose and implement resolutions for Name Node and all performance bottlenecks, perform expert tuning in HUE, YARN, KTS, KMS within best practices while ensuring that application design adheres to overall architecture blueprint and conforms to interconnected business and system processes, install and configure ODBC drivers for integration of Attunity, Informatica, PowerBI and Toad with Cloudera applications and cloud migration methodologies, diagnose, troubleshoot and resolve errors throughout Hadoop ecosystem including Sentry/Ranger roles, Cloudera Management Services, HUE, HIVE, PIG, SCOOP, Zookeepers, Cloudera Navigator, MySQL, Maria DB, Ranger, Atlus, Tez, Access Remediation and Privileged Access, evaluate and fix security vulnerabilities, perform encryption and cluster migration from CDH to CDP to Azure Cloud/AWS. Bachelor's degree in Electronics and Communication Engineering or any related degree, foreign equivalency or equivalent+5 years of relevant experience as a Sr. Database Administrator. Contact: Concert Tech Corporation: Mr. Ramesh Annamreddy, CEO, Phone: 202-409-4763, Email: ramesh@concert-tech.com Fax:1-866-449-2559.

Sr. Software Engineer
Analyze business processes to define app. functional requirements and technical specifications. May need to work in other locations as required. Bachelor's in Comp. Sci/App, Elect., IT, Eng., or related w/ 5yrs. exp. Mail resume to HR- Sapphire Software Solutions, Inc., 20130 Lakeview Center Plaza, Suite 400, Ashburn, VA 20147

Sr. Software Engineer: Job based in McLean, VA (remote work anywhere in US permitted). Dev. & deliver front-end assets. Salary range $135,000-$185,000. Apply to Hilton Domestic Operating Company Inc. at https://jobs.hilton.com/us/en using req. COR013C8

TECHNOLOGY
Wal-Mart is seeking a Senior Manager I, Software Engineer in Reston, VA. Job duties incl but not limited to leading & participating in medium- to lrg-scale, cmplx, cross-functional projs by reviewing proj req'mts. Master's or the equiv in CS, IT, Eng'g, or rel. fld + 3 yrs of exp in SW eng'g or rel. exp; OR Bachelor's or the equiv in CS, IT, Eng'g, or rel. fld + 6 yrs of exp in SW eng'g or rel. exp. Skills req'd incl but not limited to exp w/: Mng'g & leading SW dvlpmt end to end; Coding & reviewing the code in Java; Dsgn'g & deploying REST API's to spprt a very high scale; Dsgn'g & scaling any no-sql databases such as ElasticSearch or Cosmos; Dsgn'g, scaling, producing/consuming w/ Kafka messaging; bld'g apps to production grade on any public cloud such as AWS or Azure or GCP. Employer will accept any amount of exp w/ req'd skills. For detailed job req'mts & to apply, visit http://careers.walmart.com, & apply to the following Job ID # R-1506806. EOE, AAE.

TECHNOLOGY PROFESSIONALS
Multiple openings available in Reston, VA. Wal-Mart is seeking candidates for the following positions: Software Engineer III. Job duties incl but not limited to dsgn'g, dvlp'g, implementing, testing & supporting systs & bus. apps. For job req'mts & to apply, visit http://careers.walmart.com, & apply to any of the following Job ID #'s R-1507933, R-1436892, R-1508173.
EOE, AAE.

Tech Jobs

Web Developer
Develop web-based apps for clients based on business & project technical reqs in an ASP.NET environment. Min Req: Bach Deg in Comp Sci, IT, Electr./Electron. Engnrng or closely rltd field plus 5 yrs exp as web/software developer. Must work from NADA's offices in McLean, VA a min of 4 days/week. Up to 5% travel required. Apply at https://nada.org/nada/about-nada/jobs-nada.
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The Wilmington - This stylish, 3BR/2BA condo has been renovated from top to bottom. Featuring an open floor plan w/ a large porch & balcony. Only 1.5 blocks to the Ocean. Rehoboth Beach, $1,295,000.

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610 Dogs for Sale

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All shots. $250.
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BEAGLES - Top Champion bloodlines. Male/female, 8 weeks old, shots and wormed.
Please call 540-872-0235

610 Dogs for Sale

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GERMAN SHEPHERD PUPPIES - ACA reg, black & tan, first shots & wormed, great disposition, 8 wks old, $800 each. Pics avail. 540-877-4313

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610 Dogs for Sale

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MINI BORDER COLLIES: Border x Papillon. $1,500. 540-229-1191 suburbanbordercollies.blogspot.com

PUG AND English Bulldog for sale- Please call for pics & info 240-532-9921

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825 Bids & Proposals

825 Bids & Proposals

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Campus Operations Manager
THE SEED PUBLIC CHARTER SCHOOL OF WASHINGTON, D.C.
4300 C Street, SE
Washington, DC 20019
CDyson@seedschooldc.org
202-248-7773 x 5045

The deadline for submitting bids is June 7th, 2023 at 12:00pm

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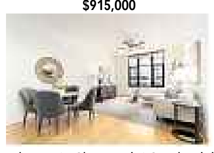
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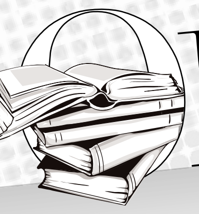
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Dietary Aide, Evening Shift, Food and Nutrition–*Rockville*
Adventist HealthCare seeks to hire a Dietary Aide who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental, and spiritual healing. As a Dietary Aide you will: Ensure that each patient receives a menu and a meal…

George Mason University

Education–*George Mason University is a university with three campuses, each with a distinctive academic focus that plays a critical role in the economy of its region. At each campus, students, faculty, and staff have full access to all the university's resources, while duplication of programs and support services is minimized through the use of technology. In addition to the main campus in Fairfax, the university has campuses in Arlington and Prince William Counties.*

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The George Mason University School of Business, invites applications for an Associate Director of Development, Business. The Associate Director of Development, Business primary responsibilities include working closely with the Senior Director of…

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Staffing–*NRI is a Washington, D.C. based regional staffing services firm with offices in D.C., VA and MD. For over 50 years, NRI has provided world-class staffing services to a wide variety of commercial and government clients. We provide our staffing services not as generalists, but rather as distinct teams of specialists. Our highly skilled recruiting team offers career development and access to the best professional opportunities in the nation's capital and beyond.*

Senior Accounts Payable Specialist–*Washington, D.C.*
Accounting department for non-profit seeks a Sr. Accounts Payable Specialist to manage accounting and finance tasks. Excel proficiency and 3+ yrs. related experience required. Earn $60K-$70K. mmitchell@nri-staffing.com

Accounts Receivable Clerk–*Silver Spring, MD*
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Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority

Delivery and Transportation–*The Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority operates the second largest rail transit system and the fifth largest bus network in the United States. Safe, clean and reliable, "America's Transit System" transports more than a third of the federal government to work and millions of tourists to the landmarks in the Nation's Capital. Metro has earned a worldwide reputation for security and architectural beauty. WMATA is clearly the employer of choice for over 10,000 area residents. The Authority was created in 1967…*

Car Equipment Training Instructor–
Minimum Qualifications: High school diploma or G.E.D with a minimum of 2 years formal training towards the completion of a degree or certificate in an electrical, electronic, or mechanical field of study, or completion of technical military "A" school in an electrical…

Background Investigator–*Washington D.C.*
Minimum Qualifications: Education: Bachelor's Degree in Criminal Justice, Human Resources, or related field. In lieu of Bachelor's degree, an equivalent combination of post-high school education and minimum four (4) years of experience in law enforcement or human resources…

Dewberry

Engineering–*Dewberry is a leading, market-facing professional services firm with more than 50 locations and 2,000 professionals nationwide. What sets us apart from our competitors are our people. At Dewberry, we seek out exceptional talent and strive to deliver the highest quality of services to our clients. Whether you're an experienced professional or a new graduate, you'll have the chance to collaborate with the best and brightest and work on innovative and complex projects at the forefront of the industry. Our commitment to excellence…*

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Westat

Research–*Westat, headquartered in Rockville, Maryland, near Washington, D.C., is an employee-owned research corporation serving agencies of the U.S. Government, state and local governments, businesses, and foundations. We conduct surveys and program evaluations, provide statistical research, and offer related services. Our multiproject environment provides career opportunities in health, energy, education, transportation, the environment, human services, and the workforce. We combine the relevant research area expertise…*

Research Associate-Healthcare Communications (Remote)–*Rockville*
Westat is an employee-owned corporation providing research services to agencies of the U.S. Government, as well as businesses, foundations, and state and local governments. Westat's research, technical, and administrative staff of more…

Research Associate - Knowledge Management - REMOTE–*Rockville*
Westat is an employee-owned corporation providing research services to agencies of the U.S. Government, as well as businesses, foundations, and state and local governments. Westat's research, technical, and administrative staff of more…

The Emmes Company, LLC

Science–*The Emmes Company, LLC established in 1977, is a privately owned Clinical Research Organization (CRO). We are a public health focused company that is growing and adding staff regularly in many areas including clinical operations, data management, bio statistics, project management, and regulatory as well as corporate positions to support our project needs. We are committed to ensuring that our newly hired staff receive a positive virtual on-boarding experience and the support they need to effectively work remotely.*

Biostatistician PhD - Home based–
Emmes Services Pvt. Ltd, ("Emmes") is searching for Biostatistician in Clinical Research located in our Bangalore office or home based. Emmes provides flexibility for office location preference, dependent upon position. EMMES Services Pvt. Ltd, Bangalore, a fully…

Senior Project Manager - Real World Evidence–*Germany Remote*
Munich office-based (preferred). The Emmes Company, LLC ("Emmes") is a global, full-service Clinical Research Organization dedicated to excellence in supporting the advancement of public health and biopharmaceutical…

American Speech-Language-Hearing Association

Associations–*The American Speech-Language-Hearing Association was founded in 1925. It is a not-for-profit scientific and professional association for speech-language pathologists, audiologists, and speech and hearing scientists. ASHA is committed to the consumers of our services, the more than 42 million Americans with communication disorders. ASHA's mission is to ensure that all people with speech-language, and hearing disorders receive quality services from well-educated professionals. The American Speech-Language-Hearing…*

Sponsorship Manager–*Rockville*
The American Speech-Language-Hearing Association requires all new employees to present proof they are fully vaccinated against COVID-19 when they start work. Currently, "fully vaccinated" is defined as someone that has received both doses of the Pfizer/Moderna…

Manager, Mailing List Sales–*Rockville*
The person in this position is responsible for ASHA's direct-mail list and commercial solution center sales, e-blast services (Corporate Partners and NSSLHA Advantage) and the advancement of ASHA's direct-mail list program. This individual works in a collaborative team environment…

Fairfax County Government

Government and Public Services–*Fairfax County, Virginia is a diverse and thriving urban county. As the most populous jurisdiction in both Virginia and the Washington metropolitan area, the County's population exceeds that of seven states. The median household income of Fairfax County is one of the highest in the nation and over half of its adult residents have four-year college degrees or more educational attainment. Fairfax County also is home to an extensive commercial office market and is a major employment center. Fairfax County County…*

Administrative Assistant Ii–*Fairfax*
This position will be assigned to the Major Crimes Bureau Violent Crimes and Criminal Investigation Divisions. Receives and screens incoming telephone calls. Provides data and clerical support in compiling monthly, quarterly, and annual reports. Transcribes victim/witness/suspect…

Administrative Assistant Iii–*Fairfax*
Provides administrative support to the Major Crimes Bureau Victim Services Division. Acts as the central point of contact for incoming calls. Reviews all memoranda and letters for accuracy, grammar, and correct format. Maintains division files and personnel files, prepares…

Fairfax Water

Science–*Fairfax County Water Authority (Fairfax Water) is Virginia's largest water utility, serving one out of every five Virginians who obtain their water from public utilities. Nearly 1.5 million people in the Northern Virginia communities of Fairfax, Loudoun, Prince William and Alexandria depend on Fairfax Water for superior drinking water. That's 1.5 million friends, neighbors and family members. We don't need any other reason to demand the highest in water quality standards! Chartered in 1957 by the Virginia State Corporation Commission as a…*

Junior Operator–*Herndon*
Under close supervision of the Supervisor, Plant Production or Lead Operator performs routine operational and general maintenance tasks involved in the operation of water treatment plant equipment and facilities on a rotating shift basis. Performs routine operational and general maintenance tasks…

Maintenance Planner/Scheduler–*Herndon*
Under general supervision of the Manager, Production, plans maintenance activities for respective trade and coordinates activities for all trades. Creates, organizes and prepares reports used by management, assists maintenance supervisors with optimizing the use of…

Alexandria City Public Schools

Education–*Alexandria City Public Schools is one of the most diverse school systems in the country and we celebrate that diversity. Our students come from more than 80 different countries, speak more than 60 languages, and represent a rainbow of ethnic and cultural groups. They are economically diverse, but all are rich in that the residents of Alexandria are dedicated to ensuring that each and every one of them achieves success. The children of Alexandria have benefited significantly from the strong support of City Council and the Alexandria…*

CTE-Technology Teacher–*Alexandria*
The Technology-Education and Engineering Teacher develops students' academic skills through academic courses of study and implements, monitors, and evaluates a quality competency-based program implementing district approved curriculum; documents…

Instructional Coach - Literacy–*Alexandria*
The Literacy Instructional Coach provides leadership, professional learning, and coaching support to teachers on the development of literacy practices (reading, writing, speaking, listening, and metacognitive skill development) that increase opportunities for all students…

The MIL Corporation (MIL)

Government Contractor–*Established in 1980, MIL provides innovative cyber, engineering, financial, and information technology services to the federal government. Our subject matter experts help advance customer operations through proven tools and methodologies. Dedicated to excellence, service, and support, MIL recognizes that sustained high-quality service delivery is a critical contributor to our success. We are recognized by our clients and industry professionals alike for our integrity, diligence, and expertise across our core service areas: Cyber…*

Electromechanical Engineering Manager (Engineering, Manager)–*Lexington Park*
Clearance Required: Ability to Obtain a Secret. Education Required: BA/BS. US Citizenship: Required. The MIL Corporation is looking for an Electromechanical Engineering Manager (Engineering, Manager) to lead and…

Configuration Management, Analyst–*Charleston*
Clearance Required: Ability to Obtain a Top Secret. Education Required: BA/BS. The MIL Corporation is seeking a Configuration Management Analyst candidate to work with a Federal Government client at our Charleston…

The Foundation Schools

Education–*The Foundation Schools has provided psychoeducational programs for students since 1975. A variety of talented staff members is needed to ensure the smooth and successful operation of the educational and clinical programs at our three schools located in Largo, Landover & Gaithersburg, Maryland. Our Administrative Office is located in Largo, Maryland. We offer a supportive working environment, excellent resources and a competitive salary and benefit package. The mission of The Foundation Schools is to serve the special…*

Program Therapist (Social Work/Counselor) Full-time - $3,000 Hiring Incentive–*Gaithersburg*
The Foundation Schools is a special education day school which delivers innovative school programs and support services for children and adolescents with emotional disabilities, other disabilities and learning…

Behavior Specialist - Special Education–*Gaithersburg*
The Foundation Schools is a special education day school which delivers innovative school programs and support services for children and adolescents with emotional disabilities, autism spectrum disorders and other learning challenges. For over 40…

AARP

Associations–*AARP is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, social welfare organization with a membership of nearly 38 million. Our aim is to disrupt preconceived notions about aging, turn goals and dreams into Real Possibilities, strengthen communities and fight for the issues that matter most to people 50-plus and their families; such as health care, employment security and retirement planning.*

Business Development Manager–*Washington D.C.*
AARP is the nation's largest nonprofit, nonpartisan organization dedicated to empowering people 50 and older to choose how they live as they age. With a nationwide presence and nearly 38 million members, AARP strengthens communities and advocates for what…

Community Outreach Intern–*Lansing*
AARP is the nation's largest nonprofit, nonpartisan organization dedicated to empowering people 50 and older to choose how they live as they age. With a nationwide presence and nearly 38 million members, AARP strengthens communities and advocates for what…

Capital One

Financial Services and Banking–*We Don't Only Think Big Things—At Capital One, We Do Big Things. You're dedicated to your career. You deserve professional satisfaction and personal fulfillment. You belong at Capital One. Here, every day brings another chance to do impactful work that matters: helping millions of customers confidently manage their money, building stronger communities and delivering truly disruptive tech. You'll give your all alongside some of the brightest, most resilient people in the industry—and in return, you'll…*

Full Time Branch Ambassador–*Burnside–Gonzales, LA*
The Reimagined Branch Experience:Welcome to a new idea in banking. Here at Capital One, we're redefining how people bank. You see, we believe banking should…

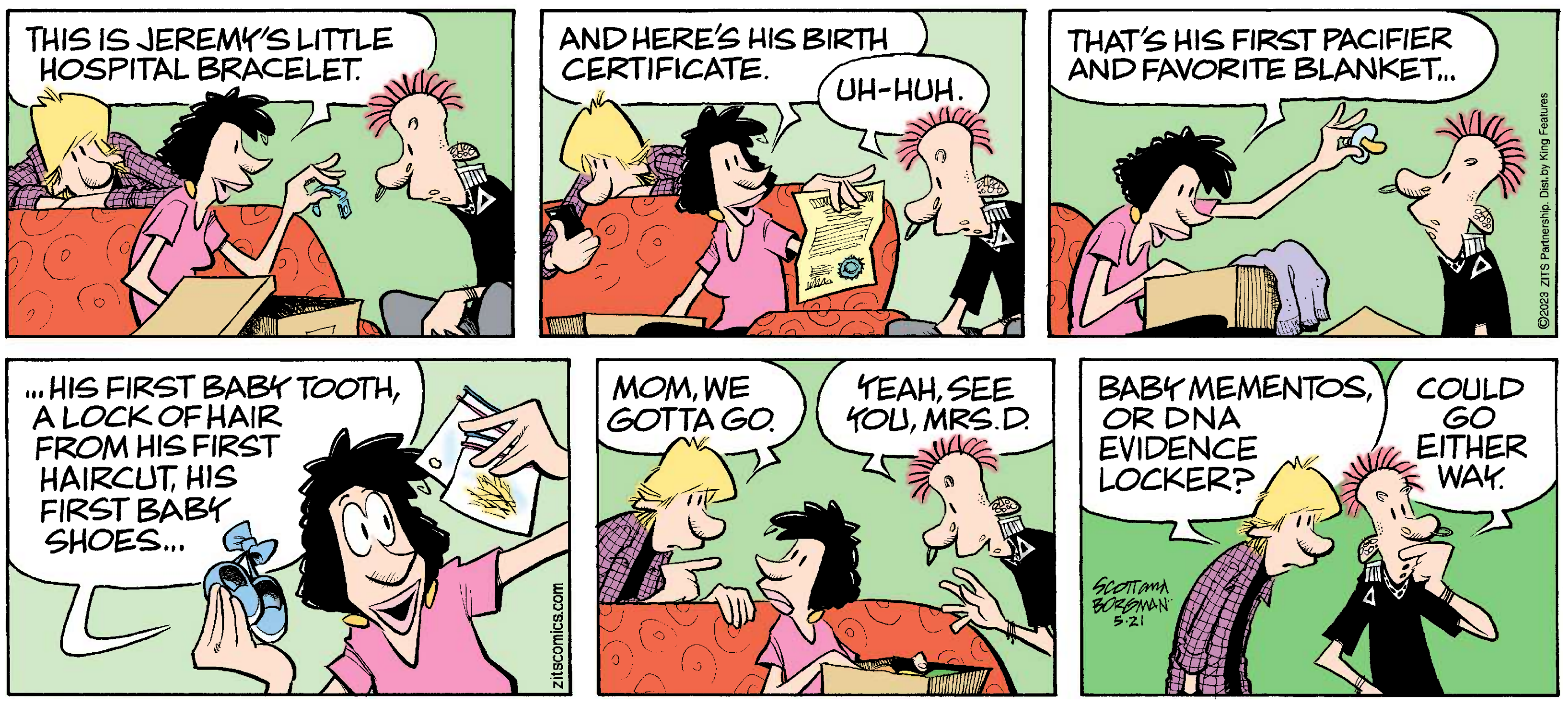
Principal Risk Associate–*Plano, TX*
As a Principal Risk Associate in the Financial Services Business Risk Office, you will provide professional risk judgment that enables business partners to tackle major company challenges. In this role…

Visit washingtonpost.com/jobs to view complete details and to apply to these and thousands of other listings.

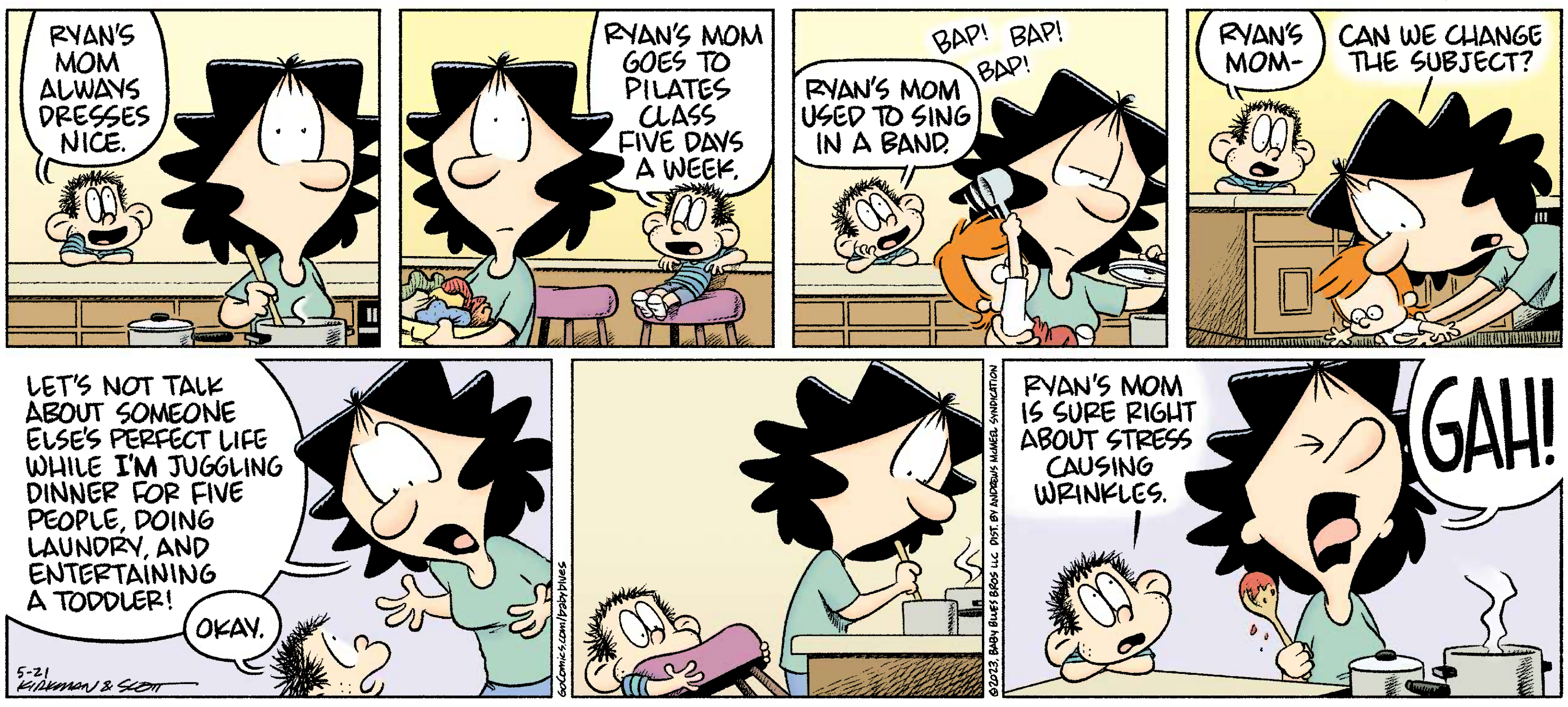
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The Washington Post
COMICS
SUNDAY, MAY 21, 2023 • WASHINGTONPOST.COM/COMICS
SC

ZITS By Jerry Scott & Jim Borgman



BABY BLUES By Rick Kirkman & Jerry Scott





DOONESBURY By Garry Trudeau



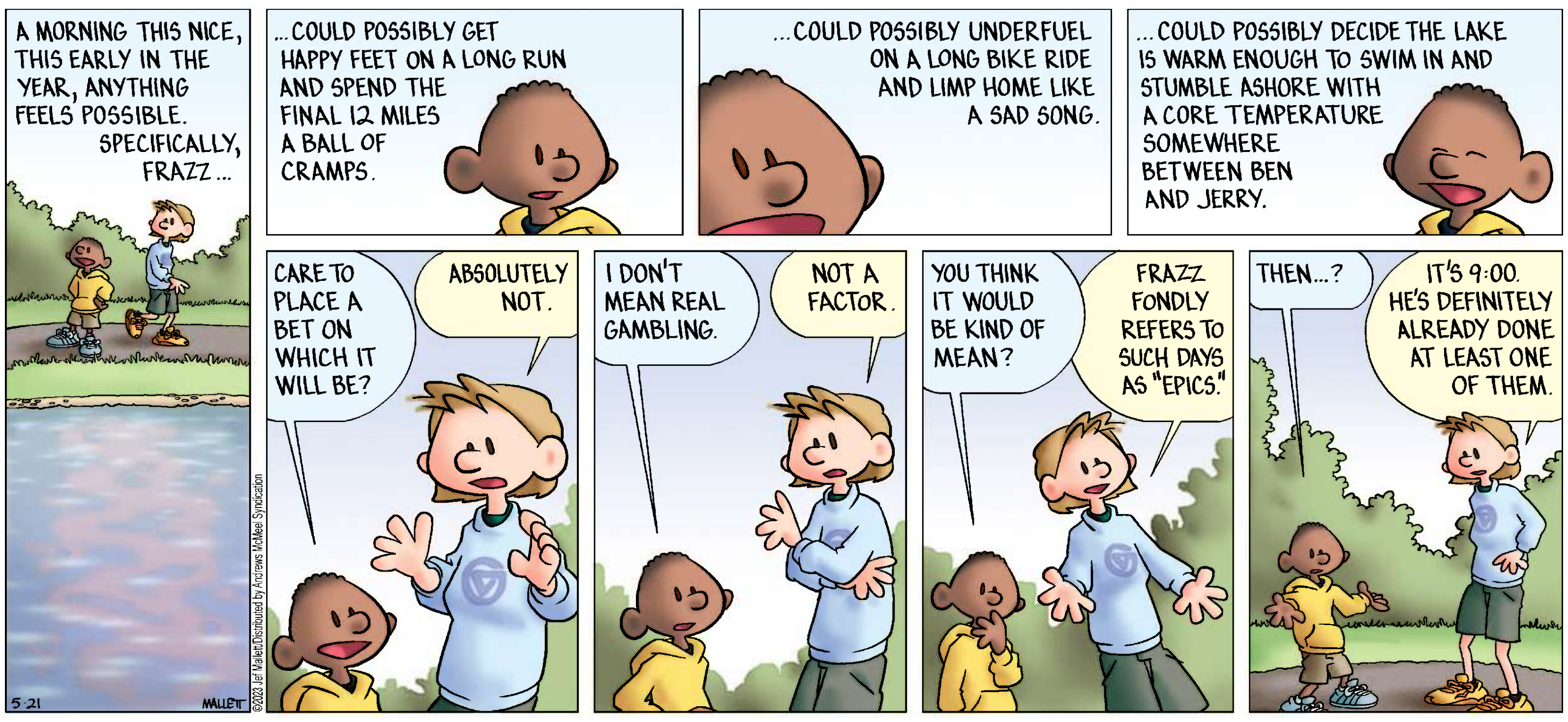




THE ARGYLE SWEATER By Scott Hilburn

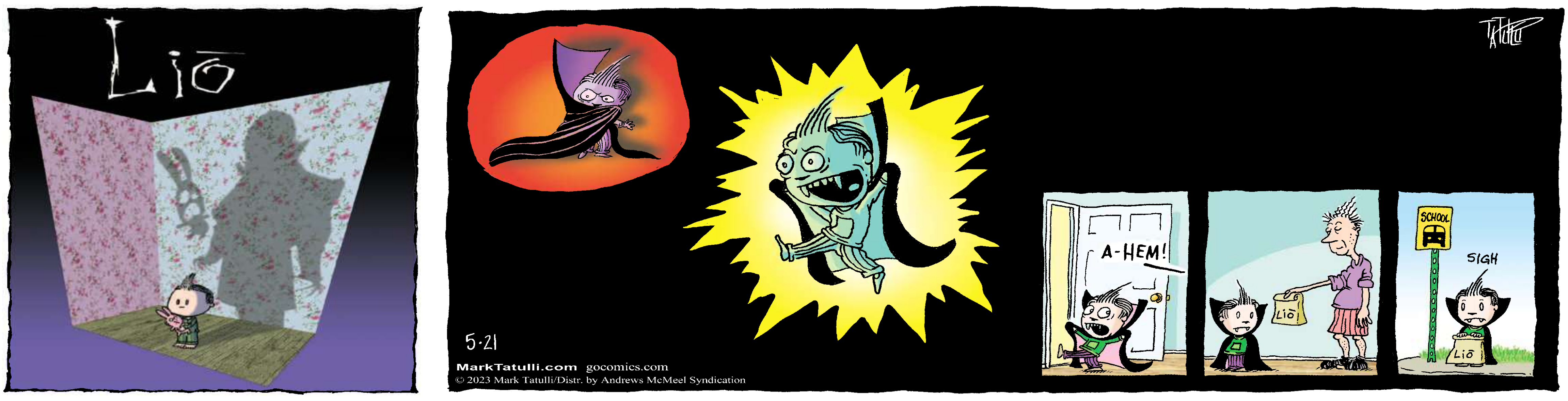


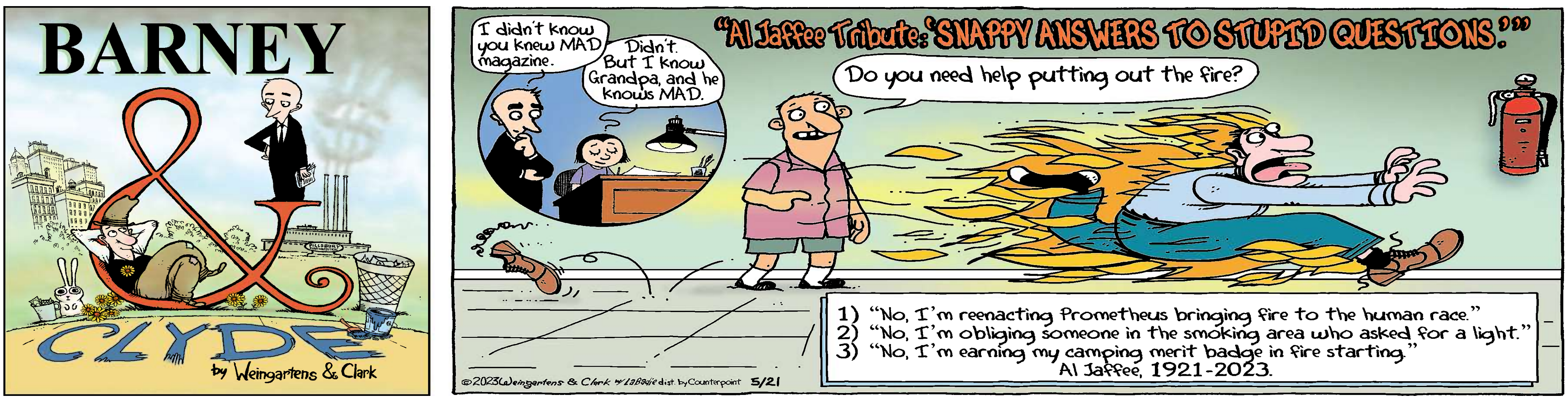
FRAZZ By Jef Mallett



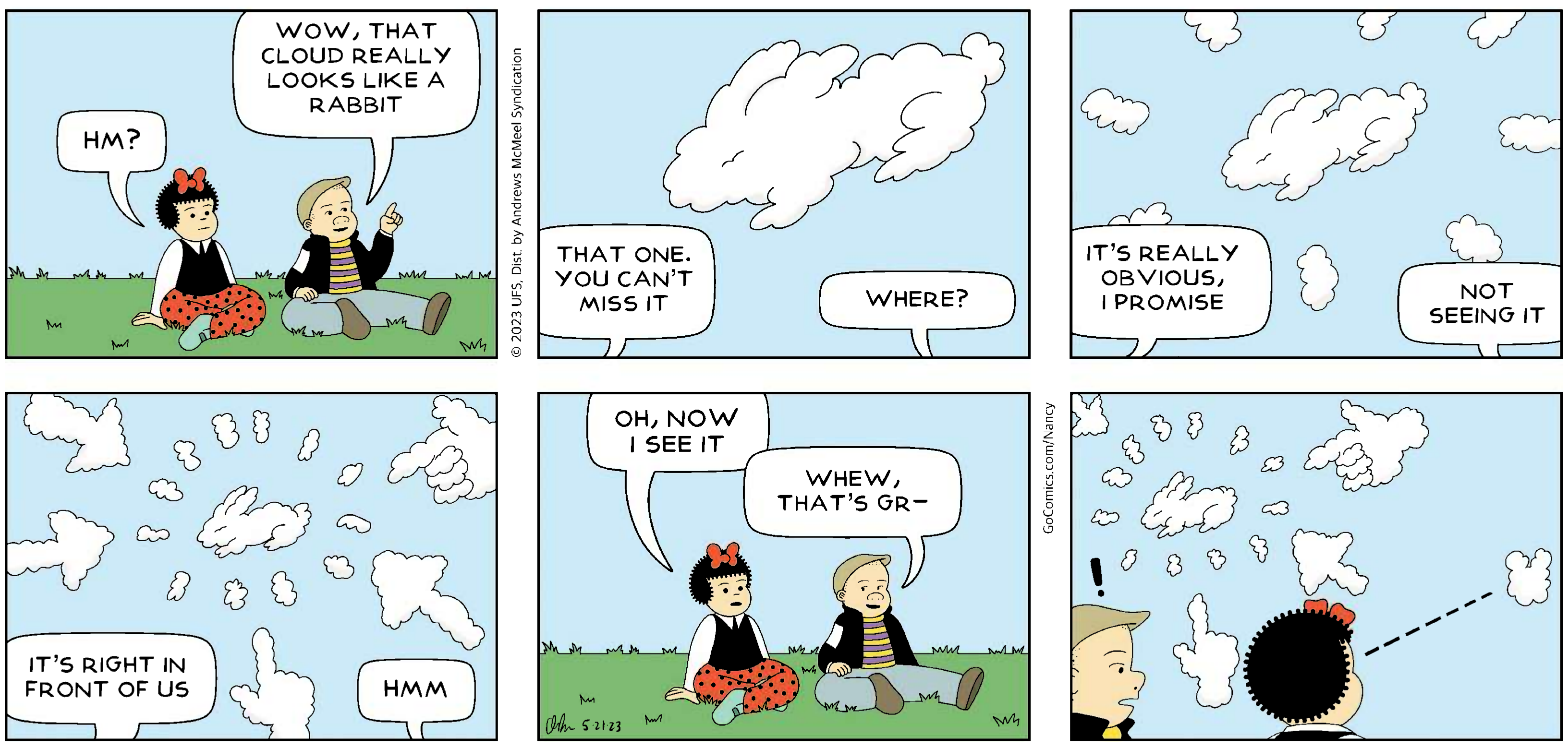
GARFIELD By Jim Davis



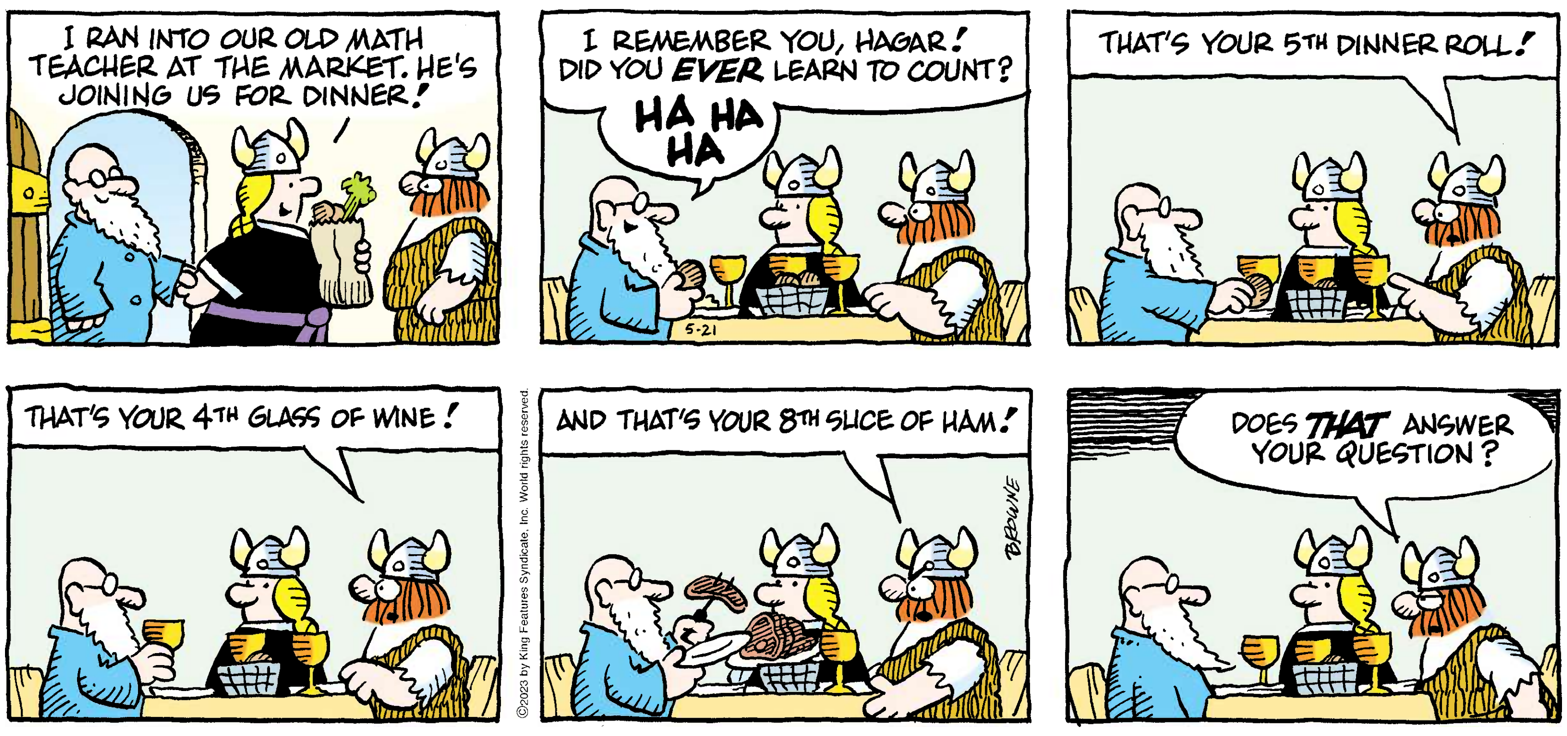


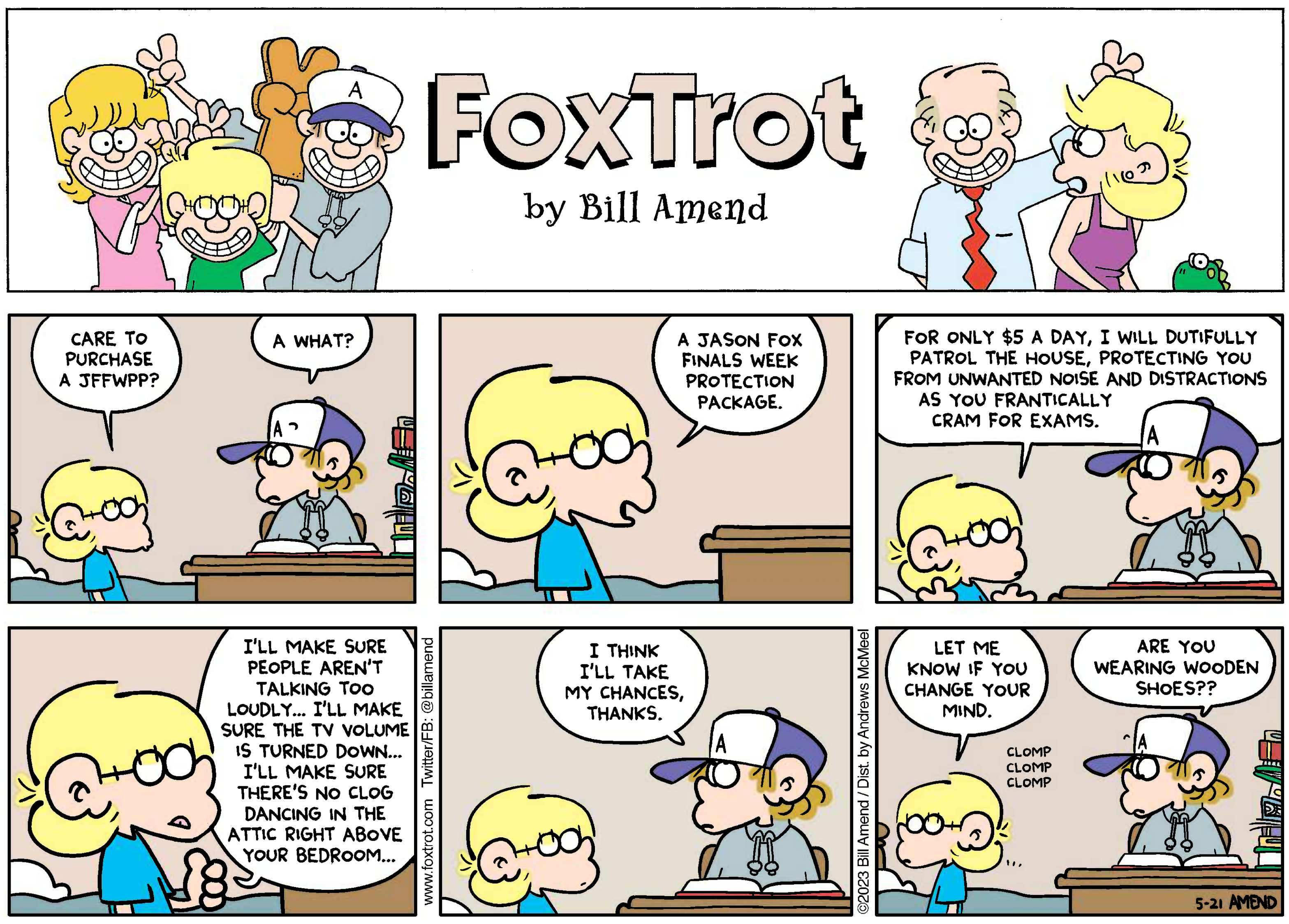


NANCY By Olivia Jaimes

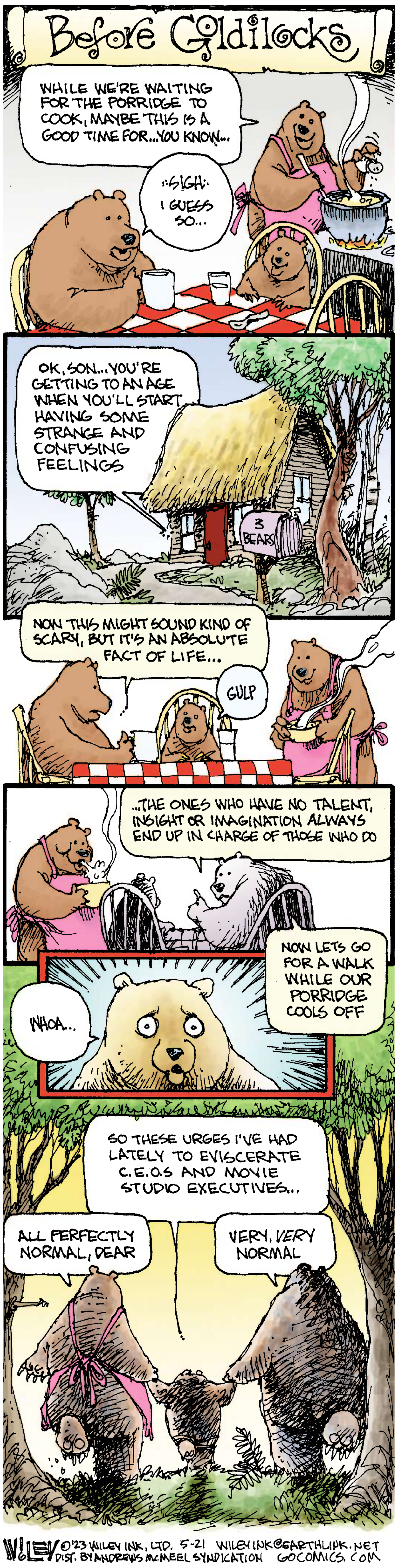


HAGAR THE HORRIBLE By Dik Browne

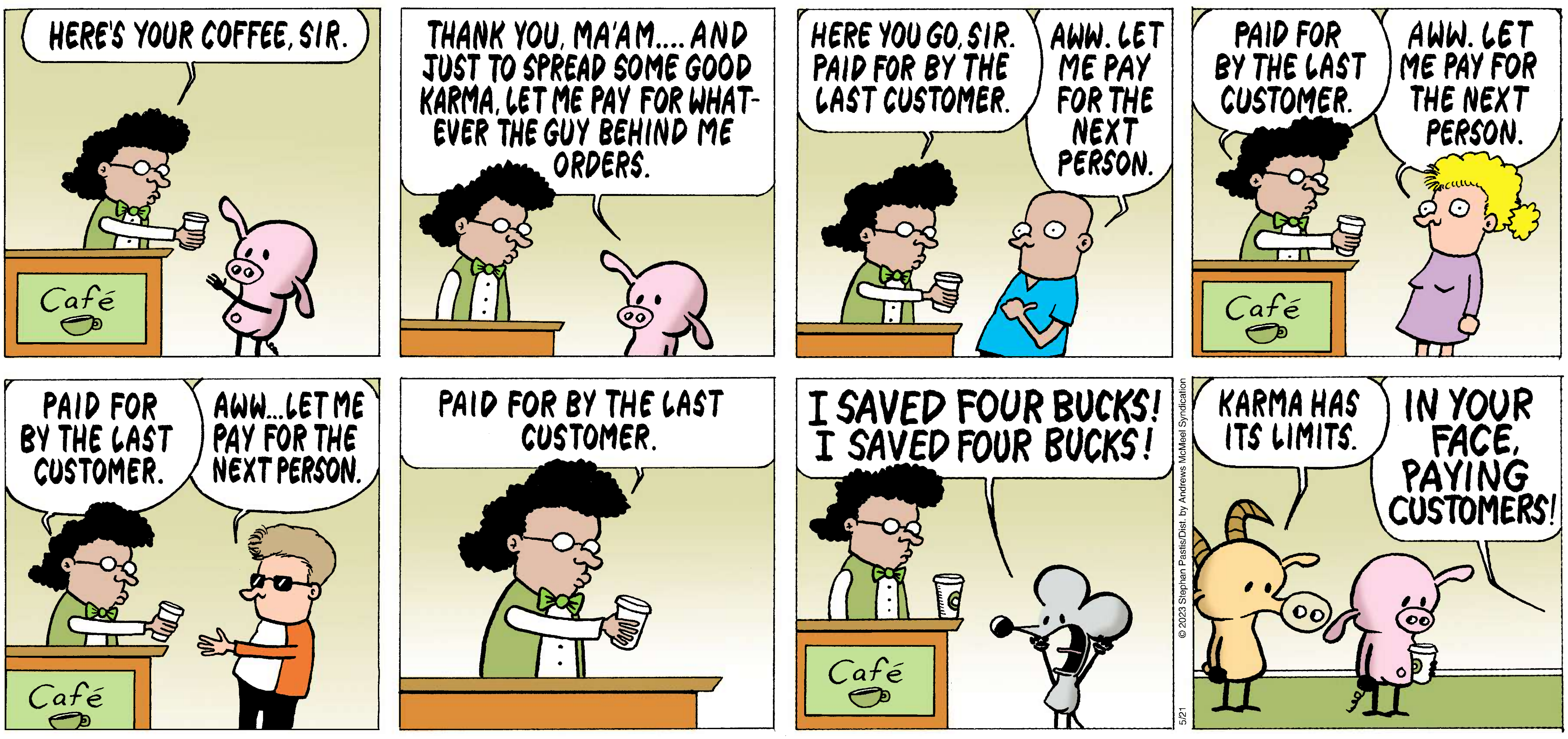




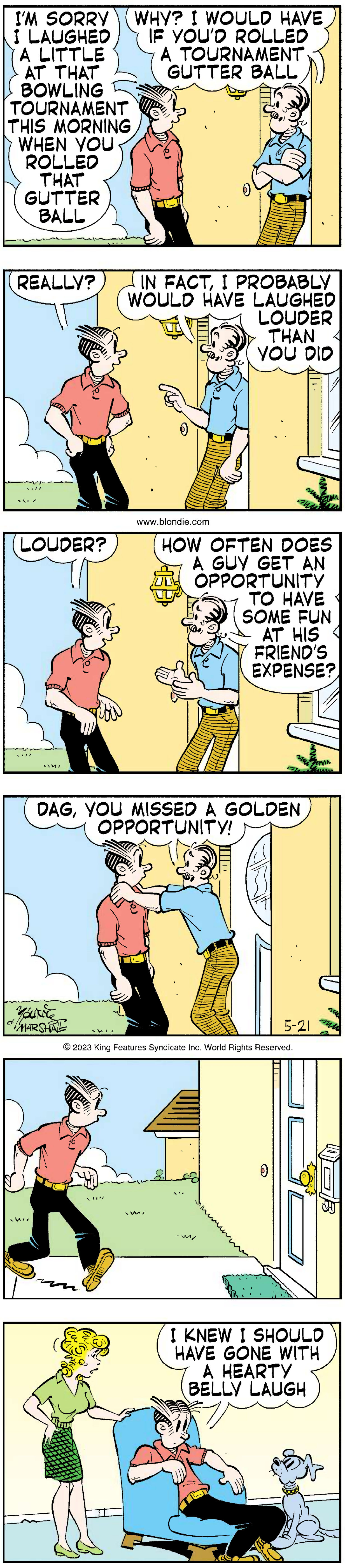
NON SEQUITUR By Wiley



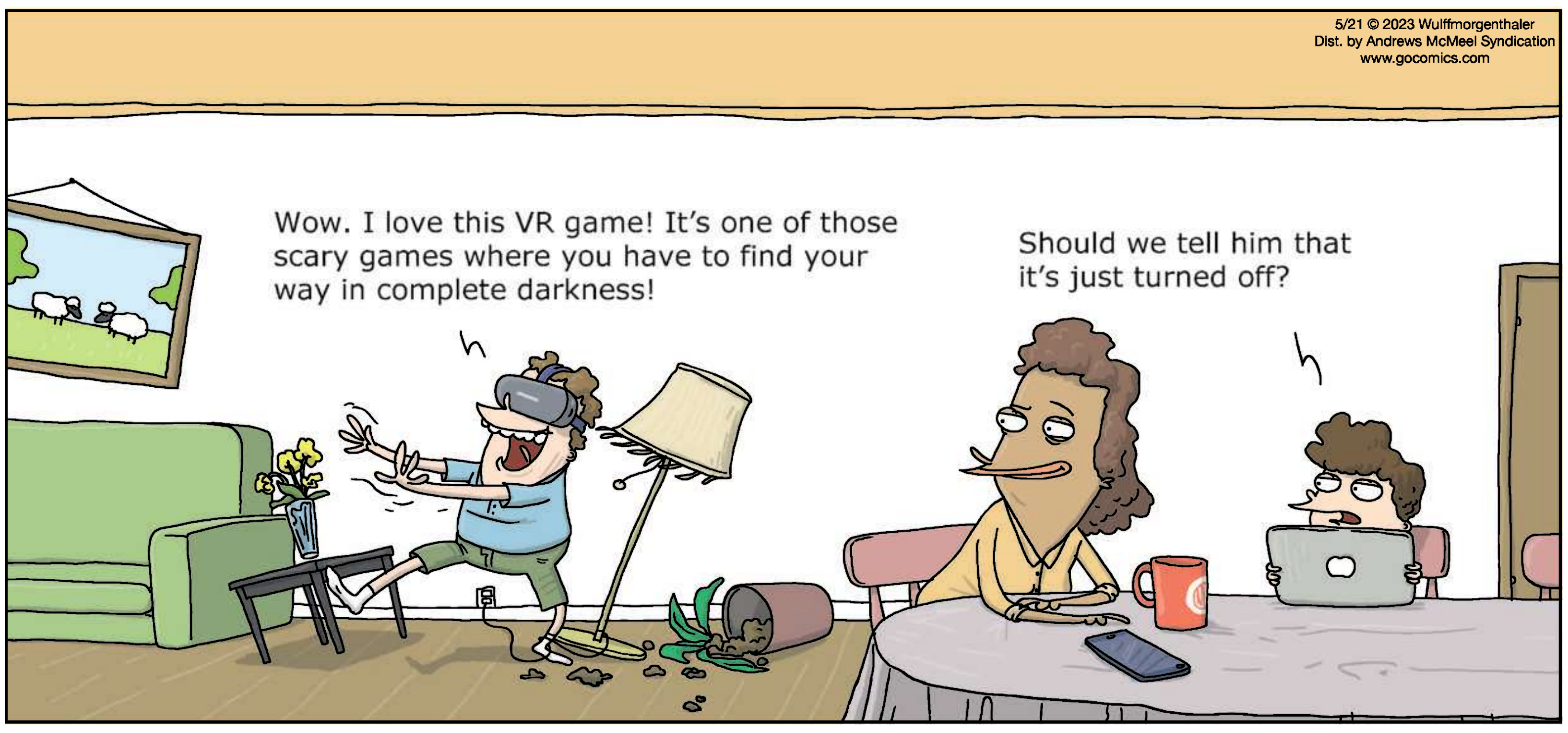
PEARLS BEFORE SWINE By Stephan Pastis



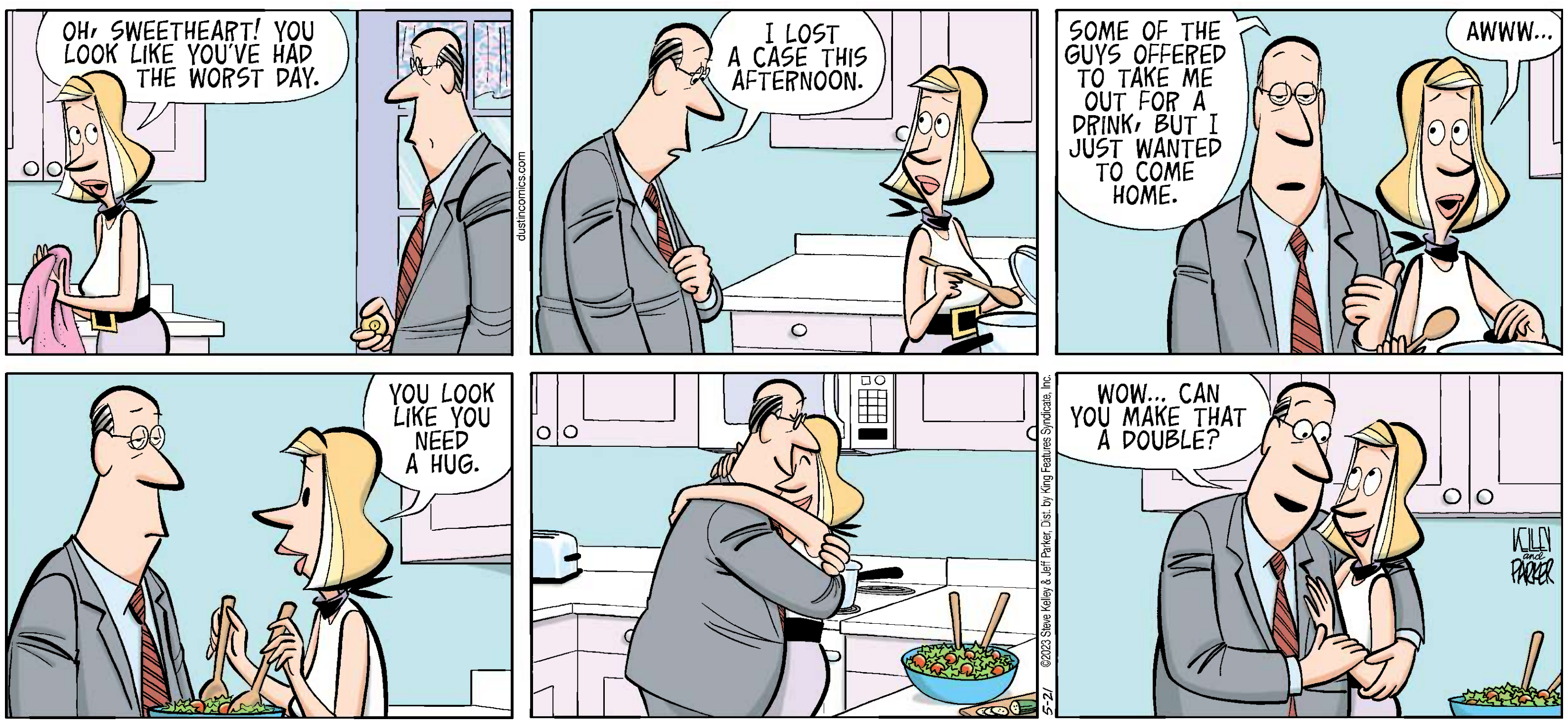
BLONDIE
By Dean Young & John Marshall



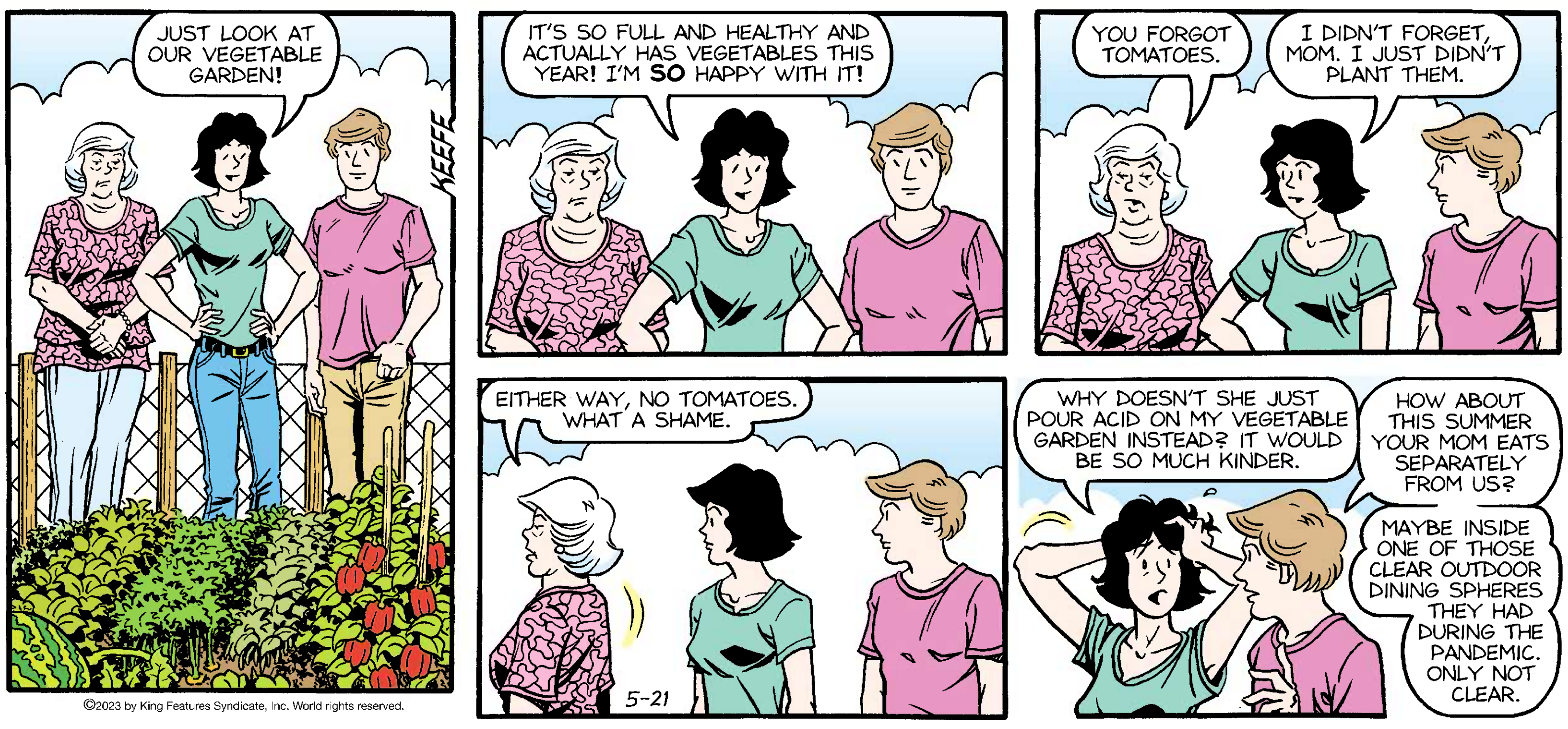
WUMO
By Mikael Wulff & Anders Morgenthaler



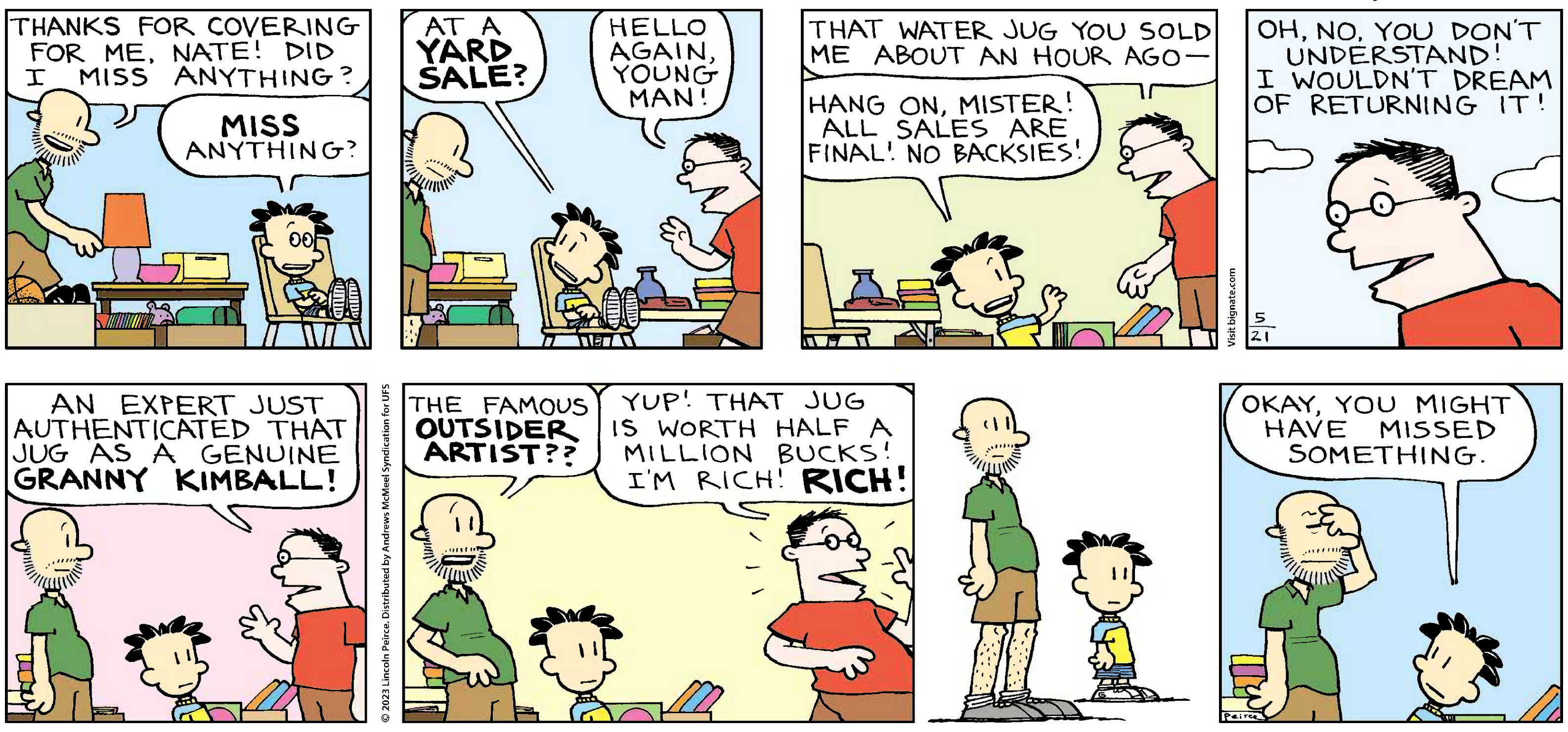
DUSTIN
By Steve Kelley & Jeff Parker



SALLY FORTH
By Francesco Marciuliano & Jim Keefe



BIG NATE
By Lincoln Peirce



JUMBLE FOR KIDS
THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME!®

By David L. Hoyt and Jeff Knurek

The letters of these crazy words are all mixed up. To play the game, put them back into the right order so that they make real words you can find in your dictionary. Write the letters of each real word under each crazy word, but only one letter to a square.

HTA

REGM

GNLU

LUBL



Get the free JUST JUMBLE app • Follow us on Twitter @PlayJumble

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Now you're ready to solve today's Jumble For Kids. Study the picture for a hint. Play around with the letters in the circles. You'll find you can put them in order so that they make your funny answer.

Print answer here:

ANSWER (HOLD UP TO MIRROR)

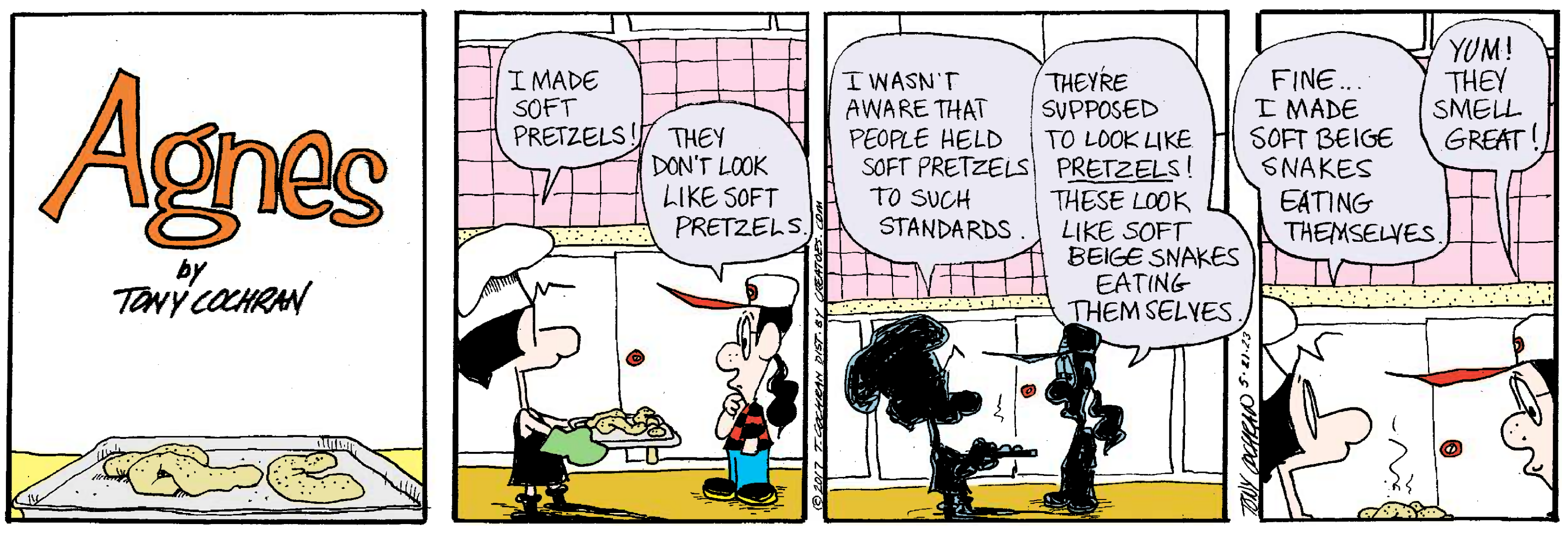
Jumbles: hat germ lung bull
Answer: bug them

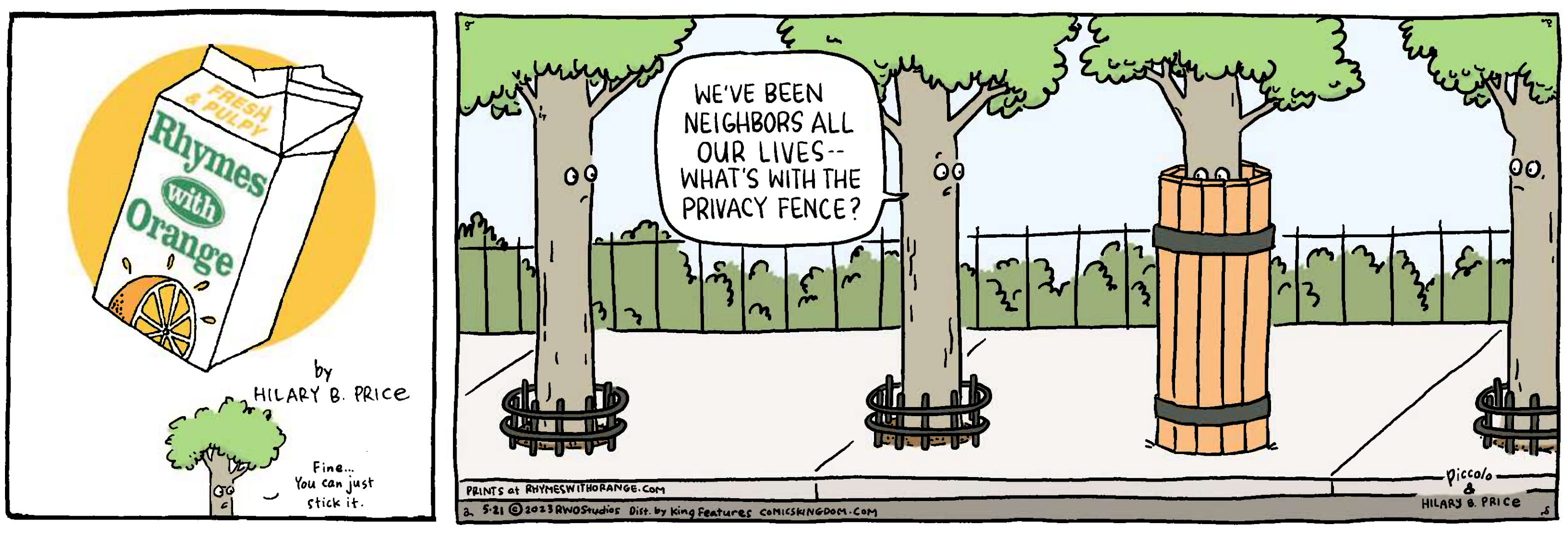
REPLY ALL LITE
By Donna A. Lewis

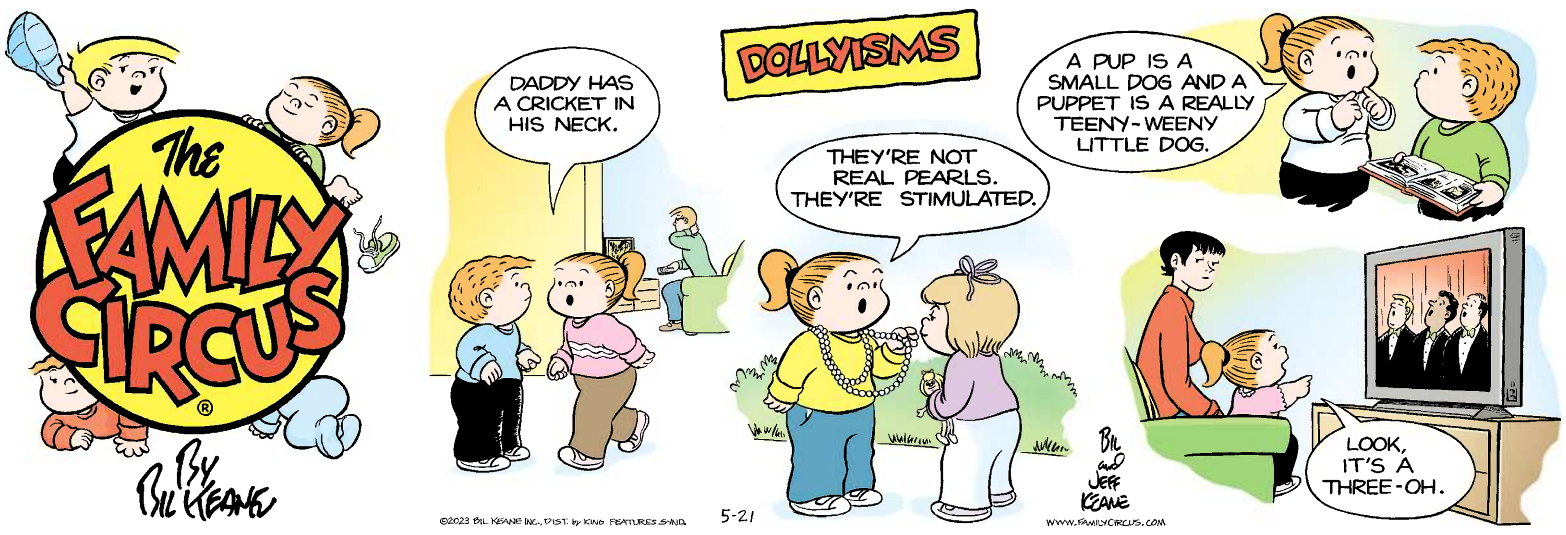


LOOSE PARTS
By Dave Blazek



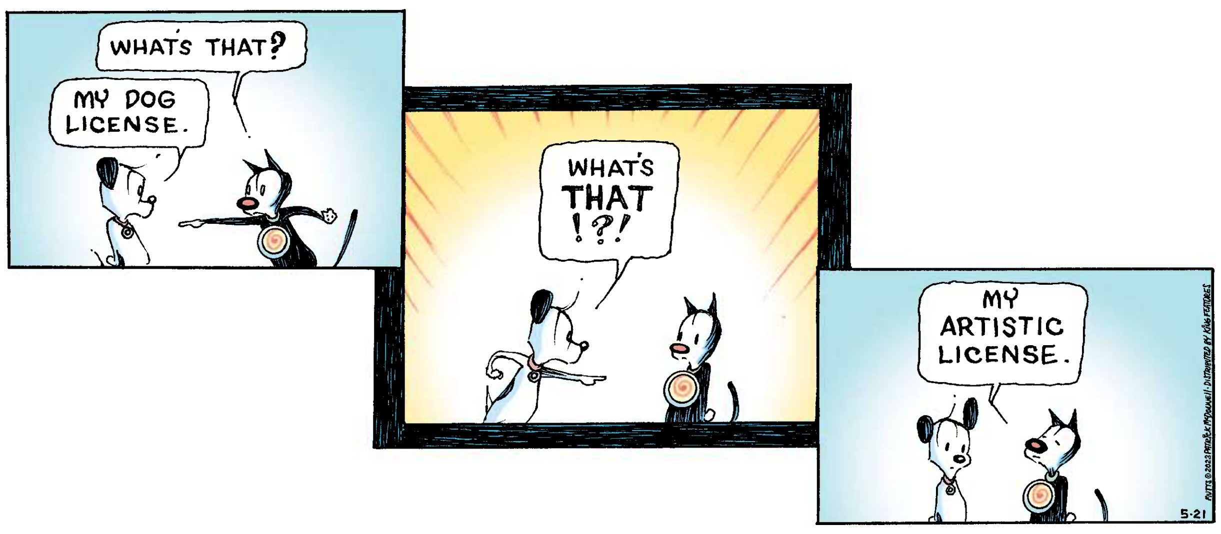








mutts
by
Patrick McDonnell



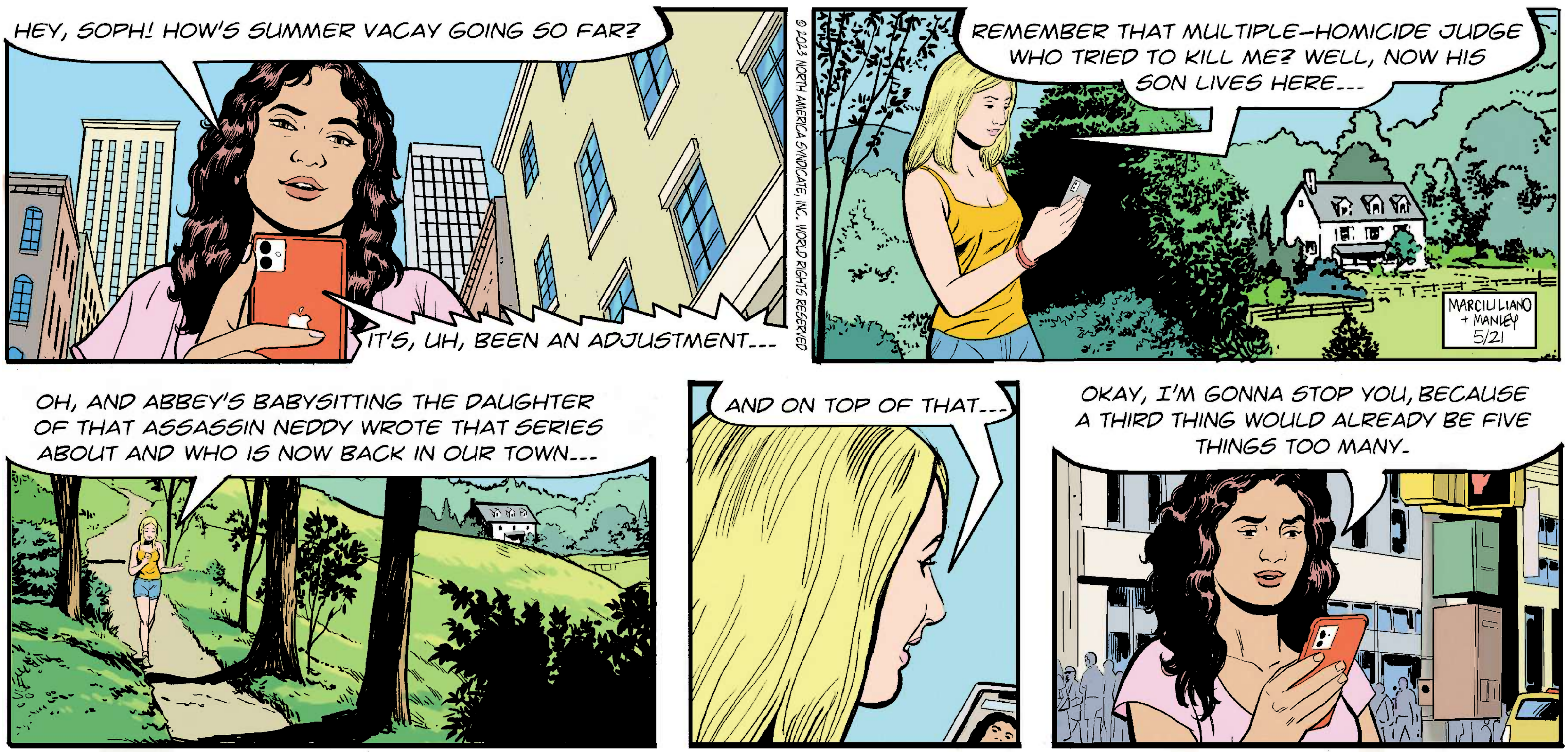
THE AMAZING SPIDER-MAN

By Stan Lee



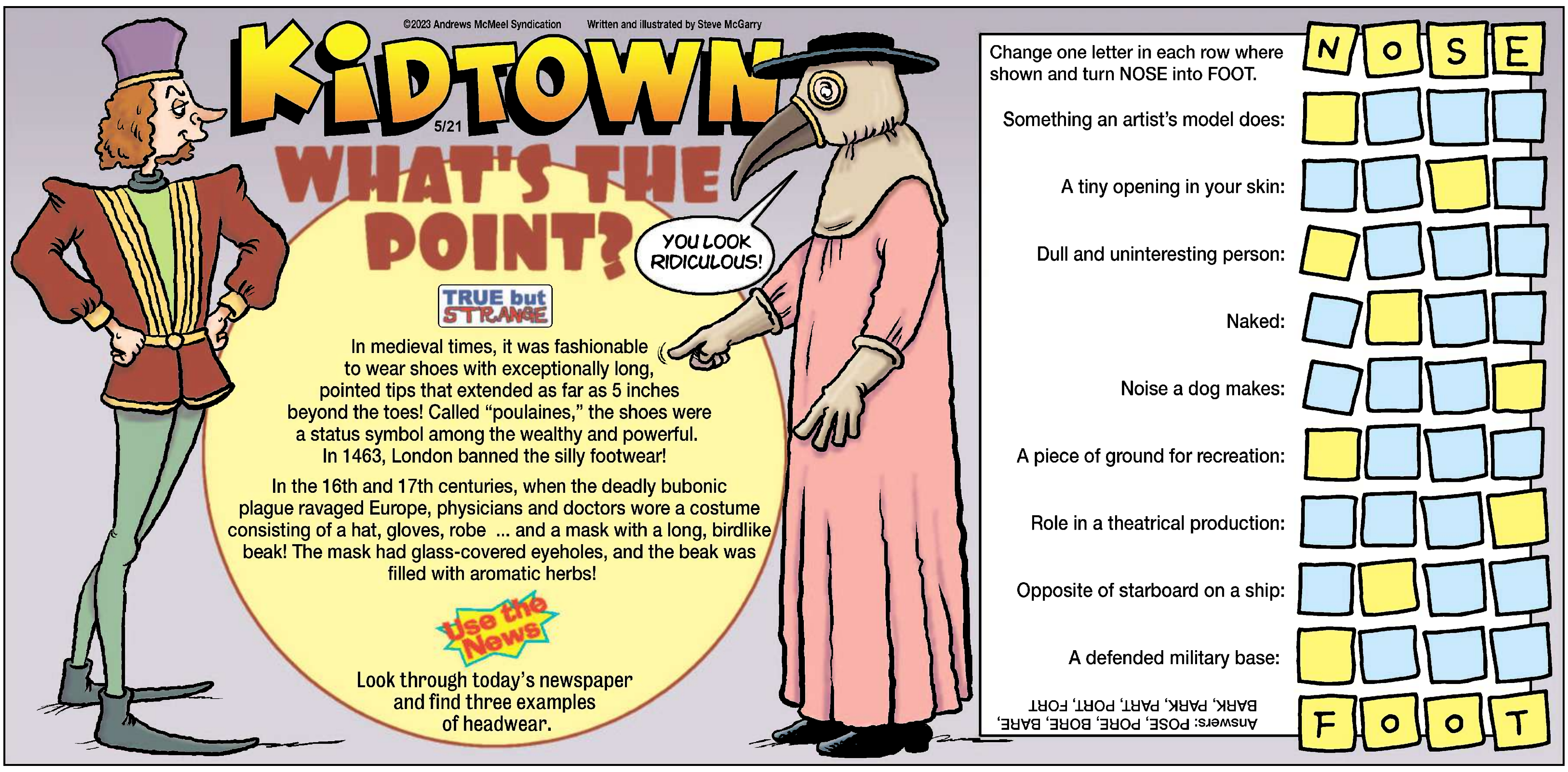
JUDGE PARKER

By Francesco Marciuliano & Mike Manley

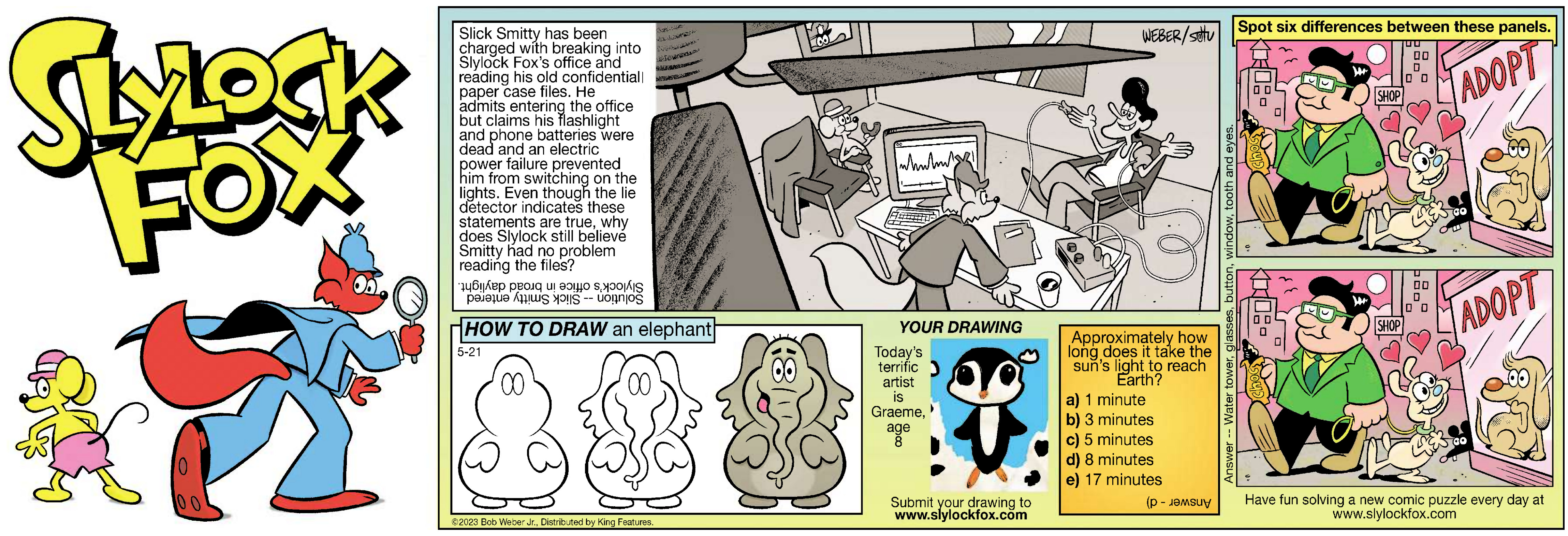




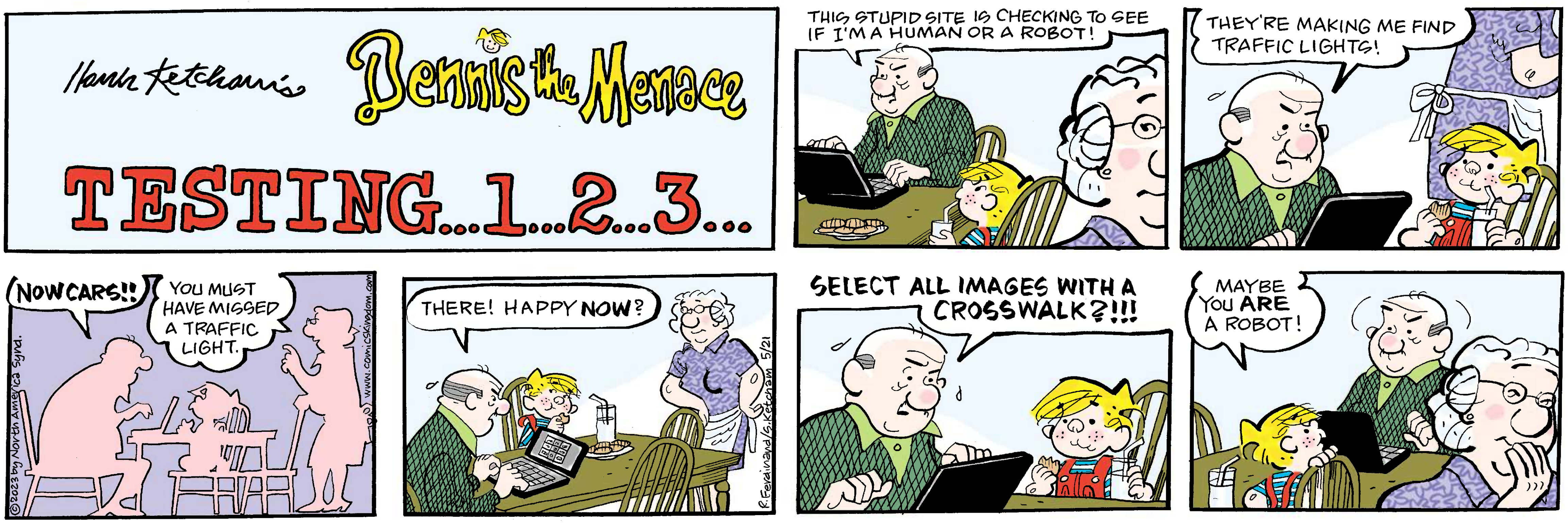
HAL FOSTER'S
Prince Valiant
BY SCHULTZ AND YEATES
T.Y.
VAL AND ARN, APPROACHING DIALYODD THE WITCH HUNTER'S EMBATTLED HOMELAND, ARE RESCUED FROM A SAXON WAR PARTY BY A BAND OF CYMRAEG WARRIORS.
ALTHOUGH FAR LESS HOSTILE THAN THE SAXONS, THE GAUNT BRITONS REGARD THE TWO NEWCOMERS WITH TENSE SUSPICION. FATHER AND SON DISMOUNT SLOWLY, CAUTIOUSLY.
"WHO BE YOU TWO STRANGERS, CARELESS ENOUGH TO RUN AFOUL OF SAXONS?" ARN RAISES HIS HAND. "WE ARE ALLIES . WE COME FROM CAMELOT..."
©2023 King Features Syndicate, Inc.
THE MAN WHO IS THE WARRIORS' OBVIOUS LEADER SNORTS IN DERISION. "SO THIS IS WHAT CAMELOT WOULD SEND TO AID GWYNEDD! TOO LITTLE, TOO LATE!" HIS SECOND GRINS. "BUT THEIR HORSES WILL FILL OUR BELLIES..."
AND SO, AN UNEASY TRUCE IS STRUCK, AND VAL AND ARN ARE ALLOWED TO ACCOMPANY THE WARRIORS TO THEIR CAMP. IT IS A POOR, DISTRESSING PLACE, POPULATED BY HARDENED MEN AND WOMEN LIVING CLOSE TO STARVATION.
AEDDAN – SO THE LEADER IS NAMED – NOTES THE SURPRISE IN THE KNIGHTS' EYES. "WELCOME TO THE PRODUCTS OF LORD DIALYODD'S MADNESS!"
NEXT: Dialyodd's Folly
4502
YEATES 5/21/23



©2023 Andrews McMeel Syndication
Written and illustrated by Steve McGarry
KIDTOWN
5/21
WHAT'S THE POINT?
YOU LOOK RIDICULOUS!
TRUE but STRANGE
In medieval times, it was fashionable to wear shoes with exceptionally long, pointed tips that extended as far as 5 inches beyond the toes! Called "poulaines," the shoes were a status symbol among the wealthy and powerful. In 1463, London banned the silly footwear!
In the 16th and 17th centuries, when the deadly bubonic plague ravaged Europe, physicians and doctors wore a costume consisting of a hat, gloves, robe ... and a mask with a long, birdlike beak! The mask had glass-covered eyeholes, and the beak was filled with aromatic herbs!
Use the News
Look through today's newspaper and find three examples of headwear.
Change one letter in each row where shown and turn NOSE into FOOT.
N O S E
Something an artist's model does:
A tiny opening in your skin:
Dull and uninteresting person:
Naked:
Noise a dog makes:
A piece of ground for recreation:
Role in a theatrical production:
Opposite of starboard on a ship:
A defended military base:
F O O T
Answers: POSE, PORE, BORE, BARE, BARK, PARK, PART, PORT, FORT



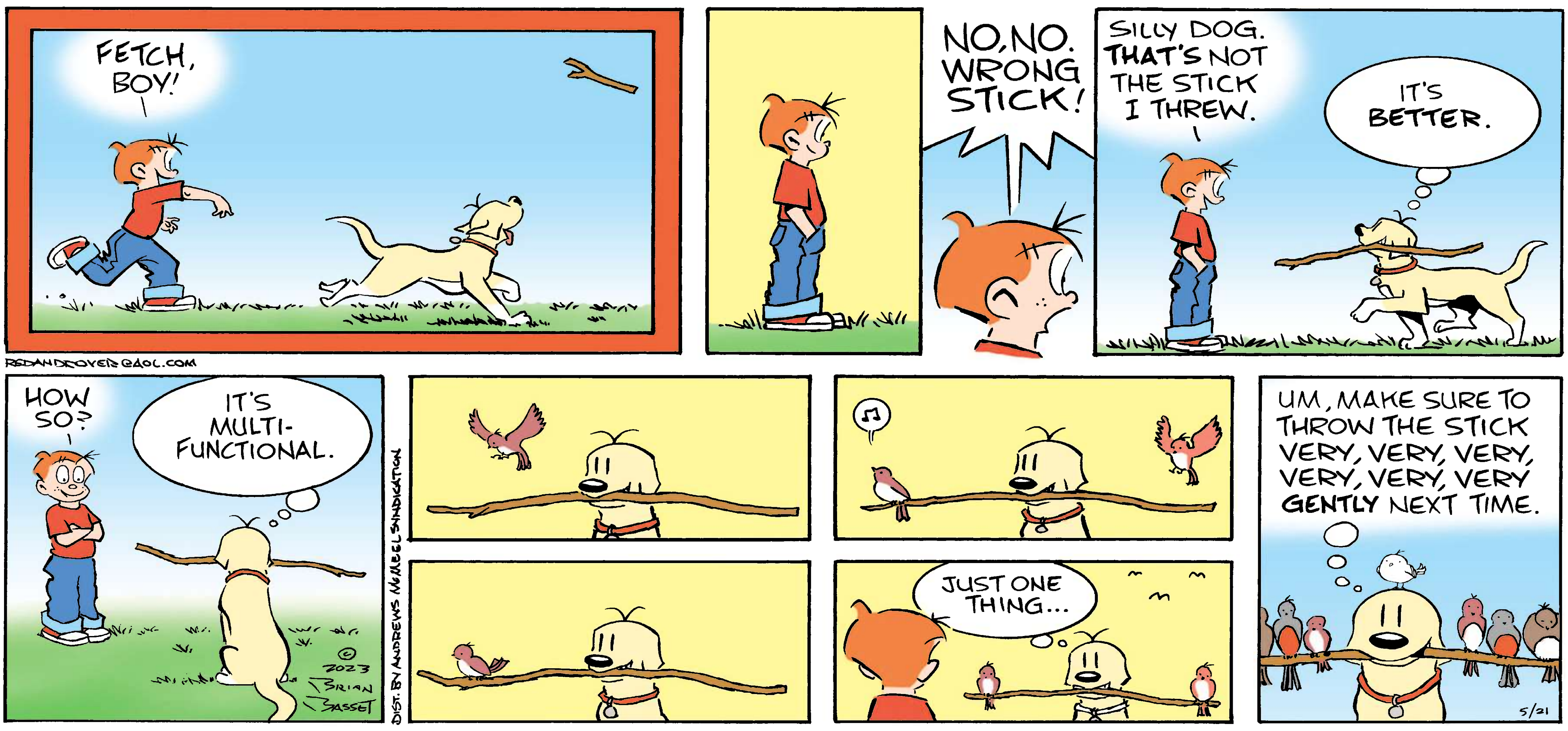
SLYLOCK FOX
WEBER/sotu
Slick Smitty has been charged with breaking into Slylock Fox's office and reading his old confidential paper case files. He admits entering the office but claims his flashlight and phone batteries were dead and an electric power failure prevented him from switching on the lights. Even though the lie detector indicates these statements are true, why does Slylock still believe Smitty had no problem reading the files?
Solution -- Slick Smitty entered Slylock's office in broad daylight.
Spot six differences between these panels.
SHOP
ADOPT
Answer -- Water tower, glasses, button, window, tooth and eyes.
Have fun solving a new comic puzzle every day at www.slylockfox.com
HOW TO DRAW an elephant
5-21
YOUR DRAWING
Today's terrific artist is Graeme, age 8
Submit your drawing to www.slylockfox.com
Approximately how long does it take the sun's light to reach Earth?
a) 1 minute
b) 3 minutes
c) 5 minutes
d) 8 minutes
e) 17 minutes
Answer - d)
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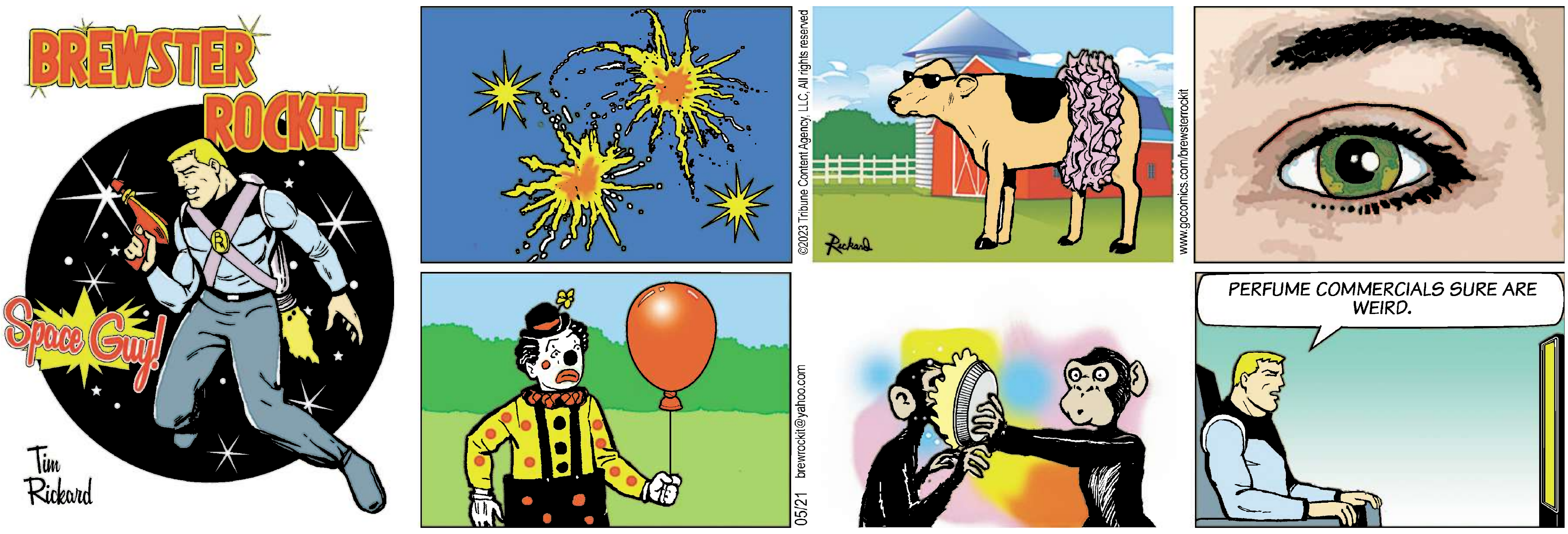


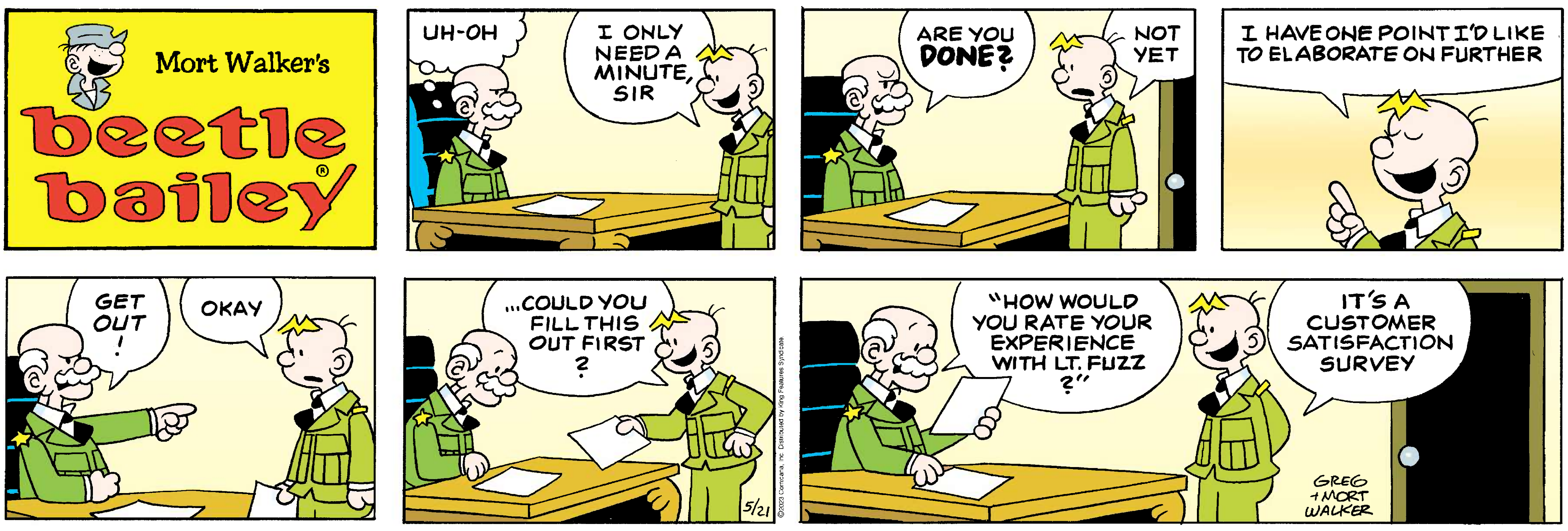
Hank Ketcham's Dennis the Menace
TESTING...1...2...3...
THIS STUPID SITE IS CHECKING TO SEE IF I'M A HUMAN OR A ROBOT!
THEY'RE MAKING ME FIND TRAFFIC LIGHTS!
NOW CARS!!
YOU MUST HAVE MISSED A TRAFFIC LIGHT.
THERE! HAPPY NOW?
SELECT ALL IMAGES WITH A CROSSWALK?!!!
MAYBE YOU ARE A ROBOT!
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5/21

RED AND ROVER

By Brian Basset

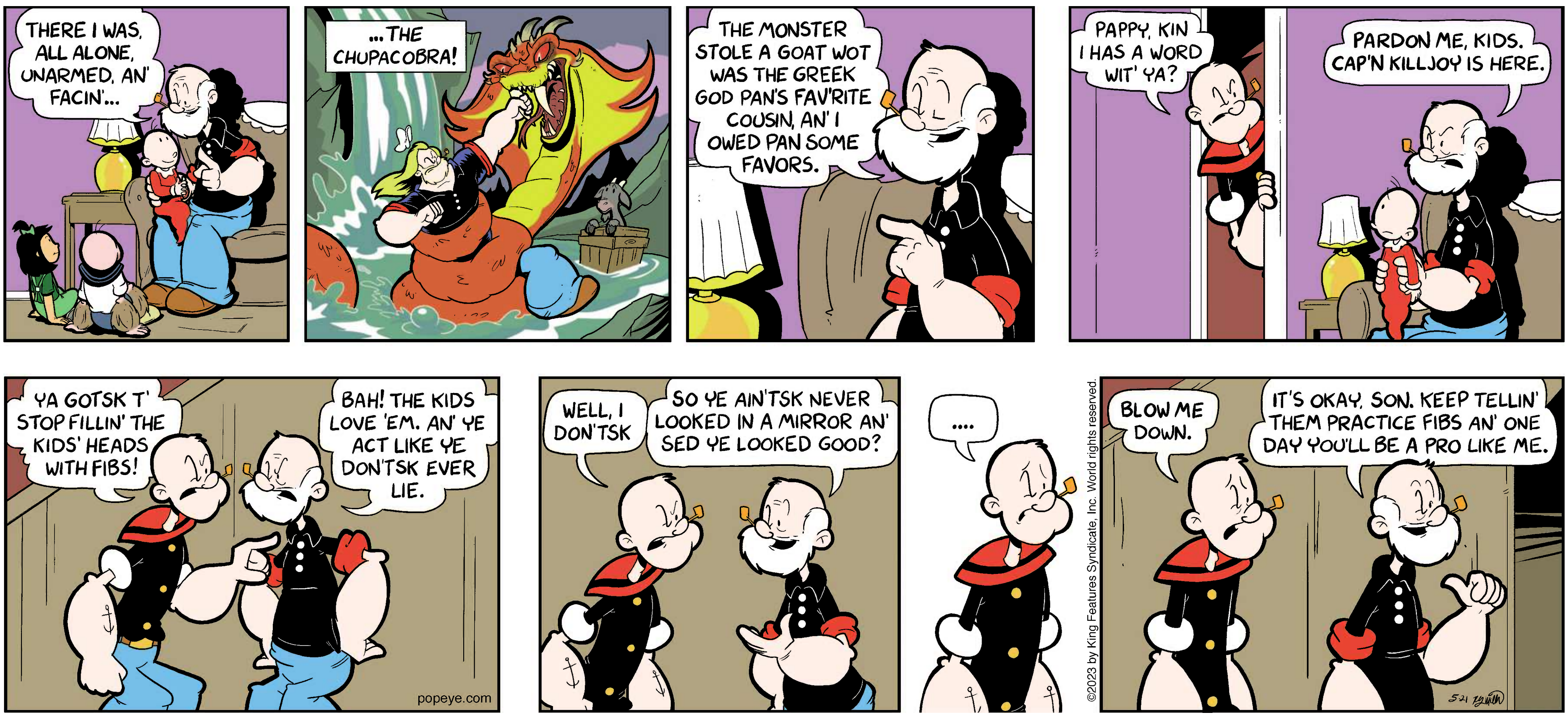






POPEYE

By Randy Milholland



SAMURAI SUDOKU

(c) www.djape.net

9								7				3								9
	7		2		4		6						2		1		9		3	
4	3			7			8	1				4	9			5			7	2
	6		1		2		4						7		9		8		5	
		9		8		1								2		7		6		
	4		3		5		9						1		4		5		8	
6	9			4												3			4	5
	1		9		6		7		2		9		3		5		4		2	
5										1										3
							9		5		8		1							
								5		3		8								
							2		7		4		6							
6										7										9
	3		9		2		8		9		2		5		8		9		4	
8	7			4												2			5	3
	5		8		6		3						9		4		3		6	
		3		1		8								6		1		9		
	8		4		9		7						4		2		6		1	
2	1			8			9	4				4	1			5			9	2
	4		2		7		1						6		9		4		8	
7								6				5								7

Level of Difficulty: 1 (on a scale of 0-5)

How to Play

The rules of Samurai Sudoku are the same as in the popular Sudoku puzzles that appear in the daily comics section.

As with standard Sudoku, the Samurai version requires no math, just logic, reasoning ... and an iron will. The goal is to fill in each column, row and 3X3 box with the digits 1 through 9 without repeating any. The twist in Samurai Sudoku is that the digits that appear in the overlapping boxes must work for both puzzles.

A piece of advice to get you started: Don't focus completely on one grid at a time. Keep the whole puzzle in mind as you go, because filling in a number in one grid could give you clues to another. What's important to understand is this: Each Samurai puzzle is ONE puzzle, not five separate Sudoku puzzles that just overlap each other. Occasionally people claim that, for example, the "bottom right" 9X9 puzzle had more than one solution. Well, yes it may, but the entire puzzle can be solved in only one way. Never resort to guessing! For more tips, go to http://www.djape.net/sudoku/wp/?p=144.

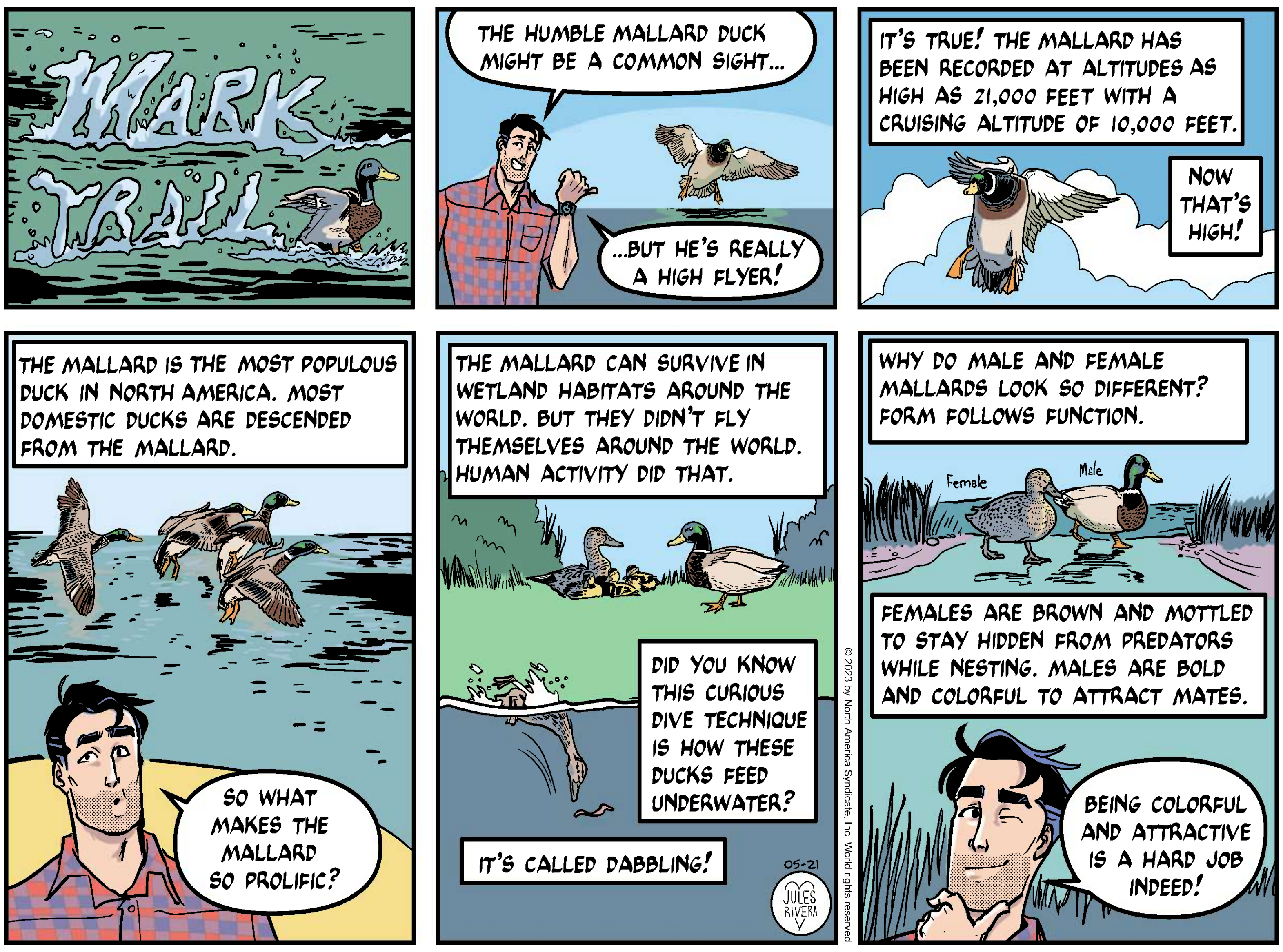
Last Sunday's Solution

3	5	6	7	8	9	4	1	2				3	7	2	6	5	4	1	8	9
1	7	9	2	4	6	5	3	8				6	9	4	7	8	1	2	3	5
2	4	8	3	1	5	7	6	9				8	1	5	2	3	9	4	6	7
9	2	3	5	7	8	6	4	1				4	2	1	8	6	5	9	7	3
8	1	5	9	6	4	2	7	3				7	5	3	1	9	2	6	4	8
4	6	7	1	3	2	8	9	5				9	8	6	3	4	7	5	2	1
5	3	1	6	2	7	9	8	4	5	1	6	2	3	7	5	1	6	8	9	4
7	8	2	4	9	1	3	5	6	7	2	9	1	4	8	9	2	3	7	5	6
6	9	4	8	5	3	1	2	7	3	4	8	5	6	9	4	7	8	3	1	2
						6	4	9	8	5	1	3	7	2						
						5	3	8	2	6	7	4	9	1						
						2	7	1	4	9	3	6	8	5						
1	5	2	6	7	8	4	9	3	1	7	2	8	5	6	1	3	4	7	2	9
6	8	9	2	3	4	7	1	5	6	8	4	9	2	3	5	6	7	4	8	1
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CLASSIC PEANUTS

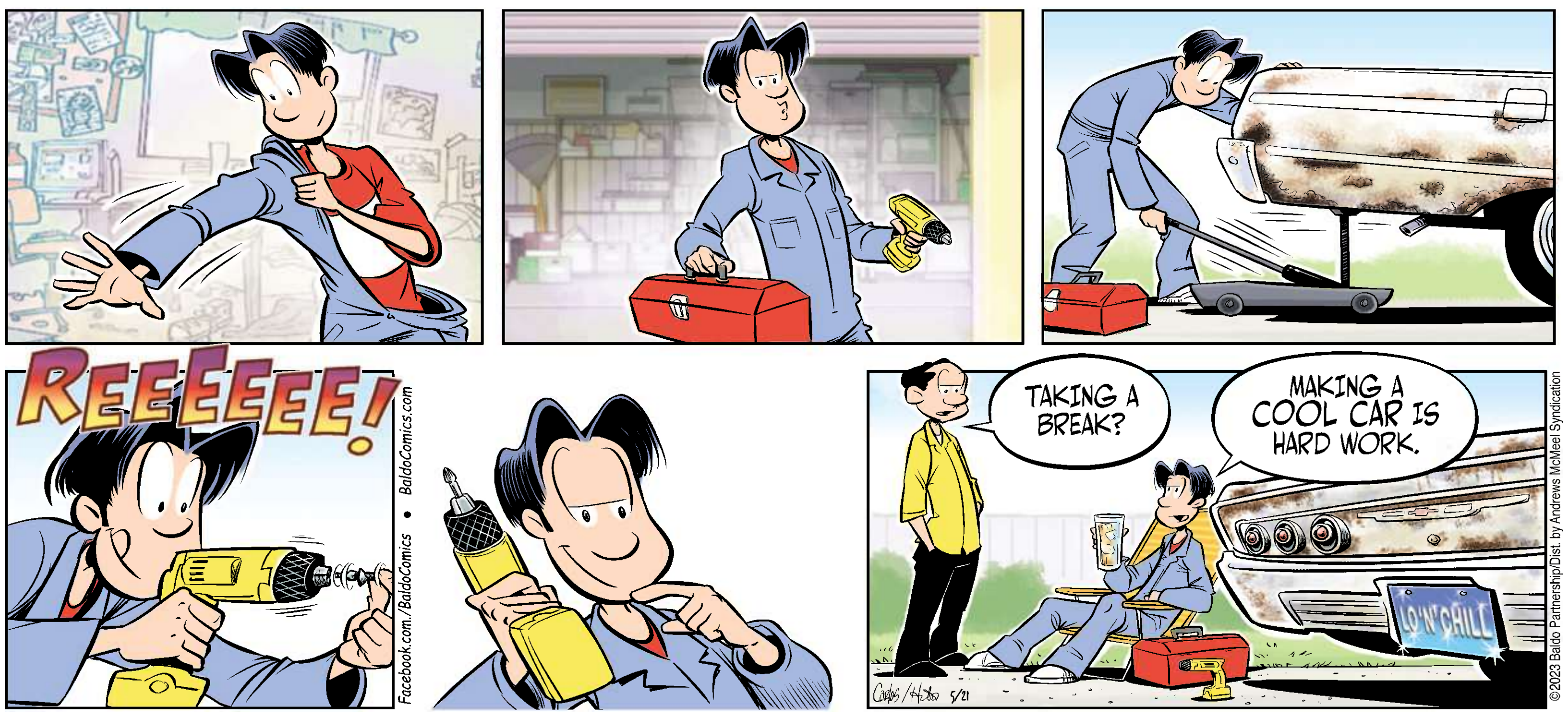
By Charles Schulz





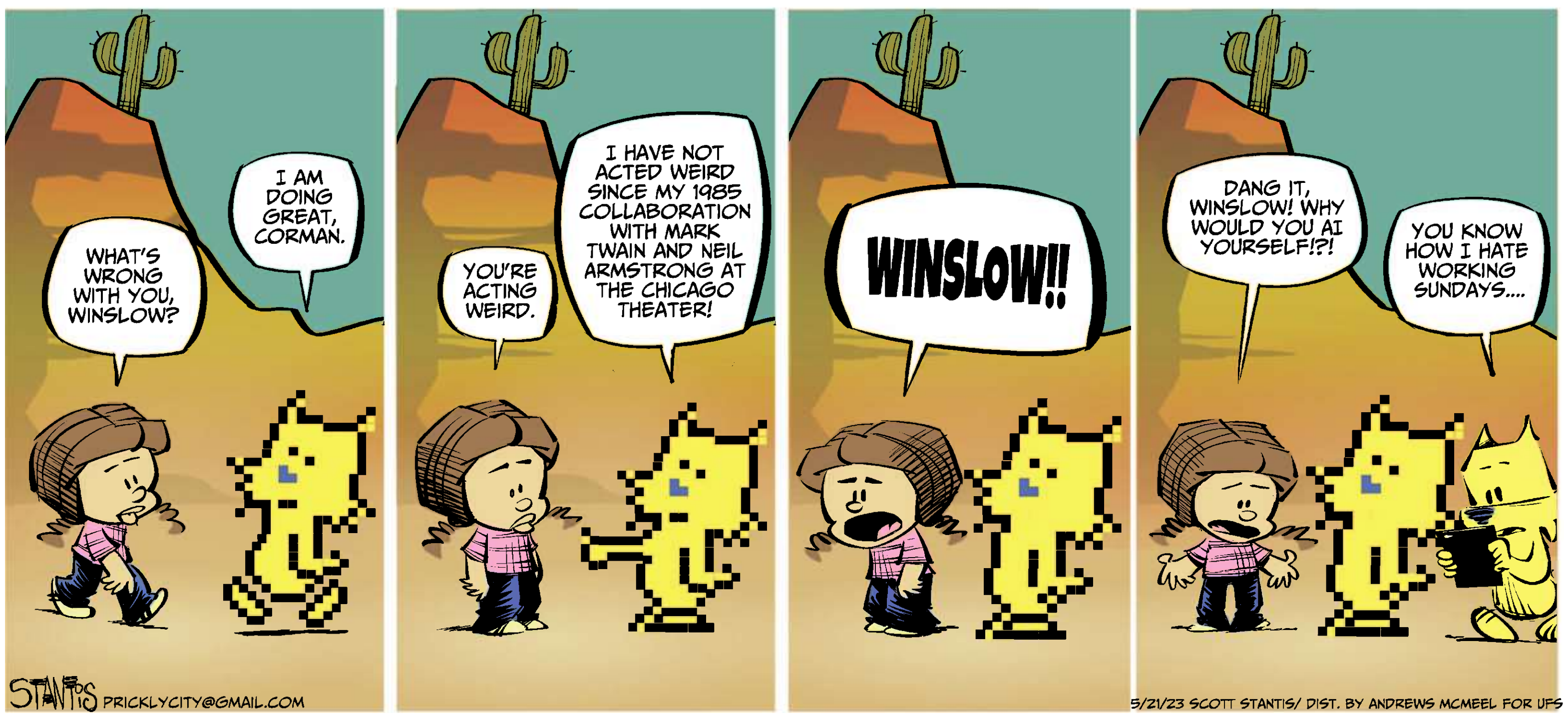
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By Cantú & Castellanos

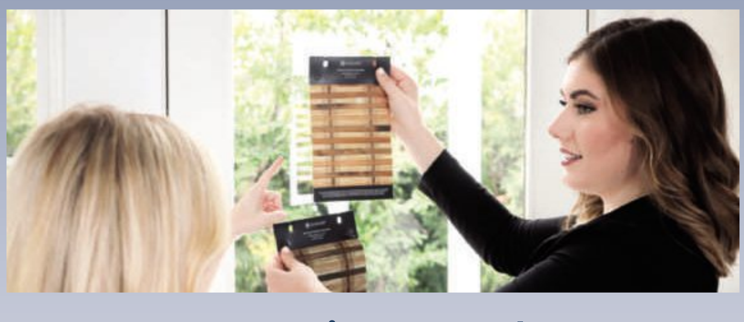


PRICKLY CITY

By Scott Stantis

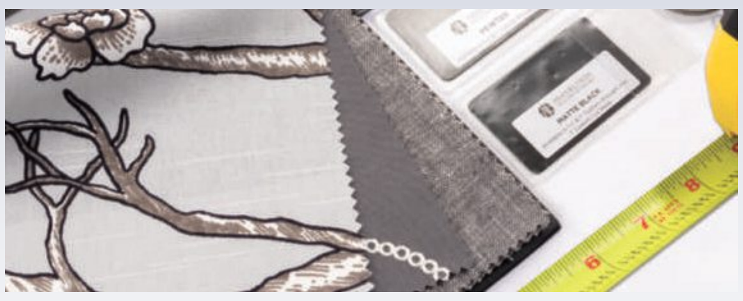


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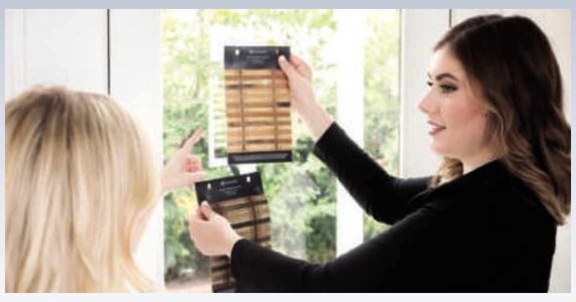


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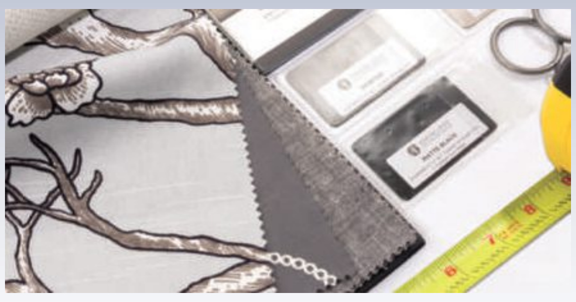


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